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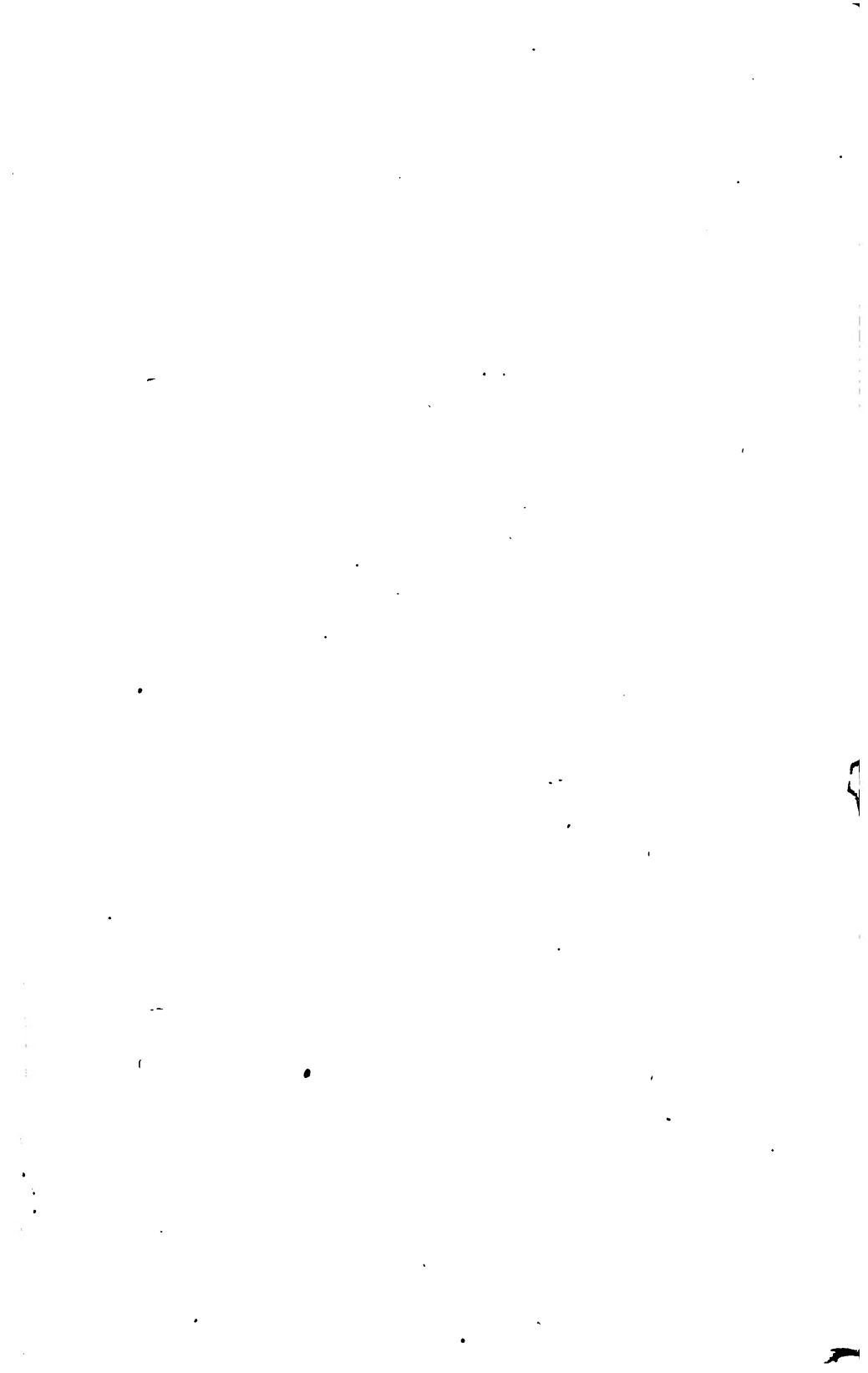
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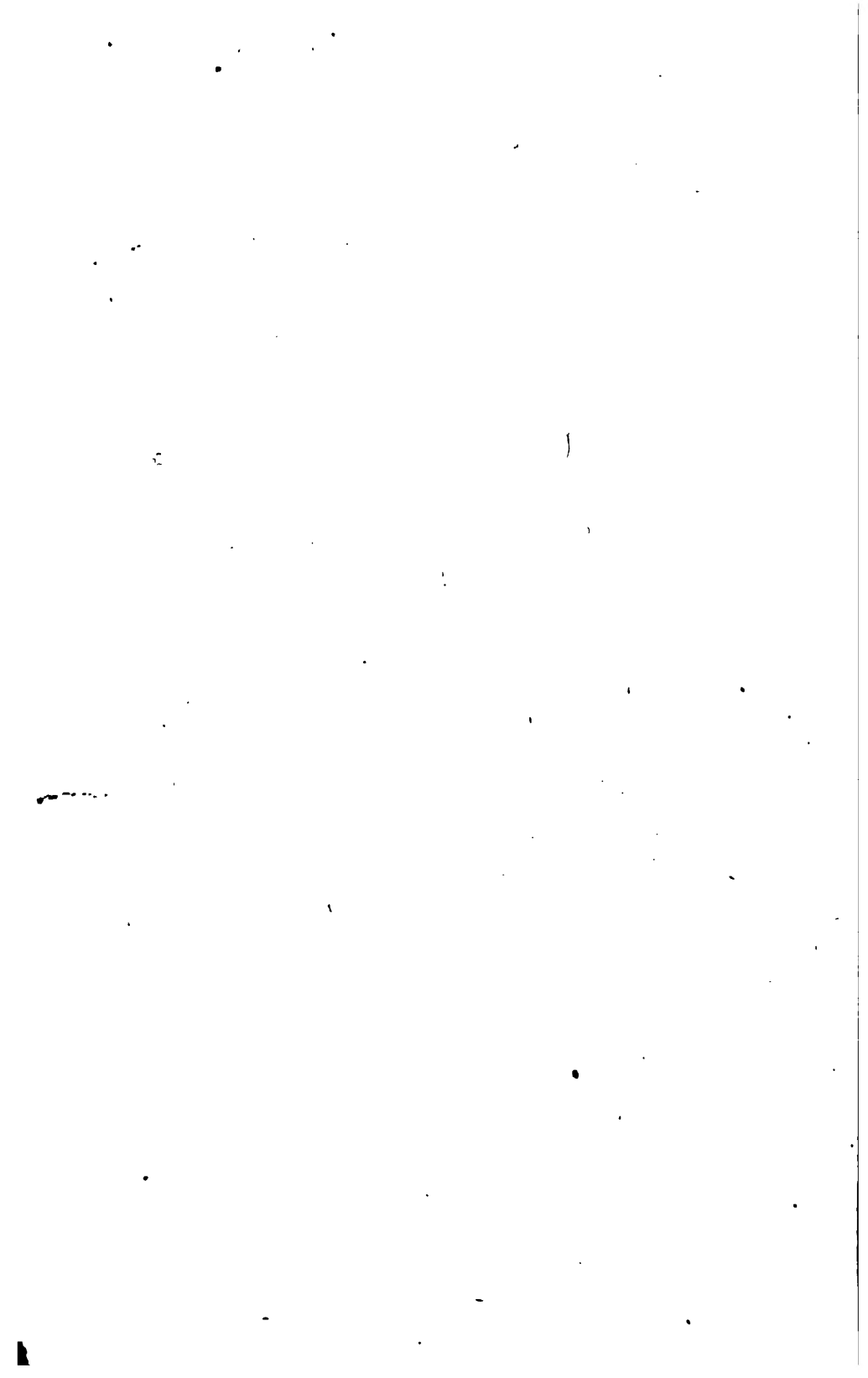
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

OF

FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN

HELD SEPTEMBER 26, 27, AND 28, 1908

(Proceedings edited by Daniel C. Browne)



THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

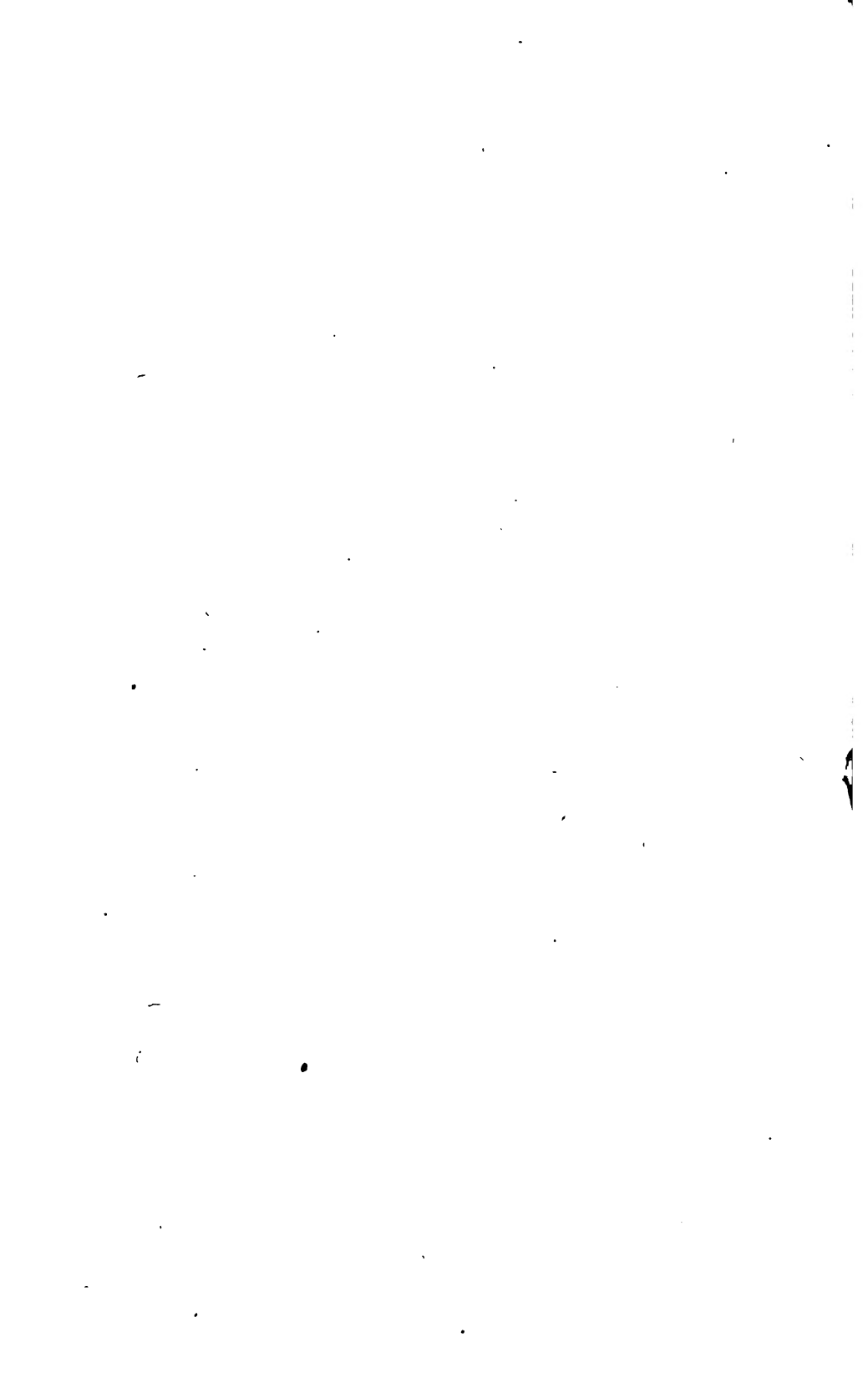
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FIRST SESSION.

EDUCATION FOR THE INDIAN.

THE sixth annual meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference began at the Lake Mohonk House, Ulster Co., New York, on Wednesday, September 26.

The Conference was called to order at 10 A. M., by Mr. A. K. Smiley, who gave a warm welcome to all present, and nominated Gen. Clinton B. Fisk as the presiding officer. General Fisk was unanimously elected. Mr. J. W. Davis, Maj. J. C. Kinney, and Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows were elected secretaries.

On motion of Dr. Strieby it was

Voted, That the chairman should appoint a committee of seven, whose duty it should be to watch the progress of debate, and formulate therefrom a platform for the adoption of the Conference.

This committee was afterward appointed as follows: Dr. Lyman Abbott, Mrs. D. A. Goddard, Prof. J. B. Thayer, Maj. J. C. Kinney, E. C. Smith, Miss Helen Ludlow, and Judge A. S. Draper.

General Fisk then said that he had expected to give a *résumé* of Indian affairs during the last twenty years, but illness had prevented him from preparing such a paper. He therefore invited General Whittlesey to give a fifteen-minutes' address on that subject.

GENERAL WHITTLESEY: Our American Indians number something like two hundred and sixty thousand,—probably a somewhat larger number than twenty years ago. Where they are most of you know. In the State of New York there are on the several reservations about five thousand. The Chippeways, or Ojibaways, as they were formerly called, are in Michigan; others are along Lake Superior, in the interior of Wisconsin, and upper part of Minnesota. There are large reservations in Dakota, and various tribes up the Missouri—Sissetons, Santees, and others, perhaps thirty or forty thousand in all. Along the northern border are the Crows, Gros Ventres, and the Nez Percés; and along the northwestern part of Washington Territory are the Black Feet and Flat Heads. In Oregon there are other tribes; in Northern California the Round Valley Indians, and in Southern California the Mission Indians. The Utes are now mostly in Utah, only a few remaining in Colorado. In New Mexico and Arizona are the Navajos, the Pimas and Papagos, and the Apache Indians, of whom we have heard so much. In the Indian Territory are from seventy to seventy-five thousand Indians of various tribes.

The Indians of this country are pretty nearly where they were twenty years ago, with the exception of some removals, as the Por

cas from Dakota to the Indian Territory, and the Utes into Utah, and we hope that they will continue to remain where they are for a long time to come.

It is just about twenty years since General Grant inaugurated what has been called the Peace Policy, dealing with them humanely and justly, and trying to bring them to a better condition. Progress has been made all along the line during these twenty years, even in the Indian service. In spite of all the drawbacks and criticism which we make to-day, there has been great advance. The character of the agents and of the officers of the Government is much better than twenty years ago. We have had some good Indian commissioners; we have had many good agents earnestly engaged in the work; and in regard to the business management of Indian affairs, there has been almost a revolutionary change for the better. Frauds upon Indians and the Government in furnishing supplies of all kinds are of rare occurrence. The goods are purchased under careful supervision, and after careful inspection, and they are delivered generally as they are purchased, as regards quality and quantity. Sometimes a very shrewd and unscrupulous contractor may succeed in substituting inferior articles for those purchased by the Board of Commissioners, but that is of rare occurrence. The business of the Indian Department is honestly managed.

Let me touch on two or three points.

First, as to the industries of the Indians. Twenty years ago the great body of Indians supported themselves by the chase. But the game of the great plains and of the forests has almost entirely disappeared, and for a considerable period they have been absolutely supported by the Government, to prevent starvation and depredation on the whites. But during the last ten or twelve years efforts have been made to induce them to settle down and do something for their own support. This, of course, has been hard work. The Indians have not been brought up to believe in the dignity of labor. They despise it as fit only for their squaws, and it has been difficult to induce many to engage in any kind of industrial pursuits. Still, considerable progress has been made, so that now, not only in the Indian Territory among the so-called civilized tribes, but among many others, there are thousands supporting themselves entirely, and many others doing a little in the way of industry. To bring this about the attempt has been made to secure for them homes where they can dwell without molestation, and without danger of being removed. The Dawes Severalty Bill, which was passed in Congress a year ago last winter, makes provision for giving them permanent homes, but not much has yet been accomplished. The work has gone on as slowly as the most timid and conservative could wish,—much more slowly than some of us who are sanguine of good results have desired; but a beginning has been made. Among the Sissetons in Dakota the work has been completed, and all the Indians have their land allotted, and are ready to receive their patents. On the Winnebago reservation, near the Omahas, the work is going on under Miss Fletcher; also among the Crows, and in one or two other places. But it has been embarrassed and impeded by the want of sufficient appropriations to carry it on. The work was suspended on this account early in the spring, and the Indians were, of course,

discouraged, and thought it was going to be a failure. Under a new appropriation bill, which is still too small, the work has been resumed. There are difficulties in connection with this work which we cannot easily understand who live far from the Indian reservations. In this connection I will read a letter just received from Miss Fletcher.

WINNEBAGO AGENCY, NEB., Sept. 20, 1888.

DEAR GENERAL WHITTLESEY: If my memory serves me aright, I am on a committee to report upon the work under the Severalty Act, of which you are chairman. Although I have not heard from you, I venture to send an account of my work among the Winnebagos, which you may use as you deem best.

This tribe is well located upon a reservation in Northeast Nebraska, some twenty-four miles in extent east and west, and from six to eight miles north and south. The land is fertile, well watered, being heavily timbered near the Missouri River, which forms the eastern boundary. The population is a little over 1,200. In 1872 patents were issued to some 480 persons. Only English names were used, and a large proportion of patenters know neither their patent names nor the location of their land. These names run through history and literature,—Aaron Burr and Benjamin Johnson, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Alice Cary being on this remarkable roll. Some hundred or more houses were built upon these lands claimed by the occupants. These patents are final as far as the United States can give and grant the land, and they are inalienable. The result is, that there are cases where a forty or eighty acre tract is owned by eight or ten heirs, all having an undivided and equal right; and in some cases all the improvements on that tract have been made by an Indian having no right whatever to the land. The condition of the patented tracts in this tribe shows the futility of this plan to push a people forward by fastening them and their heirs on inalienable lands. Among the many owners, no one owns the land. The difficulties, legal and otherwise, attending these old patents, multiply the work here two or three fold.

Up to last March, when I was ordered to cease work, owing to the exhaustion of the appropriation, I had made over 400 allotments, covering some \$0,000 to 40,000 acres. These allotments were mainly out upon the western portion of the reservation, near to the white settlement and the railroad. The allottees will all have to pioneer. Some have already broken up their allotments; others would have done so, and more acres would have been broken by all, but for the cattlemen. These, by a series of devices, have turned the greater part of the reservation into a herding ground. The thousands of cattle drove the would-be farmers away, and have destroyed hundreds of acres of hay land. All this took place during the suspension of the work here. I returned about the middle of August to find the Indians discouraged and demoralized. It will take much effort to bring them back to where they were last fall, and they cannot fail to be weakened by the experience they have had this year.

The changed condition of the Indian under severalty few persons realize. It can hardly be understood without field experience. I wish this change was better known and appreciated, for it calls for new governmental methods, new plans for the education of the people, not only in schools, but in the forms of orderly society, and demands the attention of the thoughtful Christians who consider the Indian.

There are many points I should like to bring to your notice,—the need of a careful registry of each allotted tribe, that legal descent may be secure, and that in the years to come the title to land may be without flaw. Also, how the law bears upon the Indian woman. The imperfection of our laws regarding women are very clearly brought out in dealing with the Indian women under the Severalty Act.

My cordial greeting to friends and co-workers. May you be refreshed and strengthened by your Conference, and the good work made more effectual in consequence.

Very truly yours,
ALICE C. FLETCHER.

With regard to the educational work, when the Peace Policy was inaugurated, twenty years ago, there was none worthy of the name

among the Indians. There were a few day schools. In some places teachers were appointed and paid by the Government, who had no schools at all; perhaps they lived on the reservation, and perhaps not. But a system has been inaugurated, and there are now, according to the last report, some fourteen thousand Indian children in day schools, boarding schools, industrial and mission schools. Nearly one third of the children of school age are now in schools of some kind. Twenty years ago the Government appropriated about thirty thousand dollars per annum for education among the Indians. The amount last year was about twelve hundred thousand. This shows that something has been done in the way of obtaining the means for educating Indian children. During the last ten years the progress has been great in other directions. The number of Indians who wear citizens' dress, and live in a somewhat civilized way, is not far from one hundred thousand. The amount expended by the churches for carrying on missionary and school work was, last year, about three hundred thousand dollars; while twenty years ago it was comparatively small, and ten years ago only about seventy thousand dollars. The amount of land cultivated has been rapidly increasing.

Before closing I would like to present some facts with regard to the Indians over the border, in Canada.

INDIANS IN CANADA.

Through the courtesy of Sir Daniel Wilson, President of the University of Toronto, whom I met at my summer home in New Hampshire, and of the Hon. Thomas White, Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, Dominion of Canada, I have received a copy of the Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ending Dec. 31, 1887. Having read with care this Report, and having examined the statistical tables, which are quite full to the minutest detail, I am able to present some facts which I think will be of interest to this Conference, and perhaps new to many present.

The number of Indians now under the control of the Department is said to be about 128,000; *i. e.*, just about one half the number in the United States. These Indians are scattered over the whole of Canada, from the shores of Nova Scotia on the Atlantic, to British Columbia on the Pacific, and occupy 1,147 reserves. The reserves are very small as compared with those in our own country. The total area of the 1,147 reserves is not given in the Report; but the eighty-seven 'farming reservations' in the North-West Territories contain 4082.6 square miles, or an average of nearly 47 square miles each. If that average were maintained throughout the 1,147 reserves the total area would be nearly 54,000 square miles; but probably the eastern reserves are much smaller than the western.

The land cultivated on all the reserves was 98,727 acres, or about 154 square miles. The farm products during 1887 were 102,808 bushels of wheat, 139,036 bushels of oats, 134,985 bushels of peas, 67,412 bushels of barley, 44,781 bushels of other grains, 286,232 bushels of potatoes, 21,504 bushels of turnips, and 37,376 tons of hay. The Indians own 22,878 horses, 19,421 cattle, 2,586 sheep, and 8,470 pigs. They also have 9,401 houses, besides a fair supply of farming implements. These statistics show that only a minority

of the Indians are supported by agricultural industry. The majority still support themselves by hunting, fishing, and trapping. In British Columbia alone the value of fish, furs, and oil procured by their labor during the year 1887 was \$1,209,873. They are, however, making progress in agriculture, and some are beginning to appreciate the importance of holding their lands in severalty instead of in common.

Some are also fully alive to the importance of education. The government maintains 198 Indian schools of all grades, in which there are 5,951 pupils. Nine of these schools are industrial schools, with a total of 374 scholars. The total expenditure by the government for education is about \$60,000. The amount expended by missionary societies is not given. A scheme has been proposed to increase largely the facilities for industrial training; for it is evident that the schools of that character are by far the most effective.

"What shall be done with the graduates of training schools?" is a question which is beginning to press upon the officials and people in Canada, as with us. The Superintendent-General says: "To insure complete success, the education of Indian children must not cease with their school course; on the contrary, that should be only the commencement; for, as a matter of fact, it is after its completion that the greatest care for those who have had the benefit of training at these schools needs to be exercised, in order to prevent retrogression. And having this consideration before me, I think it is questionable whether the generally accepted theory which requires that when they have completed their course at an institution, the children should return to the reserves, and follow for the benefit of their people the trade or occupation of which they have acquired a knowledge, or that they should become teachers of Indian day schools, is correct in principle; or whether the injury received by those who return to the reserves in renewing their old associations, is not calculated to be much greater than, and to outweigh any, benefit conferred upon the other members of the band through the pursuit by those who have acquired trades of the same on the reserve. It would seem, on the contrary, advisable that every possible legitimate means should be used to prevent those whose education at an industrial institution or high school has been completed from returning to the reserves; and that strong inducements, by obtaining for them profitable employment at their trades or at farm-work, whichever may have been learned by them, or by setting them up in the same, should be held out to them, so as to cause them to reside in towns, or, in the case of farmers, in settlements of white people, and thus become amalgamated with the general community. To accomplish satisfactory and lasting results, not only must energy on the part of the officers of the institutions be displayed in the education and industrial training of those committed to their care; but when they have completed their course at the institution, and are launched upon the world, as much, if not greater, energy must be exercised on the part of the Department and its officers, and on the part of the Christian public and philanthropists, to insure their success in the lines of industry of which they have acquired a knowledge."

Such advanced ideas upon the Indian question find utterance in Canada as well as at Carlisle, and it may be that eventually we shall all find in these views the solution of the problem.

The Indian fund, which consists of all moneys accrued from annuities secured by treaty and from sales of land surrendered to be sold for their benefit, amounts to \$3,303,864.24. From these funds the amount expended during the fiscal year was \$320,708.33. The expenditures on account of Parliamentary appropriations were \$1,147,724.69. The Department still holds for sale about 475,000 acres of Indian land.

It is easy to see that our cousins across the border have some advantages over us in the management of Indian affairs.

One is that the Indians in Canada are scattered so widely in small bands, and upon a large number of small reserves. Many of these reserves are only two or three square miles in extent, and are surrounded by the farms of whites, so that the Indians are living practically in the midst of civilization, and constantly coming in contact with civilized people. There are no such vast tracts of country reserved, to encourage roaming habits, as our Indian Territory, Dakota, San Carlos, and other reservations. Nor are there any such large numbers of Indians massed together, sustaining each other in habits of idleness, superstition, and immorality, and in opposition to all efforts for their improvement and civilization.

Another advantage in Canada is the permanency of administration. No political necessity compels a change of officials in the Indian Department every four years. Hence agents, and visiting inspectors, and school superintendents, and teachers who are found efficient are retained in the service, their usefulness ever growing with experience.

A third advantage is found in the legal status of the Indians in Canada. They are, and are made to feel that they are, subjects of the government, and that they owe allegiance to it. They are not treated as aliens and foreigners, nor encouraged by delusive treaties to believe that they are nations with national prerogatives. They are all citizens, and can acquire the elective franchise on the same terms as other citizens. To this condition of affairs we are approaching, and we shall attain it under the operation of the Dawes Severalty Bill, if it is faithfully and efficiently executed.

DR. FOSTER asked General Whittlesey to state the condition of affairs at present on the Sioux reservation.

GENERAL WHITTLESEY: The Sioux Bill was passed last winter, for the purpose of dividing the great Sioux reservation. Provision was made that about one half of the great Sioux reservation, or eleven million of acres, should be sold for their benefit. An attempt of this kind was made two or three years ago. An effort was made to get the assent of the Indians to it; for the treaty of 1868 requires that in any future agreement for the ceding of their land, an assent of two thirds of the Indians must first be obtained before they can relinquish their rights. Under the bill passed last winter a Commission was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Cleveland, Pratt, and Wright, to go and hold councils with these different tribes, and secure, if possible, their consent to this division of the Sioux reservation, and cession of part of their lands. Many of the Indians are afraid to make any agreement, not because they do not think the measure is for their benefit, for it was passed under Mr. Dawes' leadership; not because they do not regard it as a good measure on the whole; but because they are afraid to trust the Government. They say they have made a

great many agreements in former years, and have been deceived ; and they fear if they sign any papers they may be treated in the same way again. The last news I heard with regard to it was that the Commission was hopeful of succeeding, though they had failed on the Upper Missouri, at the Standing Rock Agency. I do not know what the situation is now.

The following paper was then read by Rev. LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D.

EDUCATION FOR THE INDIAN.

The Indian problem is three problems,—land, law, and education. The country has entered upon the solution of the land problem. It has resolved to break up the reservation system, allot to the Indians in severalty so much land as they can profitably occupy, purchase the rest at a fair valuation, throw it open to actual settlers, and consecrate the entire continent to civilization, with no black spot upon it devoted to barbarism. Upon that experiment the country has entered, and it will not turn back. The law problem, also, has been put in the way of solution. It is safe to assume that it will not be long before the existing courts are open to the Indians ; and it is reasonable to hope that special courts will be provided for their special protection, in accordance with the general plan outlined by the law committee of the Lake Mohonk Conference. But nothing has yet been done toward the solution of the educational problem. A great deal has been done toward the education of individual Indians, something, perhaps, toward the education of single tribes, but no plan has been agreed upon ; and it is hardly too much to say that no plan has even been proposed for solving the educational problem of the Indian race,—for converting them from groups of tramps, beggars, thieves, and sometimes robbers and murderers, into communities of intelligent, industrious, and self-supporting citizens. But this is by far the most important problem of the three. Put an ignorant and imbruted savage on land of his own, and he remains a pauper, if he does not become a vagrant and a thief. Open to him the courts of justice, and make him amenable to the laws of the land, and give him neither knowledge nor a moral education, and he will come before those courts only as a criminal ; but inspire in him the ambition of industry, and equip him with the capacity of self-support, and he will acquire in time the needful land and find a way to protect his personal rights. These reforms must move on together. Certain it is that without the legal and the educational reform the land reform will be death to the Indian, and hurden, if not disaster, to the white race. My object in this paper is simply to set before the Lake Mohonk Conference the outlines of a possible educational system, in the hope that the principles here announced, and the methods here suggested, may at least be found worthy of discussion, out of which may be evolved a plan worthy to be presented to the country for its adoption.

At present we have no system of Indian education. Some Christian and philanthropic individuals and societies are attempting, in various fragmentary ways, to do a work of education in special localities. The Government is doing some educational work under teachers whom

it has appointed and whom it supports ; but the efficacy of these governmental efforts depends largely upon the ability and character of the agent of the reservation on which the school is situated. The Government and the churches have in other instances entered into a *quasi* partnership, which is as perplexing in its results as it is anomalous in its nature ; the Government sometimes furnishing the buildings, sometimes furnishing the teachers, sometimes making appropriations for the one or the other, and sometimes simply sending pupils to the schools established by private benevolences, and paying their tuition. Under such a method as this the churches naturally enter into vigorous competition with each other for governmental appropriations. It is simply an incidental evil of this anomalous condition of affairs that in the year closing June, 1886, out of fifty religious schools supported in part by the Government and in part by religious societies, thirty-eight were under Roman Catholic control with 2,068 pupils, and twelve were under Protestant control with 500 pupils. This is not to the discredit of the Roman Catholic Church, which works with efficiency because it works as a unit, but rather to the discredit of the Protestant churches, which are unable to lay aside their differences and combine their efforts in so simple a matter as the non-sectarian education of a pagan people within the bounds of our own country. It is at all events entirely to the discredit of a method which never would have been devised ;—which, like Topsy, was not made, but only “grewed.”

Nor is this the only vice of the present essentially vicious no-system of Indian education. A minority of Indian children are taught more or less feebly the rudiments of civilization, some in boarding schools, some in day schools, some on the reservation, some off it, some under one, others under another sectarian influence. When a little smattering of education has been given them, they drift back, or are sent back to the reservation, to forget what they have learned,—to take off the beaver and put on the feathers, to lay aside the hoe and take up the hachet, and resume the war paint which they had washed from their faces at the schoolhouse door. That so many Indians are able to resist the evil influences of their savage environments, and interpenetrate their tribe with any civilizing influences whatever, affords a singular testimony to the stability of character which goes along with a saturnine disposition. What the country should do, what the friends of Indian emancipation—rather let me say of justice, humanity, and equal rights—should do, is to substitute for this chaotic congeries of fragmentary efforts, a system which shall secure within a generation the education of all Indian children within the borders of the United States in the essentials of American civilization. Certain propositions looking to this ultimate result I desire to put before the Lake Mohonk Conference for its discussion.

1. The United States Government must undertake to provide this education, not to supplement provision made by others ; not to aid it with appropriations, niggardly in some instances, excessive in others ; not to try tentative experiments here and there, dependent upon the idiosyncrasy of individual agents,—but to assume the work of equipping for civilized industry and intelligent citizenship the entire mass of Indian population now under the age of, say, eighteen. This it is the duty of the United States Government to do. We have no right to throw this burden on the locality in which the Indian tribe hap-

pens to be located; we have no right to require Dakota to provide for the education of the Sioux, or New Mexico for the education of the Apache. We have steadily pressed the Indian tribes westward, and they no longer trouble the New England, nor the Middle, nor even the Western States; the burden that belongs properly to the entire country has been put upon the scattered populations of the far West. It is wholly inequitable that we of the East should philanthropically demand that the Indians be educated, and drop a dime or a quarter now and then into the church plate toward their education, while we leave the few of our fellow-citizens who are struggling with the problems of a pioneer life to choose between enduring the intolerable burden of a great ignorant and vagrant population, or to shoulder the almost equally intolerable burden of educating them out of their vagrancy and pauperism. There is as little reason for throwing this burden upon the churches. The Christian churches of America have all that they can do to fulfill the duty definitely laid upon them of preaching the Gospel to the heathen of their own and other lands, and of teaching what obligations that Gospel imposes on their own congregations. If the Government were poor and the churches were rich, it might be asked of the churches that they should assume the burden of educating the Indian children of the continent. But it is the churches who are relatively poor, while the Government is so rich that it is racked by political debate from one end to the other over the question what it shall do with its surplus. The education of the wards of the nation is a duty imposed upon the nation itself. I do not stop here to dwell upon the fact that it owes, upon solemn treaty obligations, thousands of dollars promised to Indian tribes for schools never established and teachers never commissioned; nor upon the other fact that it will soon have in its hands, from the sale of Indian lands, millions of dollars belonging to the Indian tribes, and with no possible way of expenditure so advantageous to them as the way of education. If we had no Indian lands out of which to reimburse ourselves, if we had not made sacred treaties only to break them, it would still remain true that it is the duty of the nation, out of its abundant wealth,—wealth produced by the lands where these Indians once roamed in savage freedom,—to provide the means necessary to enable those same Indians to adjust themselves to the conditions of civilized life. Nor is this a problem of proportions so vast that the country cannot venture to enter upon it. The entire population of Indian children between the ages of six and sixteen is estimated at less than fifty thousand. An adequate, continuous, systematic education of fifty thousand pupils for less than half a century would solve the Indian problem. It would not be costly. Schools are less expensive than war. It costs less to educate an Indian than it does to shoot him. A long and costly experience demonstrated that fact.

2. The education thus to be afforded must not merely be offered as a gift; it must be imposed by superior authority as a requirement. In other words, the education of Indian children must be made compulsory. It is a great mistake to suppose that the red man is hungering for the white man's culture, eager to take it if it is offered to him. The ignorant are never hungry for education, nor the vicious for morality, nor barbarism for civilization; educators have

to create the appetite as well as to furnish the food. The right of Government to interfere between parent and child must indeed be exercised with the greatest caution; the parental right is the most sacred of all rights; but a barbaric father has no right to keep his child in barbarism, nor an ignorant father to keep his child in ignorance. There may be difficulty in compelling the children of Indians to attend the white man's school, but there need be no question of the right to compel such attendance; and in this, as in so many other cases, when there is a will there will without difficulty be found a way.

3. In organizing such a system of education as I am trying to outline before you, the Government should assume the entire charge of all primary education. As fast as possible contract schools should be passed over either to the entire control of the Government, which maintains them, or to the entire maintenance of the church or society which controls them. It is absolutely right that the Government should administer all the moneys which the Government appropriates. There is only one form of contract school which is legitimate in any permanent or well-organized system of education; it is that in which the school is wholly administered and controlled by private enterprise, and the Government sends pupils to it and pays for their tuition as any other patron might do. In assuming this work of primary education, the Government should assume to give all that is necessary to equip the Indian child for civilized life. It should teach him the English language. While the Government was wholly wrong in assuming to prohibit individual societies and churches from teaching what doctrine they pleased in what language they chose, so long as they paid the expenses out of their own pockets, it was wholly right in refusing to spend a dollar of the people's money to educate a pagan population in a foreign tongue. The impalpable walls of language are more impenetrable than walls of stone. It would be in vain to destroy the imaginary line which surrounds the reservation if we leave the Indian hedged about by an ignorance of the language of his neighbors; this would be to convert him from the gypsy isolated into a gypsy of the neighborhood. The Government should teach him so much of arithmetic and of the arts and sciences as will enable him to enter on the struggle of American life with at least a fair chance of tolerable success; it should teach him methods of industry as well as forms of expression; and it should also teach him those great fundamental ethical principles, without which society is impossible and the social organism goes to wreck. Nor must it be forgotten that forms of industry, principles of right and wrong, and language itself, which are picked up unconsciously by the white boy in his home, must needs be taught deliberately and with set purpose to the Indian boy, who has picked up only the use of the tomahawk, the ethics of the camp fire, and the vernacular of his own tribe.

4. If the Government were at once to assume the entire work of educating the Indian children of school age in the United States, and of compelling them to attend the schools, and of furnishing them therewith sufficient knowledge of the English language, the methods of industry and the moral laws to fit them for civilized life, the churches, released from a burden which never ought to have been laid upon them, could bend their energies to the twofold work of the

higher ethical and the spiritual culture of the Indians, and for the establishment of normal schools, where Indian teachers might be prepared to become the educators of their own people. No race is truly educated until it is taught to be self-educative. If Hampton and Carlisle were left free to devote their energies to educating men and women to become, in turn, educators of their own people; if no men and women were sent to them except with that purpose in view, and no more than could be profitably furnished employment as Indian educators, either in the schoolroom, or in the shop, or on the farm; if everywhere the Christian churches could devote their educational labors, as they are now doing in the South, to educating educators,—the relations between the churches and the Government would be made harmonious, and the problem of religious education, if not absolutely solved, would be greatly simplified. Religion is, after all, a matter of personal influence more than of catechetical instruction. If the Government will come to the churches for Christian teachers, the churches may well agree to leave the catechisms out of the schools in which those Christian teachers do their work.

5. There is a universal agreement among all friends of the Indian, among all who are trying to promote his education, among all who are endeavoring to transform him from a burden borne to a useful member of society, that the Indian schools should be taken out of politics. There is only one way to take them out of politics; namely, by making the head of the school system non-political. So long as the Bureau is a part of a political machine, and the schools are a part of the Bureau, so long the schools will be a part of a political machine; and so I come to the fifth, last, but fundamental proposition of this entire scheme. It is, that the President appoint a non-political commission, who shall be authorized to organize and direct a new educational system; that the money for that system be appropriated in the lump by Congress to that educational commission; and that the appointment of teachers, the organization of schools, and the maintenance of the entire system, be placed under its direction and control, freed from the entanglements involved, on the one hand by connection with an administrative bureau, on the other hand by the necessity of securing influence in the House of Representatives for needful appropriations.

One objection to this plan I venture to anticipate,—the objection brought to all new plans: "It is impracticable." My answer to that objection now, and always is, Whatever ought to be done can be done. But I do not believe that this plan is impracticable. It would have the support of the people of the far West, because it would take from them a burden which never ought to have been laid upon them—the burden of transforming hereditary barbarians and paupers into intelligent self-supporting and valuable members of society; it would have the support of philanthropists of the East, because it would promise to remove from National politics a disturbing element, from the National escutcheon a black stain, and from National life a plague-spot; it would have the support of the press, which is always able in a fair fight and an open field to defeat the politicians; it would have the support of the National conscience, which in American history has never failed to win when it has been educated and aroused. Three years ago we assembled at lake Mohonk to discuss the Indian

question. We agreed, after much patient, though warm debate, that the reservation system should be abolished, the Indians given their lands in severalty, the unallotted land opened to actual settlers, and the country consecrated to civilization from ocean to ocean. We were told then that this was impracticable. But the press adopted the Lake Mohonk platform, and Congress and the Administration followed the leadership of the press and the Conference. The land problem is solved. If this fall the friends of the Indian assembled at Lake Mohonk can agree upon an educational system as absolutely just as the land reform on which they then agreed, they can depend with equal assurance on the press and the public conscience for their allies, and on the ultimate, and I believe the speedy, acceptance of their conclusions by Congress and the Executive.

DISCUSSION ON EDUCATION.

Col. L. E. Dudley, of Boston, was invited to open the discussion.

COL. L. E. DUDLEY: It is more than twelve years since I was actively engaged in the Indian service, and during these years my attention has been given to other subjects. I entered the Indian service just after General Grant's Peace Policy had been inaugurated. All the friends of the Indians ought to render thanks for the initiation of that Policy. Things were in a chaotic condition, and it was almost impossible for those who were struggling for improvement in the management of Indian affairs to get a response anywhere throughout the country. If General Howard, when he first interested himself to go out among the Apaches and bring those Indians in upon the reservation, had had the Mohonk Conference behind him, the results would have been better. If all the officers of that time had had the same support we should have made better records than we did. In regard to this educational problem which Dr. Abbott has presented, it seems to me that he has about exhausted the subject, and that there is little to be said in criticism of his position. I, for one, hope that it will be made the platform of this Conference, and that it will be sent out to the country as the method which the friends of the Indians desire to have adopted in regard to the education of this people who have lived so long in their savage condition within the boundaries of the country. It is a disgrace to our race that we have not made more progress in the education and civilization of the Indian. I have often felt that if I were an Indian, I should be a much worse one than any we have, under the provocation which they have received. During my service in the South-West I was often obliged to investigate the difficulties which had occurred between the settlers and the Indians. I always found that the white man's side of the case was presented and printed in the newspapers; and I usually found that an Indian outrage was the result of prior outrages on the part of the whites. Let me give you a single case that I investigated. A band of men were trapping beavers on the Gila River. One of these companies had secured a large number of skins, and they went down into Sonora to sell them. While there the Governor of Sonora said to them that he would give them an ounce of silver for every Apache scalp. They bought a Gatling gun, and concealed it. Then they sent out word to the Apaches of that vicinity that they would give

them a feast. The Apaches came. They turned over some cattle to the Indians, who killed them for the feast; and while they were gorging themselves this gun was opened upon them, and many were killed. A few days later the survivors and their friends assembled and fell upon another camp of white people, perhaps twenty-five miles away. You in the East heard all about the murder of these white trappers. You heard very little, if anything, about the murders that preceded. This only by way of illustrating the treatment which the Indians have received at the hands of the whites.

I hope that this educational plan will be indorsed by the country, and will be put into practice. I do not doubt that the influence that will go out from here will help to its adoption by Congress. When I was in Arizona I remember the efforts made to instruct the Indians. For twenty years the Government had appropriated five thousand dollars annually for the education of the Pueblo Indians. Being of an inquiring disposition I thought I would like to see the fruits of this hundred thousand dollars, and I called for reports. I found that the money had gone into the hands of the Roman Catholic priests. The report said that fifty-nine Indians had been educated in these schools supported by the Government. I then asked to see some of these fifty-nine educated Indians. I found the most that any one could do was to read a few sentences in a Spanish catechism; not one of them could read any English, and they knew nothing about arithmetic. I made an effort to have the English language taught for five days in the week, and to exclude the religious element entirely from these schools. I began to employ teachers, and took this money away from the priests to pay for secular education; but I found myself in the hardest fight I have ever yet been in.

The old system was not a good one, and I am glad to know that there is progress. But as Dr. Abbott says, we need a comprehensive system, that shall be inclusive, and that shall be so organized that it will go on like clock-work, to accomplish the civilization of all the Indians.

DR. ELLINWOOD: There are two or three points in Dr. Abbott's paper with reference to which I have some doubt. It was stated very properly that the Government ought to assume this entire work of Indian education; that it ought to adopt as broad and comprehensive a system for the children of the Indian as for the other children of the country. With all that I agree. It was added, however, if I heard rightly, that the churches had no right to engage in this educational work, except so far as it should be neglected by Government. To this I should demur. I do not believe that any barrier should be raised against Christian schools. The work of teaching that has been done by the churches comprises a chief part of all that has been done for the actual civilization and uplifting of these Indians. I did not quite understand Dr. Abbott as to just what the churches might do. As I understood him, it was purely religious instruction that might be given. But if the missionaries confine themselves to Sunday-school work and chance religious instruction, what can they hope to accomplish? Unless they can control the children during the week, they cannot mould them. There is little analogy between this case and that of our common-school instruction. White children have more or less religious influence in their own homes. The

Indians have nothing of this kind. Missionary societies can do nothing with Indian children unless they can control their whole time. An order has been issued that all pupils must be claimed for the Government schools until they are full. This even applies to children who have been under the charge of the missionaries for years.

With regard to contract schools, I am not prepared to take the ground that Dr. Abbott advocates. I believe there are evils connected with them; but the missionary boards are not able, on any large scale, to establish boarding schools of from twenty to one hundred pupils each, and feed, and clothe, and shelter, without aid. There are hundreds of thousands of dollars belonging to the Indians in the charge of the Government for just such uses. Why should these funds lie unused while the whole burden is laid on the charity of Christian people? It is only just that a certain governmental stipend should be given, and it is only with such help that so great a work can be done. This is the enlightened policy which has been adopted in India, and certainly there is a stronger claim here. I once saw in Lahore fifteen hundred children under the care of one missionary. That involved an immense expenditure. Do you suppose that a missionary board could have footed the whole bill for boarding such a number? As to results, it is the frank, honest confession of those who are in a position to know, that altogether the best educational work among the natives of India has been done through the missionary organizations with Government aid.

With regard to the last point named in the paper, viz., the lifting of this entire work out of politics, it does not seem to me feasible. There are a thousand eager, grasping hands that will hang on to this educational interest for the very purpose of making an efficient political machine. I do not expect to live long enough to see the governmental education of Indians lifted out of politics. And for just that reason I feel it is the most urgent duty of this Conference to promote religious education. While other schemes are discussed and delayed, and little is accomplished, I believe that the chief hope of Indian education lies with the mission schools, and I think that this Conference, instead of weakening that hope, should emphasize it. While I do not think that the education that the Catholics have given is all that it should be, nevertheless I should encourage the idea that Catholics, as well as Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Episcopalians, and Friends, should be encouraged to push forward their work. Let the Government generously aid them all, and then in addition do as much as possible in its own way.

In regard to the vernacular, I agree with Dr. Abbott that we should push the English language; but it does not meet every case. Take the Dakotas, for example. Probably not more than one fifth of them are in school, or ever will be. There is a large uneducated adult population. If you close the Dakota Bible, you absolutely rear a wall between all that adult population and the knowledge of Christ and his salvation. The little boy who has learned to read the Dakota Bible in the school, can carry it home and read the story of the cross to his parents and older brothers and sisters; but with only an English Bible he could not reach them. While I agree that it is necessary to urge English as the great medium of civilization, I believe the vernacular should be used where, in the judgment of the missionaries, it is the

only medium of communicating the knowledge of Christ to those who will never go to school, and who can only be reached by their own children.

On motion of Mr. Smiley, it was voted that hereafter the speakers in discussion should be limited to ten minutes.

MR. SMILEY: Dr. Abbott has outlined a scheme for the education of the Indian. One of his points is that the appropriations should be made in a lump, and that they should be continued for many years. But one Congress cannot appropriate money for another. You cannot make an appropriation for twenty years ahead. Possibly a trust fund could be created, the interest of which could be applied to this purpose, but one Congress cannot pledge appropriations for another.

GEN. CHARLES H. HOWARD: We cannot enter into details in regard to the proposed system. We must direct our energy toward the one great point that *some* system must be adopted by the Government. During the four years that I was Indian Inspector I officially inspected twenty-three reservations, and visited many more, and I agree with Dr. Abbott that nothing is being done by the Government; that is, there is nothing done systematically. We must urge upon Congress the necessity of devising some wise means of education, and leave to it the specific plans. There is no standard for the qualification of teachers. There is not a town school in America but has some standard. The teacher must be examined by some one. Nobody examines any of these teachers for the Indians. Another indication of the lack of system is the fact that absolutely no provision is made to educate the greater number of these children. In the Navajo tribe there are four thousand children. Government has made provision for only sixty. The provision is so slight that one may as well say there is no provision for these four thousand children. Take the great Sioux nation, and almost the same is true. The provision made for the education of Indian children is only a drop in the bucket. I can most heartily support any system which will cover the whole field and will provide adequate teachers. But nothing should be done that will repress Christian work and a Christian education. I do not think Dr. Abbott meant to do that. I understood him to except the practice of the Government in giving a certain amount for the education of each Indian child in the missionary schools. The best practical work that has been done in the last twenty years, has been done by the Christian churches.

MISS MARY C. COLLINS, of Standing Rock: The subject of teaching in the vernacular comes very close to me, because my work has been done mostly in the vernacular, though we have also taught English. To reach the hearts of the people, we must reach them through the tongue they can understand. We can teach a child Bible truths which he can carry home and read to his father and mother, when they could not understand an English Bible. We feel that the Government has been unjust to us in this respect. I do not think there is an English-speaking person within twenty miles of my home except our own native teacher. When we opened our school last fall we had fifty or sixty children. There was no Government school within twenty miles. Our teacher was ready for the children, and they were ready for him. But the President said, No; the

teacher must go home (he could not teach English). What were we to do? I was the only one who could teach English, but I had work enough to do outside. I could not, however, see them go back without some effort for them, and I did teach three hours a day, though it stretched my other work out from five in the morning till ten at night.

In regard to the matter of land in severalty, we must go slowly. You ask Indians who have always banded together, and who are related, to separate and divide their reservation. That is enough at one time. Then you ask them to take land in severalty. That is another great question. Next you ask them to become citizens. They do not know what that means. You are going too rapidly. When the Commissioners came to Standing Rock this bill was read to them. I sat beside Captain Pratt, Mr. Cleveland, and the others, and heard the whole conference. I heard the response of the Indians. I heard John Grass go back over the treaty of 1868, and detail all the parts that had been kept, and those that had not. And when some one suggested that it was strange that he should be so familiar with it, since he had not it in writing, he replied, "I have all of it in my heart." Then he asked the Commissioners to go back to Washington and say they would like to have all the old matters straightened out before trying any new ones. When they were asked to sign the papers, one of which was red and the other black, one implying yes, and the other no, one man said: "We do not understand you people, you have cheated us so often. If we sign a red paper, how do we know but when it gets to Washington it may be black?" People must remember that Indians can reason. You cannot treat them as one great nation. You must remember that we are dealing with men and women; and whenever the people of the East realize that fact, there will be no difficulty in civilizing the Indian. I think the plan of giving land in severalty is good, but we shall never civilize the Indian by legislation or Government schools alone. A man may be a teacher in them without giving evidence of good moral character. He may not even be able to talk English so that you or I would understand him. Many of the teachers use so much slang in teaching English, that the Indian children use it, thinking they are speaking good English. It has been said that education without religion makes men clever devils. That is especially true of the Indians. We cannot take away their old superstitions and give them nothing in their place, without leaving the people in a worse condition than we found them.

REV. CHAS. S. SHELTON: I want to reiterate Miss Collins' statement. After eight years' experience with the Indians, I would rather leave them in their heathenism than give them a secular education omitting entirely the religious training. We are dealing with men who think, and with men who have souls; and in this whole matter of education we must remember that we are dealing with immortal destinies. When you exclude from secular education the religious element, you have excluded every element that could guarantee permanent success.

In closing, Mr. Shelton related several instances showing the effects of the order preventing the return of pupils to mission schools, if there was a Government school on the reservation. The pupils,

he said, are pleading in vain that they may go back and finish the work that they have begun. He hoped that the Conference would put into its platform a plank as strong as that of last year, protesting against the interference of Government with strictly religious work among our American Indians.

MRS. A. S. QUINTON: Three thoughts come to me so strongly that I must utter them. The first is the fact, so clearly illustrated by the testimonies of these missionaries from the field, that the Indian, now in his savage state even, is of much more value as a man than we have been accustomed to think. I was not long among Indians, and did not visit more than half a dozen tribes; but one need not stay more than five days at any point among them to see and feel the fact that the life-round of hoping and fearing, loving and hating, rejoicing and weeping, has wrought in these wild people that which we call experience, and which makes character, and they deserve to be treated like men and women, and not like unthinking, irresponsible barbarians. Sentiment should be made, and a great deal of it, in this direction. My second thought is, that in these times of transition and experiment with the race, we should all, as friends and workers, be very guarded as to saying or doing aught to lessen in anywise the practical work being done for any tribe, school, or station. We need to go forward toward the ideal justice, and yet should avoid the great danger that in so doing we lose any present practical helps or any wise zeal. All that is now being done is imperatively needed, and should be kept. The third thought is, that it is always practicable to ask for what is right, and that now is the time to ask the great thing needed. We all recognize that that one all-important and all-including thing is to get the Indian out of politics; and why not now ask that not merely Indian education, but that Indian affairs be put into the hands of a commission of upright Christian men, known to be practical, wise friends of that race, and ask that power be given them to use Indian funds for the education, civilization, and elevation of the race. If this could be gained, details would settle themselves, ways would be found. The finances could be referred to the Court of Equity, or the Court of Claims, or somehow be managed. I know this will seem Quixotic to many, but *the thing that is right can be done*, as Dr. Abbott has said, and I felt like shouting when he said it. I have just come from the London Missionary Conference, and there testimonies were given from all quarters of the world of wonderful, seemingly impossible, things done to meet the needs of God's work. The impossible can be done in that work. Daniel and the three Hebrew children were not in very practicable situations, yet they were a success, because in the right. Israel at the Red Sea seemed in a hopeless case, and yet they had to be carried through it, and God did it for them. We have asked half-measures for a long time. For ten years I have worked constantly on Indian behalf, and now feel like dropping old petitions, and asking hereafter of Government the one thing needed; namely, that somehow the Indian be gotten practically out of politics. That is the *right* thing to do, and therefore it *can* be done; for the right is God's way, and all his machinery is pledged to securing the right.

REV. DR. KENDALL, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions: I want to thank Dr. Abbott for his paper. At a proper

time I hope it may be referred to a committee, and ultimately presented for adoption by this Conference. A discussion of the ideal is helpful in an examination of the actual and the probable.

As to *contract schools*, I am ready to say that if Dr. Abbott knew as much about them as I do, he might say a great deal more against them than he has. And if he knew as much about them as I do, he would be more in favor of them than he is. Many a time I have sat down with Commissioner Price, and he would ask, "How much can your church do? If you can build the house or furnish the teachers, we can give you a grant of so much for each scholar." That helped us, and it helped him. I think it will be a good while before we reach the point which Dr. Abbott suggests. Meanwhile, I am ready to join him in pushing for it. But let us not wholly forget what has been done. The contract system is not perfect, but it has done a great deal of good, and I do not think we are in a condition to let go of it yet. It will be easier to abandon it when we get land in severalty for the Indians, and they are located in permanent homes. While Dr. Abbott is doing the best he can to aid us,—God bless him and all others laboring in that way,—let us not throw away the things that have been helping us so far till the proper time comes. If a man has had a broken leg, don't tell him to throw away his crutches too soon.

MR. AUSTIN ABBOTT: The incidents that have been mentioned in connection with the history of Indian education, suggest to me the thought that it may perhaps be well to add one proposition to the theses which have been put before you. It is this: that in the United States of America you cannot have even the beginnings of citizenship without the whole of religious liberty. The Indians have been brought to a turning-point in this respect. They now live without the guarantees of religious liberty. A system has been adopted which is introducing into American citizenship men here and there throughout these reservations, and the proposition which I would like to have recognized in reference to them is, that the beginning of American citizenship necessarily involves and implies the whole of religious liberty. That includes personal liberty to come, to go, to speak, to learn, for the purposes of worship. Whatever personal liberty is required for this purpose is involved in its entirety by the simplest beginning of American citizenship. I would like to have that proposition considered as a buttress for the theses which have been laid before you, for I believe it to be a sound constitutional and legal position.

PROFESSOR PAINTER: I think it is well not to take away the crutches too soon from a man with a broken leg, as Dr. Kendall says; but I think it also a mistake not to distinguish between millstones round the neck and crutches. There is no doubt that something, that much, has been done in the way of Indian education, in spite of the lack of system. When you have good men and women at work they will do something, in spite of obstacles; and there have been many such in this work. But it has been in spite of obstacles, and I think it is time they should be taken away. The whole system under which the Indian has been placed has been an absolute despotism, the most absolute on this earth. A few months ago eight Indians up in Minnesota were put in jail. Why? Because they were off from their reservation without permission from the agent—driving

logs, and getting a dollar and a half a day. This summer I visited the Cherokees in North Carolina. They had got mixed up, Mr. Atkins said, in politics. The Bureau had sent a man down to investigate,—a young clerk in the Department. He called the Indians together in council, and said: "All in favor of the Quakers having charge of this school will rise up." Every Indian but one got up. He took that one Indian out and held a "bush council" with him, came back, and made his report on the basis of that one man's opposition to the Quaker management. The contract for the new year was refused to Mr. Spray, who then had it, but was made with Mr. Hobbs, of Indiana, who had the contract for the day schools. Mr. Hobbs continued Mr. Spray as Superintendent, with his corps of teachers, and the year opened most favorably. Mr. Hobbs, who had his work to look after in Indiana, was telegraphed by Mr. Upshaw that he must go to North Carolina, dismiss Spray, and take charge of the school, or his contract would be canceled. Mr. Hobbs found that the dismissal of Spray would involve the loss of the teaching force, and the utter breaking up of the school, as all the pupils would also leave. He telegraphed Mr. Upshaw that he would have to cancel his contract. Mr. Upshaw telegraphed the agent to take possession of the school property, and send teachers and pupils home. Fortunately the agent, when he came to take in fully the situation, found it so unwise, in fact impracticable, to carry out the order, that he telegraphed for permission to suspend it, and finally secured its revocation.

This is only one of many cases which might be given illustrative of the kind of system under which not alone the educational, but every interest of the Indian is placed. I freely concede that we do, after all, make some hopeful progress. Every man who has made himself acquainted with the work of Indian civilization knows that we do get forward with it somewhat; but the inference to be drawn from this fact is not that this miserable makeshift, no-plan should be continued, but that a system, wise and efficient, should at once come into use. We, in this Conference, have made progress in our views. The radicalism of last year is the conservatism of this year. We make progress, and I think we drag the public a little along our path of advance. I believe fully in the views presented by Dr. Abbott. They were the views I presented myself last year, only I went further. I would put every interest of the Indian into the hands of such a commission. I see nothing impracticable or impossible in it. We must simply take the course that will present the least difficulties. When a system is wrong, all abuses possible grow up under it. Get a good system, and there is a possibility of working it well. There may be some friction, but there is no possibility of working "no system." As to what can be done, we do not know. A pupil of Mark Hopkins, in the days when the use of the telegraph was just begun, said to the professor one day, "I hear that Morse has sent a message from Washington to Annapolis." Dr. Hopkins replied, "It is possible that may sometime be done, but neither you nor I will ever live to see it done." Dr. Hopkins thought that man's memory was too good when he reminded him of this some time ago. This ideal presented by Dr. Abbott is not impossible of realization, and we must work in that direction. General Armstrong well said last

year, "It is our business to do impossible things." Congress finds a way to do things when the American people demand they shall be done.

HON. SETH LOW: I have no right to speak on this subject by reason of any special knowledge, but only by reason of general interest in it. There was one point in Dr. Abbott's paper which commended itself highly to me, and which seems in the discussion to have been somewhat overlooked. He stated that the Indian problem was three problems—land, law, and education. That is a convenient way of presenting to our minds the different parts of what I conceive to be only one problem. I suppose if anything in the world is certain, it is that the red man's civilization will disappear before the white man's civilization, because, of the two, it is inferior. The Indian problem, in its fundamental aspect, is, then, Must the red man disappear with his civilization? Is it possible that in Christian times the Indians themselves have got to disappear with their inferior civilization? I think we can say certainly that unless we can incorporate the red man into the white man's civilization, he will disappear. Therefore, the one question behind the land question, behind the education question, and the law question, is, How can we fit the red man for our civilization? What, then, is the fundamental aspect of the white man's civilization as opposed to the red man's? It is individual relation to law in place of tribal, individual duty toward law, and individual protection by law. That is why we want land in severalty. That is what is at the basis of the question in its legal aspect, and that is what is at the foundation of the educational question. We cannot give a wild man the civilized man's relation to law. We have got to train him and fit him for it by the slow process of education. Therefore, behind all these divisions is the question, How can we make the individual red man a member of the white man's civilization? I like Dr. Abbott's suggestion of a complete educational system, for it seems in harmony with our American methods. His first point was this: that the Indian must look to the General Government; or, rather, that the General Government, and not the State, must educate the Indian, for reasons that are apparent.

Now, the United States Government, as such, has nothing to do with education, but in all our States we have the common school system. The State devolves that duty upon every locality, and in every city we have, as in Brooklyn, a Board of Education. As I understood Dr. Abbott's suggestion for taking Indian education out of politics, it was simply that the United States should establish a Board of Indian Education. That is what it comes to; and to that Board should be handed the money to be expended for educational purposes, precisely as we give the control of educational appropriations to our Boards of Education in cities. This would not take it wholly out of politics; but in Brooklyn and in almost every city the appointment of a teacher is practically a life appointment, and all that we have to do to improve the schools is to secure public sentiment in that direction. We have recently established training schools, and no one can be appointed a teacher in Brooklyn without passing an honest examination. That has been brought about by public sentiment. It is perfectly reasonable to believe that the United States Government might appoint a Board of Education for the Indians which should serve

them as well as the Board of Education serves in our cities, and probably better, because the larger the constituency from which men are selected, the better, as a rule, is the quality of the individuals to whom the trust is committed; and in such a work the result depends largely upon the efficiency of the men who have charge of it. I do not see any reason why, if that system were adopted by the General Government in place of the no-system which has been described here to-day, religious schools and private schools might not be carried on among the Indians as successfully as in our cities. We have a compulsory education law in New York, but that does not prevent people from sending their children to parochial schools. The State is satisfied if they go to school a certain number of hours in a year. I do not see why the two institutions cannot work as satisfactorily among the Indians as among the whites. All that Dr. Abbott asks is that which is familiar to Americans in every town in the Union. It seems to me the most natural solution of the problem, and that it will commend itself, as it comes to be understood, in all parts of the country.

JUDGE A. S. DRAPER: I know nothing of the Indian problem of the West except what I have learned in this Conference and in current literature. I do know, however, something of the local Indian problem. I followed Dr. Abbott very carefully, because of my large interest in this important question. I was not only gratified, but, I will add, agreeably surprised at the fullness of the plan projected. I want to put two questions to Dr. Abbott before discussion is closed, however. I noted his different propositions as he went along, and I can subscribe to every one of them. I think the plan well rounded out. Incidentally he dropped the remark that the normal work should be left to the Church. I ask, Why? Again, he says that Indian education, to be effectual, should be compulsory. I go further. I do not believe that you will make any substantial progress until you not only make Indian education compulsory, but go on and gather the Indian children into institutions where you keep them not six hours, but twenty-four hours a day; where you can wash, and clothe, and comb, and discipline, and teach them. The whole tendency of the tribal organization is against education. The chiefs and the parents are against it. When an Indian chief becomes Christianized, off goes his head. He ceases to be, and they put a good reliable pagan in as chief. Our governmental theory is that these people constitute independent nationalities. We treat with them as sovereign peoples. My second question, therefore, is, How are you going to *compel* the children of a sovereign and independent nationality to come into our schools? I find no difficulty whatever in the suggestion that the religious and secular education of these people should be entirely separate. That is a cardinal doctrine in our American life. But to say that the churches shall not manage the secular schools, is by no means to say that religious work shall cease. One suggestion that Dr. Abbott made has been criticised; that is, that this whole work should be taken out of the hands of politicians. Other things being equal, I think the man who knows something about politics will accomplish more in a given period of time than the fellow who knows nothing about public affairs. It is right that there should be a non-sectarian management of Indian schools, and that the officers in the Indian service should not change with the national

administration, just as it is entirely reasonable, and sound, and right that there should be a non-sectarian and non-partisan management of our public schools. But it is not at all essential that this management should be in the hands of ministers and deacons in order that it may go on satisfactorily. But I will return to my question, and ask Dr. Abbott, first, Why he would hand the normal work over to the churches? and second, How he is going to compel a sovereign people to attend our schools?

On motion, it was voted that Dr. Abbott's paper should be referred to a committee of three, to formulate some propositions derived therefrom, for the consideration of the Conference. The committee consisted of Dr. Kendall, Dr. Strieby, and Prof. Painter.

Adjourned.

SECOND SESSION.

TESTIMONIAL TO MR. AND MRS. A. K. SMILEY. EDUCATION FOR THE INDIAN (CONTINUED).

WEDNESDAY NIGHT, SEPTEMBER 26.

THE Conference met at 7.30 P. M., General Fisk in the chair.

GENERAL FISK: Ladies and Gentlemen of the Mohonk Conference: The regular order of our business, by common consent, is for a few moments suspended, that we may take into our special confidential thought and speech our host and hostess, our much loved and honored friends, Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley. Six times in succession in the autumnal months of the passing years the gates of Mountain Lake Park and the portals of this matchless mountain home have swung wide open for the coming and hearty welcoming of the members of the Mohonk Conference. Hither, upon the invitation of these generous hearts to generous hospitality, have annually thronged the best friends of the driven and scattered Indians within the limits of the American Union. From Mohonk have gone out the most potent influences that have moved national legislation and national administration in Indian affairs.

A score of years ago that marvelous man and greatest soldier of the century, whose lifted sword and waving crest led us to victory and a saved Union, was summoned by the nation as a fit successor of Washington and Lincoln to guide our affairs of state. His thorough knowledge of every public interest led him among the first thoughts of his administration to carefully consider how best to promote the welfare of our long wronged, continually outraged brothers in red, who had been driven before the surging tide of civilization as it rolled onward from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and were even then turning backward, hither and thither, wherever, in mountain fastness or on the wide sweep of the prairie, might be found freedom from the white man's greed.

General Grant initiated a new order of things in Indian affairs. "Let us have peace," said the great soldier, "and no more war with our Indian tribes." The chief educational force leading up to this happy beginning had been the constant, uninterrupted pleadings of the Societies of Friends, whose hearts had been beating in sympathy with the wronged Indians through all the "century of dishonor." General Grant gave prompt heed to their earnest personal appeals to him, and inaugurated what was, and yet is, the "peace policy" in our relations to the Indians. Honorable dealing set aside the fraudulent methods long established. Fair play became the watchword. Homes,

civilization, schools, and Christian churches began to take the place of the hunt, the camp-fire, the old superstitions and paganism. This was termed the Quaker policy, both by those who recognized their good, strong hand in the movement, as well as by those who scoffed and held up the new order of things to derision; but the Quakers continued their good work "as the spirit moved them," their zeal increasing as the cry against their policy from scheming land-grabbers and disappointed Government contractors grew louder. A Quaker in the calm, smooth pathway of duty is a Quaker, but when once aroused by the cry of the slave or the victims of injustice, then the Quaker becomes an *earth-quaker*, and shakes the very foundations of evil. The Quaker is frank, bold, and truthful. He believes there is no bondage so abject as the fear to speak the truth; that

"They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the *truth* they needs must think."

Faithful among the most faithful to the American Indian have been these dear *Friends*, Albert and Eliza Smiley, heads of the Mohonk band of the Shongum tribe,—our hearty, happy host and hostess.

Those are sincere words of thanks we here speak from year to year in grateful acknowledgment of their generous deeds, which will be remembered while time with us endures. It has seemed wise and kindly to these your honored and grateful guests now present, as also to many others whose convenience would not permit them to be present at this session of the Conference, that there should go from them to *thee* and *thine* some enduring testimonial of their regard for you; something upon which you can look in the coming years, and upon which those who come after you may look, and behold a token, though slight, of the large place you had in the hearts of the noble men and nobler women you have summoned to the Mohonk Conference. We bring this beautiful gift in bronze, this representation of the great Indian chief Sagonaquado, who in his time was the soul of honor.

On the shores of Lake Michigan, near what is called Squaw Bay, where Deep River enters the lake, there was living, many years ago, a company of Indians, near the white people. The chief of the Indians was one of the most honorable of all men. He was a pattern of excellence in the community. This chief, Sagonaquado, was the father of twin boys, who resembled each other as much as do the twins of Mohonk and Minnewaska. These boys, one autumn day, kindled a fire that destroyed a single haystack belonging to a white neighbor. Sagonaquado saw the destruction. He was a poor man, but he went straightway to his white neighbor, and said, "I have no herdsgrass, I have no maize, but we are at fault, and we must pay the damages." The kind neighbor said, "Not at all, Sagonaquado. I have a boy myself, and boys will be boys. Let it all be forgotten, as it shall be forgiven." "Not so," said Sagonaquado; "you must take an installment of the best I have." And he threw down his coon-skin and his bear-skin, and said, "Take these." The white man protested, but in vain. The chief went away. Six months he was gone. In the following March he came back laden with furs of the richest

kind. He went directly to the white man's house, and said, "I have come to pay my debt." "No," said the white neighbor; "I can take nothing more from you." The chief straightened up with dignity, and said, "I am a man!" threw down his peltry, and strode away to his cabin, a satisfied, honest man. Our artist, in preparing this bust, has taken Sagonaquado at this moment where, lifting his stern face, he says, "I am a man!" So the artist, Mr. Theodore Bauer, has brought us this beautiful bronze bust of Sagonaquado, which we are to give to these our friends this evening. This beautiful poem has been placed in my hands, written by one who feels a great interest for the Indian.

A stack of herdsgrass, kindled and consumed,
Farmstead, and mill, and meadow land illumed;
A wan October sky once more flame-red,
Though hours ago its sunset fires were dead;
And Ossineke, mirroring the sky,
Like scarlet snake of discord struggles by.

Then, ere the east uprolls another day,
Two boys, the chief's twin sons, are fled away;
While in the misty twilight, tall and straight,
Chief 'Quado's self stands at the farmer's gate.
"My friend, the fault is ours; be ours the pain:
Name thou the price to make thee whole again."

The white man, half in doubt and half surprise,
Gazes a moment in the deep, dark eyes:
"Mishaps will happen. I, too, have a son;
And boys will still be boys when all is done.
Count this as naught; and, neighbor, as I live,
I straightway will forget as I forgive."

"Not so. No herdsgrass have I, and no maize,
But I will pay the worth ere many days.
Behold these pelts of beaver, coon, and bear,
Caught by my arrow and my cunning snare,
And soft down from the wild duck's breast of snow;
What count these 'gainst the ransom my sons owe?"

"If thou wilt have it so, so let it be;
And here's my hand upon it. Peace to thee!"
A six-month, and beneath the chill March moon,
Ere the snow-wind had piped its last lorn tune,
Again Chief 'Quado smote the white man's door:
"Behold, my friend, now will I wipe the score."

"Nay, nay! already is the past full paid. Why more?"
"I am a man," he simply said;
And from his back like load of furs he threw,
Cleft its stout willow-lashings, and withdrew.
In wonder looked the white man that March day:
Times change, but what have you and I to say?

Times change, and hunting seasons twice five-score
Have starved the fields of crop they ersttime bore;
Now smoking man-hives taint each wind that blows,
And poison Ossineke as it flows;
Now Christian spires o'ertop the tallest trees,
And steeds unhoofed outstrip the fleetest breeze.

Now they whose hearthstones lined each waterway
Have been thrust out, and pitifully stray
Like hunted wolves, till wolf-like they become,
Content to call the wilderness their home,
If maize, perchance, give up a sparse increase,
And they may light their fires and pipes of peace.

But what though we, unheeding, proud of heart,
Boast of God's bounty, and claim our full part—
Still lives the lightning from Chief 'Quado's eyes,
And, o'er the new world clamor, still arise
Echoes of these his words, dropt long ago:
"I am a man." Shall you or I say no?

The challenge rings; and, as God lives, the cry
Shall ne'er cease thundering through our western sky
Till every freeman seeks each other's weal,
And all have ears to hear, and hearts to feel,
And hands to make faith's ransom overweighed,
Even as Chief 'Quado did, till all be paid.

G. W. W. H.

The joy of this glad hour had its inspiration on a neighboring mountain-top, lower down on the Hudson; and there are many of us here present who can testify that our happiest St. Valentine's Day was in the summer days of '88.

Dear friends, to me has been assigned the pleasant duty, in behalf of these and other friends, of presenting to you this gift and a hearty "God bless you," and our earnest prayers that you two may be a long, long time walking happily together down the slopes of life's sunset to the shore of that peaceful sea, as you have together climbed up the hills of morning. God bless you!

MR. SMILEY: I am thoroughly taken by surprise. I do not think in my long life of sixty years I was ever so much surprised and delighted. I have no words to express my feelings. I always lack them when I most want them; but I must say that I do heartily thank you for this beautiful gift—a gift which I value more than anything I ever received, as expressing the appreciation of so many friends working in this good cause, of our humble efforts to advance it. In the six years that have passed, nothing has afforded so much pleasure to my wife and myself as the assembling together of the friends of the Indian. I inherited, and have always felt, an interest in the Indian; and when, nine years ago, the President, without my knowledge, put me on the Board of Indian Commissioners, it was just to my liking, and I did not decline. I think Mr. Barstow was responsible for my nomination. Since then I have had the opportunity to do what I have desired all my life—something toward the advancement of the Indian. And when the friends of the Indian gather here, it is the pleasantest part of the year to me. I hardly know what to say to you for this beautiful and most appropriate work of art. I do not know how you thought of it, and I heartily thank you for it for myself and in behalf of my wife.

MRS. SMILEY: I thought my husband was not going to mention me at all, and that I should have to thank you myself; but I do not think I could do it any better than he has done. It is a most beautiful and appropriate gift. I do love to have you come here year after year, and I am glad to have this to remind me of all the kind friends who are interested with us in the Indians.

The Conference was then called to order. On motion, it was Voted, That the address of General Fisk to Mr. and Mrs. Smiley should be engrossed and presented to them.

The committee to formulate the platform for the adoption of the Conference was announced (page 5).

On motion of Dr. Abbott, General Fisk was added to this committee.

On motion it was

Voted, That an Executive Committee for the ensuing year should be appointed.

The discussion of the morning papers was then resumed.

DISCUSSION ON INDIAN EDUCATION, CONTINUED.

DR. KENDALL: The Chairman of the Committee appointed to draw up resolutions resting on Dr. Abbott's paper asked Professor Painter to read those resolutions.

The following resolutions were then read:—

Resolved, That it is the duty of the General Government to make provision as ample for the education of its Indian wards, as the several States ought to make for the education of the children in the several States.

That in the discharge of this duty the unlimited co-operation of individuals and Christian organizations, in whatever manner and to whatever extent these may choose at their own charges to give assistance, should be allowed.

Resolved, That such educational work cannot be wisely or efficiently done by the Government until put under the care of a permanent and responsible head, and carried on under a wise system; neither of which is possible so long as this interest is under the care of the Indian Bureau, and affected by the success or failure of political parties.

Resolved, That there should be appointed by the President, under law, a commission, composed of three eminent educators, who shall serve without a salary, who shall have entire control of the education of such Indian children; and they shall appoint a superintendent or superintendents of schools, whose duty it shall be to appoint all teachers, disburse all available funds for such schools, and under the supervision of these commissioners, organize and put in operation an efficient system of schools for all such children.

Resolved, That all appropriations for such schools should, so far as practicable, be made in lump, subject to such use for books, school supplies, buildings, salaries for superintendents and teachers, as this commission and the superintendent or superintendents may deem best.

Resolved, Recognizing the fact that no merely secular training has been sufficient to lift any people up into a Christian civilization, and that all real and permanent progress achieved in the civilization of the American Indians is due to the missionary effort of the Christian churches; also believing that the General Government cannot wisely undertake the religious training of these Indian children,—we most earnestly urge the Christian churches of our country to put forth efforts persistent and sufficient to bring them under such religious influence as shall give value and permanence to this educational work.

PROFESSOR PAINTER then spoke as follows: These are the resolutions: I think they cover the whole ground of the paper. Personally, I would have the duties of this commission so enlarged as to include all efforts now made necessary by the new policy adopted in the Severalty Bill, to carry on the work of the several reservations. I would most assuredly put this interest specially spoken of by Dr. Abbott under the care of such a commission. An effort to carry on such work as this under a system which almost necessitates such frequent changes in the personnel of the force, and is liable to procure such appointments as are so frequently made, can never accomplish the work we are seeking to do. I have been at some pains to look into this matter, and the facts are most discouraging. From the report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools for the year closing the 30th of June, 1887, it appears that in the seventy boarding schools which

the Government is carrying on, there are some five hundred and twenty positions to be filled, and that there had been about eleven hundred and eighty appointees during the year to these positions. In some of these schools there had been as many as three different superintendents during the year. There were a great many changes in the principal teachers, changes in the matrons, and throughout the whole force. Now, I submit that that is utterly absurd. It is ridiculous for a Christian nation to undertake to do such work as this under such a want of method. If it were possible for me to show the character morally and educationally, and the consequent unfitness of many of these employees, the showing would be much worse. I would rather, in many cases, that the Indian should be left as he is than that his character should be to any extent shaped by some of these. No man can be acquainted with these facts and not feel very deeply that the time has come when the friends of the Indian should make a persistent, a determined, an unremitting effort to have a change made; and I think that the change indicated in the paper presented by Dr. Abbott is admirable. I see nothing impracticable in it, and I hope the Conference will unite in the essential points of this paper, and be ready to go before the country with the purpose to make a determined push in this direction.

REV. ADDISON P. FOSTER, D.D. : As I listened to the remarkably lucid and logical paper of Dr. Abbott, I felt that the only practical difficulty in it was with regard to the contract system. Dr. Abbott suggests that the whole contract system as it is now carried on in our different schools should be abolished. That means a great deal to the Association with which I am connected,—the American Missionary Association. One of our schools receives annually seventeen thousand dollars from Government, without which the efficiency of the school would be greatly crippled. Much the same is true of many mission schools. At the same time, we must look at the principles involved in this matter, and if right demands that the contract system be abolished, we should recommend it without regard to personal considerations. I happen to be living in Boston, in the midst of a conflict which has arisen over the question of parochial schools. The Catholics have lately organized a great number of these schools, establishing them in such numbers that it will be necessary to close some of our public schools. It was recently announced in the *Pilot* that there are twenty-three thousand children in the parochial schools in the arch-diocese of Boston alone. If this thing continues, it will result in the demand for a portion of the public money for the support of public schools. That brings us face to face with this contract system which is now under our consideration. The contract system in our Indian schools is to divide public moneys among the denominations. The plan of Dr. Abbott is that the public school system be introduced among the Indians, with such modifications as are made necessary by the fact that it is the national Government, and not the individual State, which is to carry on the work, and that every Indian child should receive an education in the primary department. The State must see that its children are educated; we all grant this. Then comes the further question, How shall it do this? Shall the State, as the Catholics would have us do, let each denomination take care of its own children, and look to public funds for help? We

say no ; let us have public schools ; let Government expend the moneys it has charge of for education itself ; let it not delegate its responsibilities to any denomination. But if we apply this principle to the education of Indians by Government, what shall we do with the contract system as it is to-day ? Have we a right to continue it ? Are we consistent in accepting Government aid in our denominational schools ? I say yes, so long as the Government fails to guarantee an education to every Indian child. When the Government does that, as the State does in providing public schools, it ought to withdraw contract aid from mission schools. Until it does that, we are justified in stepping in and saying to Government, " If you will not do for these children all you ought to do, at least help us in doing for them what we can." Unquestionably, however, we ought to work out from this contract system as soon as possible. We all know that the Roman Catholics have obtained a large portion of the public money paid out on the contract system for sustaining schools among the Indians. It is a fact that of the three hundred thousand dollars appropriated for contract schools, the Roman Catholics have obtained two thirds, while this same denomination sustains but two schools solely by its own benevolent gifts. The only protection from the rivalry of denominations, and the only defense against a *quasi* union of Church and State, is to have no aid to denominational schools afforded by Government. This principle is as sound in Dakota as it is in Boston. When, then, we can bring Government to undertake the primary education of every Indian child, we shall be under obligation to give up the contract system. And when Government does a wise and thorough work of this sort, our benevolent moneys, released from the work of primary education, will do a greater religious work than we are doing to-day. I do not say that this ought to be brought about at once. Indeed, I think far otherwise. But it is always safe to do right, and the same great principles that we hold in regard to the public school system in our States ought to hold in regard to our schools among the Indians.

MR. SMILEY : The plan of Dr. Abbott is, on the whole, an admirable one, but there is one difficulty which I see. Some of you who have not been on reservations, may not know the difficulties that may arise from having two heads on a reservation. Do you propose to put a man in charge of the schools with a certain amount of school funds at his disposal, and to have all the teachers appointed by him, independent of the agent ? I think there will be intense friction between the man who manages the supplies, the police, etc., the representative of the Interior Department, and the other man who represents this commission appointed by the President. The police power must be under the same power that controls the school. I would rather enlarge the powers of the commission. I think the whole Indian question, and all the funds that are appropriated for the Indians, should be put into the hands of the commission appointed by the President, reporting not to the Secretary of the Interior, but to the President, and have it an entirely independent department. That means a great deal. It means an enormous separate building in Washington, an army of clerks, and men of ability to have charge of Indian affairs. It would imply more work than the Secretary of the Interior already has. I do not believe that you can get this

system of education until you get the Indians on land in severalty. Until the reservations are broken up you must have an Indian Bureau ; and to have the Indian Bureau and the Educational Bureau on the same ground, I think is impossible.

DR. KENDALL : We have at Sisseton an Indian Government school. We have at the same place another school of our own. We own the building, hire the teachers, and say to the Government, We are teaching school here as well as you. We can teach cheaper than you can, because we take part of the money of the Church ; and if you will allow us one hundred and eight dollars a year per pupil,—that is all your expense, and we do all the rest,—that is much cheaper than you can do it, and thus is better than you can do. If you do not like our system, if we do not teach a better school than you can, then drop us. The contract is made with the Government on the supposition that we can teach a better school and cheaper. We do it for the sake of the religious influence which we impart. If Government says, We will not have a school in which you have prayers, very good ; we say, Go your way. If Government says, We will not have a school with religious instruction, we say, You can have any school you please ; but we make this offer, and I do not see why this is not just as fair a system of teaching as can be. I do not care whether it is connected with politics or not. I do not see any reason why we should not have just such a “contract system” as that. I believe in it.

DR. ELLINWOOD : I think that would be satisfactory to all missionary bodies.

GENERAL HOWARD : I have visited a good many of these contract schools, and they have been satisfactory as compared with Government schools. So far as contract schools are concerned, my own observation is that it is better to have them than to have nothing. When Government is ready, under this system or any other, to take up the work of primary education for the Indian, an education which will fit them ethically for citizenship, it will be time to do away with the scholarship system. Dr. Abbott proposes compulsory education. That is one of the necessities of the case. There never has been a successful Indian school that was not more or less compulsory. But how was it so? The teachers turn to the agent and say, Here, we have rooms, schoolbooks, and teachers, but the children will not come in ; what shall we do? The Indian agent calls a council, and says to the head men, You must send your children to school. Sometimes they send them, and sometimes not. What does he do then? He sends his Indian police, and they go to the different houses and say to the parents, You must send your children to the school ; and they go. And that is the way the schools are built up. There must be some power to compel the scholars to attend. We cannot, however, have two heads ; that goes without saying. It is just as important that we should take the appointment of agents out of the political whirlpool as the teachers. We want efficiency and purity in the agents as well as in school-teachers. I second the proposition of Brother Smiley, and I believe that ought to be the action of this Conference. We cannot have compulsory education unless we carry with it the whole Indian work, and lift it forever above the plane where it has been for forty or fifty years. But Congress will not take this step until the people demand it.

DR. WARD: I hope it is possible to raise politics out of politics. I am not certain of it. The proposition to carry on the Government of the United States by commission, is one that necessarily appeals to every person who wishes to have Government taken out of politics. If this proposition will take Indian affairs out of politics, admirable. But I raise the question, How? The present Board of Indian Commissioners has no appointment of officers. The railway commissioners are a body not executive in the sense that they may appoint those who shall execute laws. They differ from this proposed commission. We know that according to the Constitution of the United States the officers of the Government are appointed by the President. School-teachers are executive officers. I suppose the commission proposed could not appoint these officers except with the approval of the President, directly or indirectly. I do not suppose under the Constitution the operation of the commission can be taken out of the hands of the President of the United States. Whether this commission which is proposed shall be raised out of politics, depends wholly upon the President of the United States. It seems to me the plan would work excellently just so long as the President wished to have it. When he was indifferent, it would cease to work well. We had a system established by General Grant which was supposed to work excellently. I fail to see how the efficiency of a triple commission will exceed the efficiency of a single commission.

COLONEL DUDLEY: I do not believe there is any trouble in appointing teachers and subordinate officers by a commission. The agents are commissioned officers, and must be nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate, but the President knows nothing of the subordinate positions. General Grant accepted and nominated the persons recommended by missionary boards for agents. You could not have compelled him to do it. He did it by preference. It will be impossible to have a commission that shall have the appointing of agents, but I think you can have a commission that shall choose all the officers of your schools. I do not think there will be any trouble about two heads on the reservation. If you adopt a universal school system, and put it in the hands of men who have the schools at heart, it will be carried out. I think you can require that the agents shall furnish all the assistance necessary. I think this scheme is entirely practicable. Trust funds have been created for the Indians in past times. Why is it not possible for the Government to issue bonds, and to place these bonds in the hands of three of the Cabinet officers, who shall draw the interest from year to year to carry on this work? If it takes fifty years to establish the system let the bonds run for fifty years, and at the end of that time let them be canceled for the benefit of the Government.

HON. A. C. BARGROW, Providence, R. I.: After a few years' experience on the Board of Indian Commissioners, I came to the firm conviction that if ever this matter of Christian education could be separated from political administration, and still have the use of Government funds, the Indian could be brought to a fair state of civilization in the course of a single generation. But how can you do it? Man loves power. Political parties love power, and may oppose this measure, because it deprives them of large patronage. Our Catholic friends will oppose it, for they oppose the whole system



of public education. I am surprised to learn that they have delayed opposition so long in Boston. Thirty years ago they emptied some of our schools in Providence. A Catholic boy who was taken from a public school and put into a parochial school at that time, said to me that he could learn more in a week in a public school than in a month in the other; that he did not learn much but catechism in the Catholic school. I think we had better meet the question, and I favor the appointment of this commission, with pretty full powers. General Grant wanted to have the religious societies work with him in Indian civilization, and to this end he asked different denominations to recommend men, and those men were not political appointees. We never shall know what we can do until we try. If this is right, and ought to be done, let us put it before the Government. If we cannot get the whole scheme adopted, we may obtain sufficient to justify an effort.

GEN. S. C. ARMSTRONG: This discussion has been interesting to me in the light of what I have seen during the last four weeks, having visited the schools on six reservations. The work is all primary. The great majority of Indians need the simplest elements of education. If the religious schools were to give up this education the loss would be unspeakable. I think that the point made by Mr. Smiley was a sound one,—that the superintendent of schools, under the new law, would be likely to interfere with the executive officer at the reservation. The agent must make the children go to the schools, and look after them generally. He is the one-man power needed on a reservation, and if a first-class one, is a blessing. Make the agent the right man, and so settle the whole question. The wrong man is the greatest curse the Indian can have. The responsibility of the Indian office in this matter is tremendous. Efficient agents should have more backing at Washington. The difficulty is partly with Congress. Let me tell you something about the schools that I have seen. At Devil's Lake the agent, who is a Roman Catholic, has brought the Indians to the front rank of progress, but is kept back for the want of surveys of their lands, as in many other places. The Government is there building a capital schoolhouse for the Roman Catholic teachers. The sisters who carry it on are "Grey nuns" from Montreal,—an interesting, capable set of women. One trouble is that all do not speak English well. But looking over their work, I found them in the kitchen, in the laundry, and everywhere. No work was too heavy or too dirty for them to engage in with the scholars. But in tuition, of which I saw little, their work did not seem strong. I doubt if they are trained in the art of teaching, but their industrial work is exceedingly good, and their tone and influence is highly moral. At Standing Rock there is a similar Catholic school, under the charge of Roman Catholic sisters, Sister Gertrude presiding most efficiently. There is also an excellent farm school. These Catholic schools are on the side of morals, character, and industry. If the Catholics have had more help than other denominations from the Government, it is because they have worked harder for it. They have been united, while Protestant denominations have been disunited. Why do you not have a Protestant bureau at Washington? If you Protestants put in your men to look after your interests, you will be more likely to secure them. If the Catholics have gathered two thirds of the appropriations of Government, it is simply because

they have reaped where they have sown. The weakness of Government non-church schools is in the frequent change of teachers, though that is not confined to them. For Bishop Hare's school at Cheyenne River they have lately had built a twelve-thousand-dollar school-building,—a very fine structure, the gift of friends. This is in charge of Captain and Mrs. Kinney, who with persistent devotion for twelve years have produced some of the best results ever attained in Indian education. Mrs. Kinney, with other noble women of high Christian purpose, not omitting many worthy men, are the Indians' best hope.

The Indians are level-headed, clear-seeing men, and appreciate people who give up their lives to them; no devotion to them is wasted. The Church schools everywhere are doing the best kind of work, but the Government schools were better than I expected to find them. At Crow Creek there is an excellent Government school, under a wholesome influence from the resident Episcopal rector. Its principal is a good man, who is backed up by the efficient agent, Major Anderson. The settlement of the Indian question is a difficult one. For the Mohonk Conference to throw itself against the established governmental machinery, is like batting our heads against a brass wall. It is best to do as little destructive work as possible. What we must do is to urge the appointment and retention of good officials. When we get good men, the work will take care of itself. We must look to the ideas of Civil Service Reform as the best hope.

MR. SMILEY: Do you favor a commission, General Armstrong?

GENERAL ARMSTRONG: I believe in going to the root of the matter, and if we cannot get politics out of the Indian office, then let us have a commission. I do not see how you can divide the power, giving the school superintendent parallel authority with the agent.

DR. GOUVERNEUR M. SMITH, of New York: I suppose a Conference of this sort wishes to strike at principles. The sooner the American people say that city, state, and, in this case, national education, so far as Government is concerned, shall not receive one single dollar from the public treasury to support denominational schools, the better. Let the state, city, nation, teach the people to yield to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and let the Church undertake to teach the people what they shall yield to their God. There is another point in reference to the matter of teaching English in the schools. General Armstrong has stated that some of the best teachers do not teach English. That is all wrong. We are obliged in New York to receive thousands of Italians, French, and Germans. Are we going to adopt the French, German, and Italian languages in our public schools? The sooner these people know that when they come here they have got to learn to speak English and to adopt Yankee habits, and that Sunday is a holyday and not a holiday, the better it will be for this people. I think this Conference should say that the Indian should be taught in English.

DR. ABBOTT: I fear that in some points I have been misunderstood. I have never been able to address one audience as though it were another. In speaking to the Mohonk Conference, I thought there were some things it was safe to assume. I did not think we needed to stir one another up to greater enthusiasm as to the necessity of a Christian and religious education. The question is not whether, but

how. It is not whether the Indian shall be made a man, but how he shall be made a man; not *whether* he shall be made a Christian man, but *how* he shall be made a Christian man. To that question of *how* I address myself exclusively to-night. We are all agreed by this time that there is now no system of education. Shall we content ourselves with a simple congeries of fragmentary benevolent enterprises, some, as General Armstrong described, being good, and some not so good? Shall we attempt to put a little more strength here and a little more there? or shall we attempt to see whether out of this experience of the past, and out of this congeries of fragmentary and individual experiments, we can organize a system of education, not for a few selected Indians here and there, but for the Indian people of the United States, that they may become worthy citizens. If we are to consider any such system as this, it seems to me very clear that no one would advise the no-system that now exists. If anyone were to propose that in the State of New York, in place of a system by which the people of New York equip, maintain, carry on, and control the secular education of the public schools, we should substitute a system in which some schools would be maintained by the State and some by the churches, and some by the churches and State in partnership, I doubt whether we could get even the Roman Catholic vote in favor of it. He certainly would not get the vote of the rest of the State. If any one were to propose that in the Southern States a few negro children here and there should be educated, with aid from churches, without compelling the State to give them education, I think there would be no one to recommend such a change. If we had to-day a clean slate before us, and the question how should we organize a system for the education of Indian children were to come up, I do not believe that anyone would move to have a system, the outcome of which should be that the Catholics and the Protestants should pull at each other to get the larger amount of United States funds to support their sectarian work. General Armstrong has described to us here a Roman Catholic school with graphicness and eloquence, and with that large charity so characteristic of him; but as he finished his description, and I took the picture which he presented to us and loosed myself from the spell of his eloquence, and submitted it to the clear light of analytical and critical reason, it seemed to me that what he had said was this: that the United States Government was putting up for the Roman Catholic Church the best schoolhouse he ever saw; that the instruction was to be carried on by sisters, most of whom knew the English language; that they were teaching cooking and housekeeping very well; that judging from the looks of their faces they would teach purity and morals well; but that the intellectual education was rather poor. I am not here to speak against Roman Catholic education, or against the Roman Catholic Church, though I cannot forget Victor Hugo's eloquent question to the Catholics: "What have you done with France, Spain, Italy—the three great nations that have been in your hands ever since they were in their cradle?" It seems to me, however, absolutely just, right, and essential in the administration of republican institutions that the people should control the money which the people appropriate; that they should not pass their appropriations over to any religious organization whatever to expend on their behalf,

whether that denomination be Quaker, Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist.

I confess very frankly that what General Armstrong and Mr. Smiley have said throws serious doubt over one feature in the plan I have had the honor to present; that is, the proposed organization of a non-partisan commission to take charge of the education of the Indians. It also raises the question whether such a commission, if constituted, should not have larger powers than proposed. I therefore cordially agree with those who think it best not to make any utterance on that subject at this time. I have been asked how I can reconcile the doctrine that the education of the Indians should be compulsory, with the fact that we have treaty dealings with them as independent nations. I answer, that the time for treating them as independent nations has gone by. Whether we like it or not the Indians are citizens, with the rights and duties of citizenship. They belong to this great empire, and are an integral part of it. The notion that they are a foreign people, who can come into the sovereignty of the United States only by their own consent, rests on the last analysis on Rousseau's idea of the *contract sociale*, that men are born individuals, and come into the State by act of consent. Every man who is born in the territory of the United States is amenable to the authority of the United States by the law of nature,—that is, by Divine decree,—and the United States Government must, whether it will or no, assume the responsibility of exercising legitimate and just government over him, and answer for its trust to the God of nations, the God of the poor and the unprotected. I have been asked why I made an exception in favor of normal education, leaving that in the plan proposed to be carried on by the religious societies. If, as I have said, we were to have a clean slate before us, it would not be wise to have the United States Government enter into any relation with the churches; but that is not the condition. A great no-system of education has grown up, and the great question for us is, how to evolve out of it a system with the least friction and loss. If there were no such “no-system,” I would not recommend that the United States Government should send Indian pupils to a church school, and pay their tuition. But the schools are there, and are doing good work. To destroy that work till something far better is put in its place would not be the work of a statesman, but of an iconoclast. If the churches were released from the necessity of giving primary instruction, they might fit Indians to be teachers and leaders among their own people. If the churches would concentrate themselves on that, and if, by this commission or some other method, we can contrive an educational system that is unsectarian and unpartisan, we may leave religion to enter the schools through the teachers whom the churches put into the school. For, after all, religion is a matter of personal conduct. It is not a question of the catechism; it is a question of life. If you put into an Indian school a man or a woman with an infidel heart and an orthodox catechism, the Indians will not be made Christian. If you put in a teacher with an unorthodox catechism and an orthodox heart, the Indians will come out baptized by the presence of his saintly soul. So I say it is better to accept the work of the churches and the teachers whom they shall give to us for the present, building our system of universal education broadly, and putting it on founda-

tions deep, that it may be American, as are our systems in every State.

A telegram was read from Lacrosse, as follows :—

LACROSSE, WIS.

To A. K. SMILEY, Esq.:—

Dakota mission remonstrates against ruling of agents who deny Christian parents liberty to send children to mission school until agency quota is made up, and who deny the transfer of scholars from Government school. See letter. Ask Armstrong.

JOHN P. WILLIAMSON.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1888.

GENERAL ARMSTRONG: Last week I had the pleasure of being present at a meeting of Indian Presbyterians and Congregationalists in one of the most picturesque places I ever saw,—Peoria Bottom, Dakota. The gathering of six hundred was held under an arbor of trees. They discussed many points,—the question of revivals, the pursuit of wealth, tobacco and what it was good for, the question of amusements, etc. It was an interesting time. A good deal of time was spent in discussing the school question, and the relation of Government to it. Mr. Riggs had submitted some resolutions to the effect that Government educational work was fatal in having no provision for Christian education. They made that a strong point, and they brought up the order that the Government schools must be filled first, and the missionary school must take its chance after that. The agent has the police, and he sends them out to compel the children of Christians to come into the Government schools, when their parents would prefer to have them in the schools that give Christian training. If there is anything demonstrated in the past twenty years, it is that the missionary schools are a great deal better than the Government schools. It was the view of the missionaries that the Government should not, under these circumstances, compel the children of Christian Indians to go to Government schools. The Riggses and others are doing a noble work, but if the Government order is carried out it may, they think, empty their schools. I think the division of the primary and normal education proposed by Dr. Abbott will not work. You must have a large number of primary pupils from whom to select a normal class. Out of the one hundred and fifty Indians at Hampton, only here and there will one make a good teacher. The missionary schools should be kept up as doing the most vital work of all. Sunday preaching must be supplemented by religious teaching during the week. Churches without schools to reach the children week days, and through them their parents, amount to very little. Mission work is teaching quite as much as preaching, only the former is the more effective. Missionary work, Roman Catholic and Protestant, has, from the first, been the great force in Indian progress, and any plan to throw it out of the primary or normal work is the worst blow that can be given to the red man.

As to separating Indian education from politics, you might as well try to extinguish the Devil at once as to take politics out of our Indian service, judging from what the good men now in the service say to me.

Dr. Abbott misunderstood me. The "Grey nuns" of whom I spoke, speak English perfectly well, most of them.

DR. WARD: Did I understand you to say that the Government was building a schoolhouse for the Roman Catholics at Devil's Lake?

GENERAL ARMSTRONG: It is a Government schoolhouse where Roman Catholics teach. I believe that this is sound policy, and that both Protestants and Catholics should have equal encouragement to bring to bear on Indians the high and noble spirit that characterizes these teachers, who are beyond political influence. The moral part is more important than the mental, as in all life.

MISS M. C. COLLINS: It is true that Government has a right now to order our scholars into Government schools. Children who have been born since I went into the work, for whom I taught the mothers to wash and sew, and who learned to read and write in their own language and in English, have been taken from our schools and put into Government schools. A few of these children we were allowed to take back, but I overheard a Government teacher tell some friends that Mr. Riggs had taken five of the best children from his school. If the mission schools turn out the best pupils, why should the Government forbid the children going there?

THIRD SESSION.

LEGISLATION FOR THE INDIAN.

THURSDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 27.

THE Conference met at 10 A. M., the President in the chair. The attention of the Conference was called to the fact that Mr. John H. Oberly had just been nominated by President Cleveland as Commissioner of Indian affairs. General Fisk remarked that Mr. Oberly had given evidence of a good head and a good heart in the direction of reform in Indian work, and that his appointment as Commissioner would give great cause for hopefulness to the friends of the Indian.

On motion, it was unanimously voted that Mr. Smiley should prepare and send suitable telegrams expressing the gratification of the Conference at this nomination, to President Cleveland and to Mr. Oberly.

The report of the Law Committee was then made by Prof. J. B. Thayer, chairman, as follows:—

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONFERENCE: The relation of the tribal Indian on his reservation to our Constitution and laws is, as you know, very singular. He is, legally speaking, as the phrase goes, neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring; not citizen and not foreigner. It was formerly true that we recognized them as a separate people, who had the right to live under their own laws and usages, with whom we dealt by treaties and by war. This is still true partly and in a sense, but it has also come to be true that these people do not really live under their own laws; that their institutions have mainly gone to pieces, and that they have become a set of neglected dependents of our country; that we now legislate for them whenever we please,—that is to say, by fits and starts. We ceased making treaties with them seventeen years ago. But not yet do we fairly take the next step. We do not yet say, as we should and as we must, “If they are not a separate people, to be dealt with by treaty, then they are a subject people, to be fully legislated for and to be absorbed. They must come in out of the rain under the cover of our Constitution with the rest of us.” We merely tinker at the business of caring for them. We do not do it in good, straightforward, manly fashion. We pass laws that say, “Keep on the reservations, obey the agents, refrain from this list of six or seven of the larger crimes, on pain of being carried into courts outside of the reservation and being tried and punished there by strangers.” We say a few things like this. We even go so far now as to say to many

of them, "If you do not by choice abandon the fundamental and inherited ideas of your race about land and take separate lots of land, then in four years from such and such a date we will make you take it, and will turn you into citizens of the United States against your will." But not yet do we say what seems to many the only rational, straightforward, and sensible thing to say; we do not say to them this: "Now, for the future we are no longer going to keep up this nonsense of dealing with you as a separate people; we do not care anything about your tribes; keep them if you like, just as the Shakers and others keep up their private organizations; but no longer as separate nations. In the eye of our law and Constitution you shall stand henceforth as a set of individuals, just like our own people, to each of whom, and not to any tribe in a lump, our law addresses its orders, thou shalt, and thou shalt not; to each of whom it offers its protection; to each of whom the courts are open for redress." We do not say this; we linger and halt in a queer, half-way, crepuscular region of dealing with them by law and yet refusing to deal with them by treaty; of saying they are not our subjects; they do not commit treason when they attack us, but are public enemies; and yet of legislating for them little by little, just as if they were our subjects, without saying so out and out, as we should.

Now, this ought to stop. We must adopt one ground or the other; and there is really but one ground to adopt—that of legislating fully for them. The Constitutional power to do this is undoubted, and it has been expressly declared by the Supreme Court of the United States. Observe this: if we have the power to do it, we cannot escape the responsibility of exercising or not exercising that power. We must legislate fully for them; we *do* legislate for them even in the mere act of abstaining from legislation,—for he that has the power to change an existing situation and does not use it, is chargeable with the continuance of that situation. And what is the situation that we are thus consenting to by not changing it when we have the power? You all know. It is the existing agency and reservation system by which, to put it roughly, all the affairs of two hundred thousand people, more or less, are managed by politicians at Washington, or their dependents; by which this two hundred thousand people are left without any protection from the Constitution and the laws, under an arbitrary and despotic control, unregulated by courts of justice.

I had the honor last year, in company with others, of urging this Conference to adopt a resolution in favor of some legislative measure which should at once rid the country of this reproach; which, without immediately making all Indians citizens, should at once bring them all under the protection of the laws and the courts. Under our system of government, unlike that of Great Britain or Canada, if they were all made citizens, as I said last year, it would shorten the arm of Congress to protect them. In Canada, the Indians, as General Whittlesey told us yesterday, are all citizens, and there this need not prevent special legislation of any sort for their protection. But here it would at once remove them, as regards a great portion of their affairs, from the power of Congress, and subject them to that of the State in which a reservation might be; and even in the Territories it would seriously cut down the power of Congress to protect

them. We urged last year that the reservations should be thrown open to trade, that courts should be established there, and that the property of Indians and all money coming to them should pass through the hands of persons amenable to the courts and the ordinary laws of the land. The Conference did not go so far as that. I think it would have been better if they had. But they did adopt a resolution urging additional legislation to protect the Indians on the reservations, and a committee was appointed, consisting of Mr. Austin Abbott of New York, Mr. Philip C. Garrett, and myself, to consider what legal measures are needed for the protection of Indian rights.

In compliance now with the request of the managers of the Conference to make a statement to-day on the present legal aspect of the Indian question, I will try to do three things: first, to make a sort of report in behalf of the committee just named, and to give an account of the bill which they prepared and caused to be introduced into Congress; second, to give an account of Senator Morgan's bill introduced into the Senate in June last; and third, to make a few suggestions as to the course which should be taken now by this Conference to better the legal state of the Indians.

1. The legal committee appointed last year understood that it was the unanimous, or the nearly unanimous sentiment of the Conference then, that some bill should be prepared extending courts and a system of law over the reservations. They were also satisfied that the Conference was not prepared to adopt the full programme to which I have referred. They were instructed to report, if possible, to the Indian Commissioners at their meeting in January last, at Washington; and if that was not possible, then to report here at this session of the Conference. We were able to report to the Commissioners in January, and I will now also report to the Conference.

Our action has been as follows: The Boston Citizenship Committee immediately on assembling last autumn, after this Conference had adjourned, voted to bear the expense of such legal assistance as our committee might require in preparing a draft of a bill embodying such views as they might entertain. We were very fortunate in securing the help of Mr. F. J. Stimson, of Boston, whose acquaintance with the statutory laws of every part of this country is shown in a remarkable and valuable volume on American Statute Law, which has been highly praised by judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, as well as others. The appointment of Mr. Stimson was made at the suggestion of Judge Lowell; and in preparing a preliminary draft, and afterward in putting in final shape the bill which our committee adopted, Mr. Stimson had the counsel and approval of Judge Lowell. Our committee met early in December last, and held a session of two days, during which they very carefully canvassed the whole subject, considered a draft which had been prepared by Mr. Stimson, and finally agreed unanimously upon the outlines of the bill. In doing this they had the valuable advice of Professor Painter, who was able to be with them, and whose personal knowledge of Indian life on the reservations as well as his sagacious counsel, and what, in our vernacular, is called general horse sense, was of great service to them. The putting of this measure into a final shape and submitting it to certain leading friends of the Indians, including especially the Philadelphia Society, then filled up the time until the meeting of the

Indian Commissioners at Washington, early in January. Our friends at Philadelphia wished further time to consider the measure before assenting to it; and accordingly our committee made a merely verbal report to the Commissioners at their January meeting, setting forth the leading features of the measure, and their purpose to submit it to Congress very soon. The Commissioners requested us to confer with several eminent persons, including Mr. McMichael, one of their own number; and this we very willingly undertook to do. Owing to illness in the family of certain leading members of the legal committee of the Philadelphia Society, it was not until the middle of February that we received the bill from our Philadelphia friends with their suggestions. We found no difficulty in adopting these, and the bill was finally prepared in its present form, and approved by such of the persons mentioned by the Commissioners as could be reached, by President Gates, Mr. McMichael, and others.

Mr. Garrett took it to Washington, and at his request Senator Dawes, in March, introduced it into the Senate. It was always understood by us that Mr. Dawes did this by request, and that he did not then intend to express his own approval of the measure. It was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and by Senator Dawes, as its Chairman, to a sub-committee consisting of Senators Platt of Connecticut, Jones of Arkansas, and Morgan of Alabama. Early in May this sub-committee gave a hearing to the friends of the measure, and again an adjourned hearing. At the first of these hearings two of the sub-committee were present; at the second, one of them only. At both, Senator Dawes, whose name is never to be mentioned in any company of friends of the Indians without honor and respect, even when we must differ from him, was present as a spectator, and took an active part in questioning and in discussing the measure. He was understood at that time to have much doubt as to the expediency, and even the constitutionality, of the bill, and to entertain the same opinion which he expressed at this Conference last year:—that there was no need of any legislation of this sort, certainly of no considerable legislation; that there was no need, to use his own expression, to legislate in this way for a “vanishing state of things.” But it was also understood by us at that time that this was not the opinion of the members of the sub-committee, who, in private, freely expressed the opinion that something must be done in the direction we wished. Senator Dawes’ view of what is now accomplished by the Severalty law, and so, of course, of what remains to be done, seemed to our committee then, as it did last year, to be in some respects erroneous. No report has been made by this sub-committee so far as we know. I may add that our committee, at these hearings, heard no objections to the bill, which shook their faith in its substantial merit as it stands, although then, as now, they could easily see that it might be in some respects improved.

The bill has been widely distributed, and is explained in a printed memorandum, which has been also distributed with the bill. [Here the speaker gave a short sketch of the bill.]

2. But although as yet no report has come from the sub-committee to the Senate, on June 20th last, a little more than a month after the last hearing upon the bill prepared by our committee, there was an important occurrence. Senator Morgan, of the sub-committee, intro-

duced into the Senate an Indian bill of his own, a remarkable bill, which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs. There is not, so far as we know, reason to suppose that it is supported by the other members of the committee; it appears as Mr. Morgan's own private measure, and Mr. Dawes has been quoted in the papers as "not particularly liking it." This bill is entitled, "A Bill to establish Indian Police Courts and to define their Jurisdiction, and to regulate Judicial Proceedings within the Indian Reservations, and for other Purposes." Let me state, very briefly, its provisions: First, it provides for a police court to be established on any reservations which the President may select (and he has power, also, to end its existence upon any reservation, and again to renew it), which shall have jurisdiction to punish a great variety of crimes, and to try a great variety of civil suits relating to property, contracts, etc., involving matters under five hundred dollars. The jurisdiction is not limited to Indians, but extends to all persons on the reservations. Most of the larger crimes, committed on the reservations by any person, are to be tried off the reservations in the courts of the States or Territories which may be nearest to the agency. As regards civil suits, the right of all persons on the reservations to sue and to be sued is declared. In certain special cases, and generally when more than five hundred dollars is involved, tribal Indians may be sued as regards civil matters off the reservations. Now mark how these Indian police courts are organized. They are to have three judges. The Indian agent himself is to be *ex officio* chief judge, and both the others are to be Indians appointed by the Secretary of the Interior and removed at his pleasure, receiving pay at sixty dollars a month. Either party in a civil suit, and the accused in a criminal case, may on request have a jury of six. The Indian agent is to select the jurors, with a power of rejection by the whole court of which he is the chief. As regards the larger crimes, there is an appeal from the States and Territories to the Supreme Court of the United States, on the law and the facts.

Now, in my judgment, there is small need of discussing here such a measure as that. It makes no provision for giving us a better breed of agents than we now have, and yet it makes these men, just as they run, chief justices of the only court on the reservation, and gives them two Indians for side judges, appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. That court is to deal with Indian citizens and whites, as well as with tribal Indians. If a man would have a jury, the agent is to pick out the jury. No system of law is provided or named in the bill, and I do not know what it is to be. Now, if you tried, you could hardly devise a better way for strengthening instead of diminishing that evil political power which we would fain banish from the control of the reservations. It is to such courts, or else to those of the State or Territory outside the reservation, among the "worst enemies of the Indians," as Mr. Justice Miller calls these neighbors of theirs, that Senator Morgan commends them.

3. We have, then, now before the country and now actually pending before the Indian Committee of the United States Senate, these two measures,—the bill prepared by our Committee and that of Senator Morgan. What is to be done? I shall not doubt, until otherwise advised, what your sentiment will be on the subject of the latter

bill. As regards the former one, I hope that this Conference will now adopt and support it by a resolution, and will urge upon the country and upon Congress its early passage.

The difficulties in the way of its enactment appear to be these: First, An opinion to which I have already referred, that no resolution of this sort, and nothing beyond some simple extension of the present efforts to administer a rude sort of justice through the agents, is desirable. That, as I understand, is one of the main troubles with Mr. Dawes. "What is the use," he asks, as I said before, "of making all this elaborate provision for a vanishing state of things?" Second, Certain objections to this particular bill; some people suggest various legal and constitutional objections. Third, Others think it too expensive; it will cost, they say, \$300,000 a year. Fourth, There is doubt as to its being quite *workable*. Fifth, Others say you never can get Congress to pass it. Senator Platt, chairman of the sub-committee to whom it is referred, writes to a friend: "I do not so much object to this bill, but I cannot pass it."

As regards these various difficulties, and others that may be thought of, I have just now only two or three things to say and to recommend.

1. The opinion of this Conference last year was, that there is need of further legislation to protect the rights of Indians and others on the reservations. You will notice that Senator Morgan's bill is significant as showing that he thinks so too; and we have had good reason to think that this opinion was shared by his associates of the sub-committee. Such is the opinion, also, of the representatives of all the leading Indian associations in the country of which I know anything, unless it be the Indian Defence Association; we have not conferred with that body. I shall not now argue out that question, but I will assume it as the just view, that all persons on the Indian reservations, whether tribal Indians, or citizen Indians, or whites, should have courts and a system of law applicable to the reservations, and administered under the authority of the United States Government.

2. As to the objections to this particular bill: in the first place, you will of course remember that objections will be made to any measure that can be proposed. Your committee and the many persons who have shared with them the considerable trouble and responsibility of preparing this measure, believe it to be in its main features a good bill as it stands; and it is as simple, cheap, and workable as they could devise. They do not doubt that others may suggest improvements; that, like most other measures that ever were drawn, it can be amended on its way through Congress. One or two amendments they themselves would probably recommend. But what I say and what we all say is, that if you wait till a bill is proposed that everybody will agree to, you will never pass any bill. Had you waited before you passed the Severalty Bill until everybody thought it constitutional, and expedient, and simple, and workable, and inexpensive, you never would have passed that excellent measure. So now we are not to wait until everybody is sure of every detail in this bill. You are to ask: "Are its general provisions and aims such as we wish? Has it been carefully prepared? Has it been examined and approved by a variety of competent persons?" If so, the way to do is to adopt it and push it forward, and to discuss and amend it by and by, if need be. You have here a measure which, as I have

said, after being carefully prepared by your committee with the aid of learned legal counsel, and of those who have actual knowledge of the Indians and of the situation among them, has then been submitted to the earnest, and kind, and faithful friends of the Indians, who conduct the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, the Connecticut and Massachusetts Indian Association, and the Philadelphia Indian Rights Association. It has been passed upon, with special deliberation, by the very conservative society in Philadelphia, and then formally adopted and advocated by a legal committee of that body, who issued a special pamphlet in support of it. And it has been examined and approved, as I am informed, by several members of the Board of Indian Commissioners, by our President (General Fisk), Professor Gates, Mr. McMichael, and, I dare say, others; and examined, and in its main features indorsed, not merely by the learned lawyers whom I have referred to, but by others, such as Judge Shipman, of Connecticut, and Professor Wayland, Dean of the law school of Yale University,—with whom, I may add, I have not myself the pleasure of a personal acquaintance. You have a bill with all these guaranties in its favor.

I will say a word or two more on the specific objections to the bill. (a) As to the legal and constitutional objections, of course I am not going to argue these at this time; but our committee will spare no pains to come to an agreement on this with Senator Dawes or others, if any there be, who feel these objections. It has been suggested, and our Committee would be quite ready to conform to the suggestion, that any points of this sort might be submitted to two or three of the most eminent lawyers in the country for a purely professional opinion. There would be no difficulty about that. I have in my mind, particularly, certain points on which, as regards the relation of the committee's bill to the Severalty Law, Mr. Dawes entertains an opinion quite different from that of Judge Lowell, for example. And then Mr. Dawes has been reported as thinking that a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States is fatal to our measure. That seems to us a singular and mistaken view. But, as I said, it would be quite easy to take opinions upon such questions which we should all respect. (b) As regards the expense of the bill, I do not know what it would be; but if it be assumed that it would cost \$300,000 a year, that ought not to be a fatal objection. It would be a constantly diminishing expense. And then, after all, the simple question is, whether any better plan can be suggested which will accomplish the end aimed at. The Government itself is not poor; it can afford to do the right thing on this subject easily enough. And it has been well suggested that there are Indian funds which may be properly used for this purpose. (c) As regards the simplicity and workable quality of the measure, you must not judge of such a matter by the impression derived from a single casual glance at it, or even from a single reading of it; anything careful and adequate on such a matter will be likely to seem at first sight cumbrous and complex. But if you will take the trouble to study and understand it, I think it will be found as simple a measure as can be devised, if one would really accomplish what is here aimed at. And we do not think that such men as Dr. Rhoades, and Professor Painter, and our devoted friend Herbert Welsh, are likely to be deceived as to its being practically adapted to the situation.

The bill prepared by this committee is herewith appended :—

AN ACT TO ESTABLISH COURTS FOR THE INDIANS ON THE VARIOUS RESERVATIONS, AND TO EXTEND THE PROTECTION OF THE LAWS OF THE STATES AND TERRITORIES OVER ALL INDIANS, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that

All Indians not citizens of the United States, whether residing on or off a reservation, are hereby declared entitled to the full protection and exemptions secured by the Constitution of the United States to persons other than such citizens; and especially they shall be entitled to the equal protection of the law, they may sue and be sued in all courts, and shall have full power to make contracts, and engage in any trade or business; *provided, however, that such reasonable restraint as is necessary to the maintenance of the reservation system is not forbidden, nor shall this section work a repeal by implication of any laws which may be necessary to such reasonable restraint, and in particular it shall not, except as expressly provided, work a repeal of the following enumerated acts, or any part thereof, viz. : The Act of February eighth, eighteen hundred and eighty-seven, entitled An Act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians and for other purposes; and section nine of the Act of March third, eighteen hundred and eighty-five, entitled An Act making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the year ending June thirteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-six, and for other purposes, except as hereinafter in section three of this act provided.*

CONTRACTS RELATING TO LAND.

SECTION 2. Indians to whom land has been or shall be allotted in severalty under any law or treaty or under the provisions of the Act of February eighth, eighteen hundred and eighty-seven, before referred to, if such allotment has been accepted by such Indians, may make contracts or leases relating to such land, to continue not more than one year, with the written approval of the Next Friend, hereinafter mentioned, or, if such approval shall be unreasonably withheld, with that of the Court Commissioner herein provided for. But no Indian shall convey or incumber the title thereof, except as herein provided, within the period of twenty-five years, fixed by section five of said act; provided that any two or more Indians may exchange said lands held by one or more of such Indians for lands held by other such Indians, and when such exchange is approved in writing by such Court Commissioner it shall take effect, and the title to the lands so exchanged shall pass accordingly.

LAW EXTENDED OVER RESERVATIONS.

SECTION 3. The laws, both civil and criminal, existing at the time of the passage of this act, of the State or Territory in which any Indian reservation is situated, are hereby extended over every such reservation, so far as said laws are applicable and not inconsistent herewith or relating to subjects herein provided for; and the laws, both civil and criminal, existing at such time or hereafter made, of the State of Kansas are hereby extended over any Indian reservations situated in the Indian Territory, except as hereinafter specially accepted; but the President of the United States may at any time within six months from the passage of this act, or within six months after a certification by the Court Commissioner of any such laws as being prejudicial or inapplicable, by his veto, of which proclamation shall be duly made, forbid the application to any reservation of any such laws which he may deem prejudicial to the welfare of the Indians to be affected by the same; *provided, that this section shall not be construed to repeal section nine of the Act of March second, eighteen hundred and eighty-five, before referred to, except so much of said section as provides for the trial of criminal offences committed on a reservation, in the territorial courts, or, in the first instance, in the Circuit or District Court of the United States.*

COURT COMMISSIONERS.

SECTION 4. The United States Circuit Court of each circuit within which any Indian reservation is situated shall appoint, as soon as possible after the passage of this act, Court Commissioners as hereinafter specified, who shall be learned in the law, to exercise the functions hereinafter described, every such commissioner to receive a salary of \$2,500 per annum, and to be paid his travelling expenses, not to exceed ten cents per mile. The Court shall fix the boundaries of the district for which every such Court Commissioner shall be appointed so as to equalize, as far as may be, the amount of work in each; and, in so doing, it may group two or more of the smaller reservations into one such judicial district, and divide any of the larger reservations into two or more such judicial districts.

For the purpose of this act the Territories of Washington and Idaho shall be declared a part of the district of Oregon and of the ninth circuit; the Territories of Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico shall be declared a part of the district of Nevada and of the ninth circuit; Montana and Dakota, a part of the district of Minnesota and the eighth circuit; Wyoming, of the district of Colorado, and the eighth circuit; Indian Territory of the district of Kansas and the eighth circuit; *provided*, that that part of the Duck Valley reservation situated in Idaho shall be deemed a part of the district of Nevada and of the ninth circuit. And the number of Court Commissioners so appointed shall be as follows: Five in the district of Oregon; eight in the district of Nevada; four in the district of California; seven in the district of Minnesota; one in the district of Wisconsin; one in the district of Michigan; one in the district of Nebraska; two in the district of Colorado; two in the district of Kansas, and two in the district of Texas; *provided*, that the President of the United States may at any time within six months after the passage of this act exclude from such judicial districts and from the jurisdiction of such Court Commissioner any of the smaller reservations.

JURISDICTION OF COURT COMMISSIONERS.

SECTION 5. Every such commissioner shall have authority to hear and decide all cases, civil and criminal, except capital cases, arising within the district allotted to him, between Indians, or Indians on the one side and whites upon the other, or in which Indians are interested as prosecutors or accused, and to hear appeals as hereinafter provided, and to perform the other duties entrusted to him by this act. He shall also have the general powers of a surrogate or judge of probate, or other like officer within the State or Territory, so far as relates to the proving of wills of Indians and the appointment and accounts of Indian administrators, trustees, and guardians. He shall also have, within any reservation, the power of a justice of the peace or notary public under the laws of the State or Territory within which such reservation is situated. Cases shall be tried by such commissioner without juries, unless a jury shall be demanded by either party; but either party may claim a jury of six; and in all cases the jury shall be composed half of each race, where this is practicable in the judgment of the commissioner, and where a sufficient number of Indians may be found who speak and understand English. An appeal may be taken from the judgment of a Commissioner's Court to the United States District Court sitting at any place in the district where the reservation is situated, as hereinafter provided:—

1. In any case if the matter in controversy exceeds \$20.
2. In any criminal case in which the party accused is liable to an infamous punishment; *provided*, that if an appeal is taken in any case between an Indian and a white person, or in which a white person is accused of an infamous crime against an Indian, or *vice versa*, the jury, if any, shall be composed in equal proportions of Indians and white persons, or as nearly as may be practicable, if Indians speaking and understanding English can be found, and an appeal may be taken from the district to the United States Circuit Court, and thence to the United States Supreme Court under the same restrictions as are provided in the laws of the United States for other cases in the District Court.

Each commissioner shall hold court for civil and criminal cases at each agency within his district at least once in every three months.

SESSIONS OF THE DISTRICT COURT.

[SECTION 6. The United States District Courts of the districts named in section four shall sit at least once a year in each of the following places for the purpose of hearing appeals or exercising other functions and jurisdiction conferred upon them by this act, viz.: The Court of the District of Oregon at Fort Hall and Fort Cœur d'Alene for the four reservations in Idaho; and at Fort Spokane, Seattle, and Yakima for the seventeen reservations in Washington Territory. The Court of the District of Nevada at Ouray agency for the two reservations in Utah; at Santa Fe, Fort Wingate, and Fort Stanton for the various reservations of the Apache, Navajos, and other Indians not citizens of New Mexico; and at Navajo, Colorado River, and San Carlos for the nine reservations in Arizona. The Court for the District of Minnesota at Flathead Agency, Fort Assiniboine, and Fort Custer for the six reservations in Montana; and at Fort Berthold, Devil's Lake, Sisseton, and Yankton for the thirteen reservations in Dakota. The Court for the District of Colorado at Shoshone for the Wind River Agency in Wyoming; and the Court for the District of Kansas at Ponca for the northern reservations; and the Court for the District of Texas at Fort Sill for the southern reservations, as defined by section one of the Act of January sixth, eighteen hundred and eighty-three, entitled An Act to provide for holding a term of the District Court at Wichita, Kansas, and for other purposes in the Indian Territory. At such sessions the District Courts for the districts may also sit as a court of original jurisdiction in all manner of causes, including capital cases, arising within the reservation belonging to the district as above defined, without reference to the character of the parties; *provided*, that the matter in controversy exceeds \$500, or in criminal cases, when the party accused is liable to an infamous punishment.

COMMISSIONERS' CLERKS.

SECTION 7. The several commissioners referred to above shall each appoint a clerk, who shall receive a salary of \$1,000 per annum and travelling expenses not to exceed five cents per mile. Such clerk may be an Indian; and if there be an Indian competent within the commissioner's district the commissioner shall give him the preference. The commissioner may authorize such clerk to take testimony, or act as auditor or master in chancery, and he shall have the general powers of a notary public or justice of the peace in the State or Territory in which the reservation is situated; and he shall act as a recorder of deeds and register of births, marriages, and deaths for such district; and such records are to be made, as near as may be, according to the laws of the State or Territory which are extended over such district, as hereinbefore provided.

COMMITTING MAGISTRATES.

SECTION 8. Besides the commissioner's clerk, who shall exercise the general powers of a committing magistrate, the United States Circuit Court shall, upon the recommendation of the commissioner and clerk, appoint one or more committing magistrates for each reservation, at least one of whom shall be an Indian, if there be one competent. Such committing magistrates shall hold office for four years unless removed by the United States Circuit Court for cause, and shall have, so far as the committal for trial of persons accused of crime is concerned, and so far as may be applicable within the reservations, all the powers conferred upon justices of the peace by the laws of the State or Territory which are extended over the reservation, as above provided. They shall also have the powers of justices of the peace, or of notary publics, for the administering of oaths and the taking of acknowledgments. Such committing magistrates shall receive fees for their services in criminal cases, to be paid by the United States in the same manner and at the same rates as fees for like duties are paid to the United States Commissioners of the judicial district within which such committing magistrates exercise their functions.

THE NEXT FRIEND.

SECTION 9. The United States Circuit Court shall appoint for each agency within the circuit, an officer learned in the law, to be known as the Next Friend, who shall perform in behalf of the Indians at such agency the duties hereinafter named. He shall receive a salary of not less than \$500 nor more than \$2,500, to be fixed by the United States Circuit Court. His duties shall be as follows, viz.: He may institute suits and prosecutions on behalf of Indians, or defend the same at the request of any Indian, and without such request, by leave of the commissioner or judge of the court in which the action or prosecution is brought. He shall act as district attorney or prosecuting officer in the agency for which he is appointed. The United States Circuit Court shall have jurisdiction of all complaints against any Next Friend, and may for grave neglect, incompetency, or maladministration remove him from office and appoint a successor in his place. The Next Friend shall hold office for four years and until his successor be appointed; and he shall give the same bond that is or may hereafter be required of the Indian agent for the same agency.

WITNESSES AND EVIDENCE.

SECTION 10. All Indians or other persons suing or being sued in the Commissioners' and Justices' Courts herein established, shall be entitled to compulsory process to obtain evidence, and every person accused shall be entitled to enforce by compulsory process the attendance of witnesses in his favor; and shall be entitled to be heard by himself, or counsel, or both. The Court Commissioner, his clerk, and any justice of the peace may issue subpoenas to enforce the attendance of witnesses; *provided*, that depositions may be taken whenever the witness is distant more than fifty miles from the place of trial, or is too ill or infirm to attend at the trial. Witnesses shall be entitled to fifty cents for each day of actual attendance or necessary travel. And in all other respects the practice and procedure of the Commissioners' Courts by this act established shall conform to that of the District or Superior Courts of the State or Territory wherein they are situated.

SHERIFF AND INDIAN POLICE.

SECTION 11. The agent may exercise the powers and duties of a sheriff on the reservation of the tribe for which he is appointed. He may rent and furnish suitable rooms or buildings for the purpose of a gaol and courthouse, where there is no other building available; and his account and expenditures so incurred, when approved by the Court Commissioner for his agency, shall be allowed him, and paid out of any funds that may be appropriated or available for the purpose; *provided*, that the Next Friend may appoint special constables, and shall do so in any case where service of process is required upon the Indian agent, or if for any cause the Indian police refuse to act.

EDUCATION COMMISSIONERS.

SECTION 12. The President shall, as soon as may be after the passage of this act, appoint a committee of three persons, who shall be well versed in Indian affairs, to prepare and report to the next session of the present Congress a general plan for the institution and maintenance of free common schools for the Indians upon their reservations, and providing for the compulsory attendance at such schools of all Indians not citizens of the United States, for such period and at such times as they deem proper. The expenses of such committee shall be paid by the United States; and the sum of five thousand dollars is hereby appropriated for such purpose.

THIS ACT DOES NOT APPLY TO CERTAIN TRIBES OR RESERVATIONS.

SECTION 13. The provisions of this act shall not apply to the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, commonly called the five civilized tribes, in the Indian Territory, or to their reservations or to any reservation of the Seneca nation in the State of New York, or to the reservation of the Cherokees in the State of North Carolina.

ACTS SPECIALLY RESERVED.

SECTION 14. The following acts in addition to the acts enumerated in section one shall not be construed to be repealed by implication by this act: the Act of August seventh, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, entitled An Act to provide for the sale of a part of the reservation of the Omaha tribe of Indians in the State of Nebraska and for other purposes; Section 2133 of the United States Revised Statutes as amended by the Act of July thirty-first, eighteen hundred and eighty-two; the Act of June fifteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty, entitled An Act to accept and ratify the agreement submitted by the confederated bands of Ute Indians in Colorado, for the sale of their reservation in said State, and for other purposes, and to make the necessary appropriations for carrying out the same; the Act of February twenty-eight, eighteen hundred and seventy-seven, entitled An Act to ratify an agreement with certain bands of the Sioux Nation of Indians, and also with the Northern Arapaho and Cheyenne Indians; and Sections 487, 2078, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2108, 2111, 2113, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2147, 2148, 2152, 2153, 2154, and 2155 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

ACTS REPEALED.

SECTION 15. The following acts and parts of acts are hereby expressly repealed: Sections 2120, 2126, 2145, 2146, 2156 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; and so much of section nine of the Act of March third, eighteen hundred and eighty-five, hereinbefore referred to, as is repealed by section three of this act.

EXPLANATION OF INDIAN COURTS BILL.

I. General Explanations.—II. Notes upon the Different Sections.

I.

(1.) The main part of this Bill (Secs. 3-11 inclusive) provides for courts and a system of law upon the Indian reservations. The power to do this is found,—

1. As regards reservations in the Territories, in the ample authority of Congress over the Territories. In the language of the Supreme Court of the United States (Waite, C. J.), in *National Bank v. Yankton*, 101 U. S. 129, 133, "Congress may legislate for them [the Territories] as a State does for its municipal organizations. . . . Congress is supreme, and for the purposes of this department of its governmental authority has all the powers of the United States, except such as have been expressly, or by implication, reserved in the prohibitions of the Constitution."

2. As regards the reservations in both the Territories and the States, this power is found in the authority of Congress to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes, and especially in the power, which must exist somewhere, and which cannot, consistently with the general control of the Indians by Congress, exist anywhere else than in the Federal Government, to maintain civil order among the Indians, and to administer their affairs when, owing to the decay of their native laws and customs, they are no longer able to administer them for themselves. This power was asserted and enforced in 1885, in *U. S. v. Kagama* (118 U. S. 375), where the precise question was raised of the full power of the United States to legislate for Indians on a reservation within a State. The Supreme Court of the United States (Miller, J.) there says (pp. 383-385,—the italics are those of the Court): "These Indian tribes are the wards of the nation. They are communities *dependent* on the United States. . . . They owe no allegiance to the States, and receive from them no protection. Because of the local ill feeling, the people of the States where they are found are often their deadliest enemies. From their very weakness and helplessness, so largely due to the course of dealing of the Federal Government with them, and the treaties in which it has been promised, there arises the duty of protecting, and with it the power. This has always been recognized by the Executive and by Congress, and by this Court whenever the question has arisen. . . . The power of the General Government over [them]

... is necessary to their protection as well as to the safety of those among whom they dwell. It must exist in that Government, because it never has existed anywhere else; because the theatre of its exercise is within the geographical limits of the United States; because it has never been denied; and because it alone can enforce its laws on all the tribes."

Moreover, the power to maintain the system of Indian reservations implies the power, which has always been exercised, of shutting out others than tribal Indians, and, in so far as others remain on the reservations, of fixing the conditions under which they can remain there. This must include the power of subjecting them to whatever local laws or judicature may be established on the reservations. Qualifications on the fullness of this power may exist in particular States, owing to the voluntary cession of some portion of it to a given State, as in Colorado. And as regards such a State as Colorado, it has been held by the Supreme Court that, but for this cession, the murder of a white man by another white man on a reservation might properly have been tried in a Federal Court. *U. S. v. McBratney*, 104 U. S. 621. (Compare this case with *The Kansas Indians*, 5 Wallace, 737; and see the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1888, p. 322.)

In providing laws and courts for the reservations, it is important to combine two things: (1) To make sure that the United States remains faithful to its own duties to these wards of the nation, and does not abandon them to the chances of that local feeling at the West of which Mr. Justice Miller speaks so strongly. The United States must retain control of the Indians while they are in the way to become landowners and citizens under the existing legislation. The determination of what laws shall be administered on the reservations, and the appointment of officers there, must remain with the United States. But (2) good sense and good statesmanship seem to require that the system of law for each reservation should be, as nearly as practicable, that which prevails in the State or Territory in which the reservation is situated, for it is under these laws that they are one day to live.

(2.) Besides this main purpose and the details belonging to it, this Bill deals with three other things: (a) It fixes and declares (Sec. 1) the civil and political status of all Indians in the country. (b) It enables Indians (Sec. 2) owning land in severalty to make use of it, under proper restrictions, by contracts or leases for a short term, and to exchange their lands with other Indians. (c) It provides (Sec. 12) a commission to prepare and report a plan for free common schools for all reservation Indians. Furthermore (Sec. 13), the Bill exempts from the operation of it, the five civilized tribes, the Senecas in New York, and certain Cherokees in North Carolina; and in Sections 14 and 15, expressly names various statutes as repealed or not repealed.

II.

NOTES UPON THE DIFFERENT SECTIONS.

SECTION 1. This section takes notice of three classes of Indians: (a) citizens of the United States; (b) two classes of non-citizens,—(1) those living on reservations, (2) those living off reservations. For the first class it makes, and need make, no attempt to fix or declare their civil and political rights. As to the third class, it declares them entitled to all the rights and privileges which are secured by the Constitution of the United States to foreigners who are not yet citizens, *e. g.*, to the Chinese (see *Yick Wo. v. Hopkins*, 118 U. S. 356). As regards this third class of Indians, there is strong reason to believe that this section of the Bill is merely declaratory of rights already existing (1 *Harvard Law Review*, 149). But as this has been called in question, it seems well to close the point by a declaratory act. As to the second class, *viz.*, Indians living on reservations, such persons are in a very anomalous condition; they are not citizens, and they are not foreigners (*Karrahoo v. Adams*, 1 *Dillon*, 344). They are on our land; but their status is like that of a foreign nation who should be allowed to camp among us, and allotted land to live upon, and given leave to carry on their own separate national housekeeping, without owing any allegiance to us. The Indians were originally a separate people, and in theory are so still. We have ceased making treaties with them since 1871; but the old treaties are still alive. When they are hostile, their relation to us is that of enemies in war, and never that of subjects guilty of treason. While, little by little, we have legislated for them, and have the constitutional power to legislate fully (U. S.

v. Kagama, 118 U. S. 375), we have dealt with them mainly on the footing of persons outside our national Constitution; not merely as if they were foreigners, for foreigners while here are protected by that Constitution, and owe us allegiance (*Carlisle v. U. S.*, 16 Wallace, 147), but as if they were foreigners at home (*e. g.*, Englishmen in Canada), who are not protected by our Constitution, and owe us no allegiance.

Now, as regards these Indians, it is thought desirable that the reservation system should still be continued; and, to that end, that the Indians should remain at present under certain special restraints while they live on the reservations. But it is confidently believed that, excepting only the necessary restraints involved in maintaining the reservation system, it is high time that these people should be brought within the protection of our national Constitution, and should no longer be denied those civil rights which are accorded to all other human beings without any exception whatever.

The first of the two statutes mentioned in Section 1 is the General Land in Severalty Law of Feb. 8, 1887, known as the Dawes Bill. The second is the same of which (as regards the ninth section of it) an abstract is given in the note to Sec. 3 below.

SECTION 2. This section is intended to meet a difficulty arising under existing laws. In allotting land to the Indians it has wisely been provided that they shall not alienate it for a considerable number of years. But the prohibitions go farther; and in the General Land in Severalty Act of Feb. 8, 1887, for instance, they are also forbidden to make any contract relating to it for twenty-five years. It is a very serious deduction from the value of this new gift to the Indians, to prevent them from improving their land in any other way than by their own personal occupancy or use of it. This section gives them the privilege of making leases and contracts relating to their land, covering a short period, if made with the permission and under the oversight of the "Next Friend" or Court Commissioner provided for in the Bill; and also the privilege, under like restrictions, of making exchanges of lands among themselves. Evidently, it is likely to happen before long, by intermarriages and otherwise, that Indian landowners, in particular instances, will be widely separated from their land.

SECTION 3. At present there is no general system of law applicable to the Indian reservation. In determining what law to provide for them, it seems wise to select in each case that to which the surrounding community of whites is subject,—the system to which the inhabitants of the reservations will, in each case, sooner or later, become subject; in other words, to extend over each reservation the laws of the State or Territory in which it is situated. If it should be found that among these laws there are any which are oppressive to the Indians, this difficulty will be met by the veto power which is reserved to the President. It would be impracticable to state in this Bill, in detail, just what laws of a variety of States and Territories it is proposed to extend over the reservations and what not. It is believed that the descriptive expressions used in Sec. 3 will be found practically sufficient. All that part of the local law, for example, which necessarily supposes a division of the country into towns and counties, is inapplicable to the reservations, while it is otherwise as to the chief part of the private law of persons and property.

The Act of March 3, 1885, Sec. 9 (23 U. S. St. at Large, p. 385), provides that from that date Indians committing on Indians or other persons, any one of the seven crimes of murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary, and larceny, in a Territory, whether on or off a reservation, shall be subject to the territorial laws and tried in the territorial courts; and for the same thing done on a reservation and within a State, shall be subject to the same law and tried in the same courts as persons doing the same within the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States.

SECTION 4 provides for the appointment of judicial officers, to be called Court Commissioners, to apply the law which has now been provided for the Indians. It is supposed that the established reservation system furnishes a sufficient executive power. In establishing and organizing these local courts, it is understood that the United States is not restricted by those clauses of the Constitution which apply to the courts provided for in that instrument. "These courts, then," says the Supreme Court of the United States (*Marshall, C. J.*), in speaking of territorial courts (*Am. Ins. Co. v. Canter*, 1 Peters, 511, 546), "are not constitutional courts, in which the judicial power conferred by the Constitution on the General Government can be deposited. . . . They are legislative courts, created in virtue of the general right of

sovereignty which exists in the Government, or in virtue of that clause which enables Congress to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States. The jurisdiction with which they are invested is not a part of that judicial power which is defined in the third article of the Constitution, but is conferred by Congress in the execution of those general powers which that body possesses over the Territories of the United States. . . . In legislating for them Congress exercises the combined powers of the General and of a State Government." For reasons before indicated the same full power exists in Congress when organizing civil society among the Indians on their reservations situated in a State.

It seems well to vest the appointment of the Court Commissioners in the Circuit Court of the United States, which would naturally have jurisdiction of the reservation, and whose judges would presumably be acquainted with it geographically, and with its people. These courts, already under the general laws, appoint a certain class of commissioners; and they seem a fit body to name those which are herein provided for.

The allotment of the Territories to the several districts of the United States courts has been carefully made with a view to geographical convenience; and the number of Court Commissioners provided for was determined by considering the absolute number of Indians in any district, the number of Indian reservations, and the distance generally separating these reservations. As it is at present understood that the President may think it well to put an end to many of the smallest reservations which have become useless by the disappearance or absorption of the Indians residing therein, it is provided that the President may exclude such reservations from this jurisdiction, —thereby lessening the labor of the commissioners' courts, and the number of officials required.

SECTION 5. The jurisdiction of the commissioners' court is made substantially like the Superior, District, or ordinary *nisi prius* courts of the States and Territories, except that it has not jurisdiction of cases in which only white persons are interested. To avoid multiplying tribunals, the commission is given the powers of a Probate Court, also. As it will be difficult to obtain juries in sparsely settled districts, and as the jurisdiction was felt to be of a more paternal nature than that of an ordinary common-law court, —the Commissioner standing more or less *in loco parentis* to the tribes upon his reservations, —juries are not required unless expressly demanded; and then a jury of only six is made necessary. A principal object in providing for a jury at all, in the case of these courts, is to familiarize the Indians with the institutions of the country under whose laws they must hereafter live. The reason for requiring the jury to be composed half of each race when possible, needs no explanation. An appeal from the Commissioners' decisions is adopted; and, as regards this, it seems judicious to follow certain general constitutional provisions of the United States and the States themselves; although, in strictness, it might seem better not to give an appeal, in all cases, for so small an amount as \$20. The delimitation of the districts of the Court Commissioner has been left to the appointing power for future adjustment. The Commissioner may well be expected to visit each agency in his district as often as once in three months, not alone for the purpose of holding his court, but in order to secure other advantages from his frequent supervision.

SECTION 6. Original jurisdiction of important civil cases, and of criminal cases involving an infamous punishment, belongs to the District Court of the United States, and it is provided that these courts shall sit at least once a year in the most important places in their districts as above defined. These places have been carefully selected with a view to central position and ease of access from the reservations in the district. As regards details of procedure, when the District Courts sit in the reservations, —these will be found in laws which are extended over the reservations by Sec. 3.

SECTION 7. The Commissioner is given a general assistant in a clerk, who shall be his record officer, and may act as his auditor, or person delegated to make distant investigations, and shall keep the general records of his district. The Commissioner is directed to appoint an Indian as his clerk whenever one can be found who is competent.

SECTION 8. Having established the Superior Court system, it was necessary to provide for officers of the peace and minor magistrates who would be always at hand. Accordingly, the United States Circuit Court is to appoint committing magistrates (one, at least, for each reservation, and one, at least,

to be an Indian, if there be one competent), who shall have the general powers of a justice of the peace and a notary public, except that they are to have no authority to try cases.

SECTION 9. This section provides for a prosecuting attorney, who is also more than a prosecuting attorney, and is vested with the duty of protecting and aiding those Indians whom he sees to stand in need of legal protection. The title "Next Friend" was chosen for this officer, as being a very old and familiar name in the English and American law for a person who protects the legal rights of another who is unable, either through youth or incompetency, to protect himself. It is hoped that this "Next Friend" will justify his name, and become of great help to these poor people whom our country is seeking to start in the ways of our own civilization.

SECTION 10. In order to secure a safe and uniform rule upon an important topic, it was thought well to copy in this section the provisions usual in our State Constitutions, that suitors may have compulsory process to obtain witnesses and evidence, and shall be entitled to be heard personally or by counsel. The witness fee is put low (fifty cents a day), as it seems likely that this amount will be a reasonable one in most cases.

SECTION 11. Having established a court system, criminal and civil, it is necessary to have a sheriff and constables, or like officers; but there seems no need of creating any new officials; the agents and Indian police can discharge these functions.

SECTION 12. The recent legislation about Indians, which seems likely to make large numbers of them landowners and citizens in a very short time, makes the subject of their general education, as well as their political training in the ways of civilized life, a matter of the most pressing importance. The present section recognizes this fact, and also the difficulties that attend a wise handling of the subject. It assumes that it is best that the reservation Indians should, as a class, be educated at home, and that this education should be free, universal, and compulsory; and it provides for a committee to devise and present a proper plan for this most important work.

SECTION 13. This section excepts from the operation of the Bill the five "civilized tribes," and a remnant of Indians in New York and North Carolina. The situation of the five tribes is so peculiar that they cannot well be brought under any general scheme: whatever is to be done about them must be separately done.

SECTION 14. This section specifies certain enactments as not being repealed by implication by this Bill. The purpose of so specifying them is that of greater certainty. The section does not, it is conceived, save any parts of the enactments named from the operation of any *express* provisions of this Bill; nor, of course, does it operate to repeal by implication anything else which is omitted from this enumeration. It merely makes it definite and clear that these specified things, at any rate, many of which are closely connected with the subject matter of the Bill, are no otherwise repealed than as the Bill expressly indicates. The sections named cover, among other things, the essential features of the reservation system, as will appear by the brief abstract of them which follows:—

'The Act of August 7, 1882 (22 U. S. St. at Large, pp. 341-343), provides in part for the allotment and sale of the lands of the Omahas, and for securing to them certain civil rights, in terms similar to those of the General Land in Severalty Act of February 8, 1887, known as the Dawes Bill.

The Act of July 31, 1882 (22 U. S. St. at Large, pp. 179-180), and Sec. 2133 of the Rev. St. of the U. S., relate to unlicensed trading with the Indians.

The Act of June 15, 1880 (21 U. S. St. at Large, pp. 199-205), provides for the purchase and allotment of lands of the Utes in Colorado, in terms similar to those of the Dawes Bill.

The Act of Feb. 28, 1877 (19 U. S. St. at Large, pp. 254-264), makes certain arrangements with the Sioux Indians and others, relating to their removal from their lands.

Rev. St. U. S. Sec. 467 relates to prohibiting the sale of arms or ammunition in certain cases.

Ib. Sec. 2078 forbids those employed in Indian affairs from having any pecuniary interest in trade with Indians, excepting on Government account.

Ib. Secs. 2103 to 2106 inclusive relate to contracts with Indians, and the assignment thereof, touching Indian land or claims on the Government, forbidding them unless under specified conditions.

Ib. Sec. 2108 relates to settlements by the Government with those representing incompetent or orphan Indians.

Ib. Sec. 2111 and Sec. 2113 forbid, under penalty, doing certain acts calculated to excite the Indians to hostility.

Ib. Secs. 2117 to 2119 inclusive protect Indians in the enjoyment of their lands.

Ib. Secs. 2128 to 2144, 2147, and 2148 regulate trading and intercourse with Indians on the reservations, and the expulsion of intruders, provide penalties for various unlawful acts of white men, and extend there the laws of the United States punishing forgery and depredations on the mails.

Ib. Secs. 2152 to 2155 inclusive provide for the arrest of Indians and others charged with crimes, and for reparation to Indians.

SECTION 15. This section specifies certain laws and parts of laws as being repealed. A brief abstract is given below. It will be seen that they relate to matters which are covered by the Bill in what is believed to be a better and completer form.

Rev. St. U. S. Sec. 2120 protects Indian landowners from trespasses by other Indians.

Ib. Sec. 2126 puts the burden of proof on the whites in trials between Indians and whites relating to property.

Ib. Secs. 2145 and 2146 provide for the punishment of certain crimes committed in the Indian country.

Ib. Sec. 2156 deals with obtaining satisfaction from Indian tribes in case of certain offenses committed by Indians.

The Act of March 3, 1885, Sec. 9, is explained in the note to Sec. 3 of the present Bill.

DISCUSSION ON LAW FOR THE INDIANS.

MR. AUSTIN ABBOTT: I do not know that I have anything more to add than had the speaker who followed a famous orator, who simply said, "Ditto to Mr. Burke."

But it may be useful if I give a recapitulation of one or two of the leading ideas which have influenced your committee, and which we think should aid in weighing suggestions for the amendment or alteration of such a bill. I assume that no bill that will be useful will be passed without a good deal of pushing; for it is in the nature of legislation in this country that good things do not get done unless they are pretty badly wanted. There must be an appreciation of the situation and an expressed desire of some specific remedy in order to accomplish any step in advance.

The criticisms which I have heard upon this bill are nearly all summed up in the words that it is too good; that it is too far-reaching, too thorough, too comprehensive, too complete. The objections all spring from qualities which we deem to be part of its excellence. I desire to point out briefly the outlines of these qualities.

Why do we want any bill? Courts exist to enforce rights. What are, in brief and in large, the rights of the Indians? Hitherto they have been almost entirely such rights as have been assured by treaties, and they have consisted of tribal rights. The tribe has been considered a legal *entity*. Besides these, there has been in some few cases a recognition of individual rights. The treaties themselves contain many instances of individual rights recognized and secured. But, relatively speaking, the rights are almost purely tribal; the personal rights almost nothing. We may say that, with very few exceptions, until the commencement of allotting land in severalty, personal rights before the law were nothing. The allotment of land opens a new chapter, and the citizenship which follows enlarges that chapter into

a volume. From this time on individual rights are enlarging, and tribal rights are diminishing. The tribal rights are the vanishing quantity; and Senator Dawes is right when he speaks of them in that way. But the Mohonk Conference is looking not only at the past, but at the growing present and to the future. The bill which we propose deals not only with a vanishing past, but, so far as it deals with individual rights, it deals with a rapidly increasing quantity. We heard yesterday the experience of those in the field, and of the difficulties that arise in making allotment under the best conditions. We were told of allotments formerly made in the names of "Aaron Burr" and "Thomas Jefferson," and fictitious names which the Indians to whom they were applied have forgotten. Confusion of titles and other questions which will arise out of such methods will be troublesome under the new system; and although as a rule they will affect small values, there will doubtless be many controversies as to land titles involving large interests.

With these questions of property come questions of personal right, the liberty of the citizen, the domestic rights of parent and child, husband and wife, and of administration.

To give one simple illustration. One of the Indian agents complains of the difficulty in breaking up the old tribal usage in regard to the disposition of the effects of a man when he dies. He found it was the custom for all of the relatives and friends to come together and apportion all of the property they found in the wigwam as mementoes of the dear departed, carry them off, and leave the widow with nothing. He had to interfere, and introduce a law of administration. The result proved to be a race of diligence. If the word of a man's death got to the policeman first he administered in half an hour, and when the mourners got there there was nothing to divide. If they got there first there was nothing left to administer.

In proposing to subject the Indians individually to the operation of our laws we have not felt embarrassed by the tribal rights and relations, because, so far as the objections to dealing with individual rights are concerned, we are convinced that the time has gone by for specific performance of treaty stipulations as against the necessities of good government, of citizenship, of peace, and of order. So far as it is a legal question it may be illustrated thus: Columbia College leased property in New York to certain tenants who covenanted that there should never be built on it any thing but first-class residences, and that the buildings should never be used for business purposes. Such agreements are very common in ground rents. The elevated railroad company in building its tracks on Sixth Avenue, went close by one of these houses, and rendered it untenable. Sleep was impossible. Such houses lost their tenants, and stood vacant season after season. The owner finally satisfied himself that it was absolutely impracticable to use that property for residence, and turned it into stores, in violation of his covenant. Columbia College brought an action to compel him to keep that covenant. There we have the same principle on a small scale. The question is whether the Government is bound to keep reservations exclusively for the Indians. What is the rule of justice? It is a sensible rule. Changes wrought by time do not abrogate the covenant. If the literal compliance becomes impracticable it is not to be required; but the covenant

stands, and if the covenantor breaks his covenant he is liable in damages. He must make it good. He must make proper compensation to those with whom he has covenanted. The entire change of situation from the time when Sixth Avenue was a quiet region suitable for residence, to the time when public interest made it a noisy highway by night and day, overriding personal and private arrangements, made it unjust to enforce a specific performance of this covenant. But the refusal to carry out the covenant must be paid for: there must be pecuniary satisfaction.

Now, the measures that are necessary in the framing of such a bill must look forward. What is the present situation, and what is the future, which such a bill must prepare for? I arranged yesterday with Miss Dawes and General Howard for one exception to the bill. We are going to take the most disorderly reservation—I mention this as illustrating the present situation where there is no law, save the rude tribal customs,—and whenever anarchists are convicted, as in Chicago, General Howard is to have them sent to that reservation, and they are to be shut up with the Indians, to enjoy the system of lawlessness which the rest of the world does not appreciate. One such Botany Bay will be sufficient. But for the rest of the reservations we desire to introduce the system of American justice. The present condition is lawlessness mitigated by arbitrary power. That is the point of starting. The point we wish to reach is the administration of human justice, civil and criminal, for all inhabitants alike, under the American system. The bill which we desire is a bridge between these two points, and the main features which must, in our view, be adhered to in all proposals for amendment, and which must control all the methods by which we work, are, that it shall “catch on,” as the boys say, to the existing situation, and must promise to land us in that future to which we look. Senator Morgan’s bill is a step in the other direction. It enlarges and confirms the arbitrary power which we seek to terminate.

DR. STRIEBY: Suppose neither this bill nor any other is passed, what will be the situation of the Indian under present law? What has he to resort to? What is his defense, and what is his protection?

MR. ABBOTT: If an Indian in the tribal relation gets into a quarrel, if a pony is stolen, if there is a case of drunkenness and disorder, the Indian agent, aided by a couple of Indian policemen or deputies, calls the disorderly parties before him, and sends those who are convicted of wrong to the guard-house for a shorter or longer time. The reports of the Indian agents are full of items of this kind. It is a rude kind of justice, excellent in the main, as a restraint on a barbarous situation; but it is inefficient, imperfect, and inadequate, even to the existing situation of lawlessness, as the testimony of the agents shows.

DR. STRIEBY: Is there no appeal from the decision of the agent?

MR. ABBOTT: The law does not provide for any.

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT: What redress has anyone if ponies are stolen from people outside?

MR. ABBOTT: Perhaps they may ask Congress to make an appropriation. If an Indian is charged with doing wrong to a white man, there is a quiet way of getting satisfaction from the tribal allowance.

PROFESSOR PAINTER: Forty-three thousand dollars in one case.

DR. WARD: What is the course in graver offenses?

MR. ABBOTT: The criminal jurisdiction has been extended over parts of some reservations, but I can answer this most briefly by reading from the last Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs a few paragraphs in regard to the need of United States courts in the Indian Territory; and the need is still greater in the other reservations.

I feel it my duty to repeat, with added emphasis, that the necessity for Congressional legislation for the better protection of life and property and the preservation of order among the five civilized tribes, increases from year to year; in fact, hourly grows in urgency. The reckless destruction of human life, particularly in the Cherokee and Creek nations, is appalling to contemplate. Officer after officer has been brutally murdered in attempting to discharge his sworn duty. Murderers escape punishment, and even trial. One who was arrested was allowed to escape by inexcusable negligence. If all the parties are Indians, they are not amenable to the United States courts; the local tribal courts are ineffective. A member of the Delaware tribe, which is incorporated in the Cherokee nation, writes this office: "We have been murdered, slandered, and abused, our houses shot into by drunken Cherokees, and no recourse to their courts, as always the jury would be Cherokees."

Evidence on file in this Bureau abundantly shows that these people have little opportunity for obtaining justice from a Cherokee tribunal, and their case is probably no exception to that of many others.

Until a United States court, with civil and criminal jurisdiction over both Indians and whites is established in the Indian Territory, as was provided for in each of the treaties of 1866 with the five civilized tribes, the condition of these people in respect to judicial matters will grow worse instead of better. Agent Owen calls attention to this in his Report, from which the following extracts are taken:—

"Many civil cases arise between United States citizens and Indian citizens, in some instances involving large sums. There is no court having civil jurisdiction to settle these cases, which necessarily must increase in number and importance, and for which provision should be made. If the Federal court is clothed with power to try an Indian's right to life itself, or for an assault on his life, I see no reason why it may not be empowered to protect his right to property or deny his right of defrauding a citizen of the United States.

"The United States District Court for the Western district of Arkansas has more business than it can possibly attend to, and many cases I would otherwise have presented for the protection of the Indians of this agency, have been passed by because of their minor character when compared to more important criminal matters and the present embarrassment of the court in the multitude of important cases to hear. One serious defect in the administration of justice by this court is, that the overwork necessarily prevents the citizen from enjoying the guarantee of the Constitution,—a speedy trial. Moreover, owing to the great distances and necessity of traveling on horseback, and the fact that witnesses have to attend the court probably three or four times before a case is disposed of, making, may be, a journey in all of from eight hundred to twelve hundred miles, thus punishing them severely in hardship and loss of money and time, many cases are unreported, or all knowledge of them denied.

"Recently a man named Hill cut his wife's throat and gave her mother a terrible cut in the head. It was impossible to get a doctor to dress her wounds, though payment was guaranteed, for fear of being summoned to this court as a witness. It is certain that stealing and whiskey peddling are permitted to go unreported in the majority of cases rather than incur the expenses of reporting them.

"It would save thousands of dollars in mileage if there were located a court more near the centre of the Five Nations, at Fort Gibson or Muscogee, and would secure a better administration of the laws of the United States, as well as save great expense to, and be far more satisfactory to, the people of this agency. . . ."

At its last session Congress passed a law providing that any Indian guilty of the crimes of murder, manslaughter, or assault with intent to kill, against the person of any Indian policeman appointed under the laws of the

United States, or any Indian United States marshal while lawfully engaged in the execution of any United States process or other duty imposed upon him by law, "shall be subject to the laws of the United States relating to such crimes, and shall be tried by the District Court of the United States exercising criminal jurisdiction where said offense was committed, and shall be subject to the same penalties as are all other persons charged with the commission of said crimes respectively, and the said courts are hereby given jurisdiction in all such cases."

This law, however, as shown by recent events, does not go far enough.

The Indian official should be guaranteed a fair trial in case he himself should be charged with being guilty of assault or murder while discharging his official duty. For example: in one case reported by Agent Owen, an Indian posse and accessory in a killing in the performance of duty, was condemned by an Indian jury to die for murder, while the principal, the deputy marshal, a United States citizen, was acquitted by the United States court at Fort Smith.

Also, this court should take cognizance of an assault upon, or attempt to kill, an Indian policeman when he is not engaged in the performance of his lawful duty, provided such attack springs from malice aroused by a previous performance of duty.

I suppose few of us know how much we owe to the existence of law which can be invoked if necessary. The characteristic quality which gives jurisprudence its dignity and position is, that behind the judicial power for a peaceful settlement of controversies, lies all the force of the State to compel acquiescence in that settlement. It is the presence of the judicial power in the community, with a sheriff behind it, and, if necessary, a militia behind that, which engenders, fosters, and enforces the sense of justice, maintains a quiet regulation of human affairs, and leaves our homes unmolested. It is the law controlling even cases that have never been brought before the court, that is really the basis of security to the whole community. We have felt, therefore, that to these new-made citizens in these wild and rude regions, the one thing needful is to have laws that might be invoked if necessary. That is the first necessity of such a bill,—that there should be courts instituted to take care of the offenders when crops are pilfered or trampled down, or ponies stolen, as well as to try larger cases. And the means of justice must be within the reach of these men having new-found rights, and having newly come into possession of property and a sense of its value.

The bill, therefore, proposes two classes of courts,—one kind for the larger jurisdiction, and a smaller and more convenient one for local purposes. These must be adequate to increasing business. They must serve to introduce that business, and guide it in currents in which the State courts shall quietly take up and carry on the work. They must be calculated to induce a sense of justice and responsibility to law among these men. There must be Indian juries as well as Indian litigants. In the discussions which take place among speculative reformers and legislators as to the permanency of the jury system, a fact is overlooked which is at the bottom of the reasons for its preservation. However many abuses there may be in the cities, yet take it the country through, the court-room is the place where average citizens are brought together year after year in sufficient number to inspect and overlook the administration of justice. And we need the same system and method in their essential features to introduce these new communities into the duties and rights of citizenship, and of the administration of justice under American law.

As to the tribal rights of Indians, they may best be compared to the rights of a ward who is coming of age. The Indian is coming of age. The National Government is his guardian. When the tribe is extinguished, who succeeds to the rights of the tribe? These questions are important. It may be that the book-keeping of the United States—which is the only guarantee the tribes have—is impartial and accurate, and that the Indian Department records will show all the rights of the tribes, and that Congress will honor those rights by appropriations. But the question becomes one of greater importance from the fact that the Severalty Bill will greatly increase these complications. Some consideration was given by your committee to this subject of tribal rights, but it was finally thought better to confine the bill to the question of the juristic rights, obligations, and liabilities of the Indians as citizens and inhabitants, under the new system. I cannot better emphasize the importance of the contrast between the two proposed bills than by reading Mr. Atkins' statement of the result of the Dawes Bill. He says:—

I fail to comprehend the full import of the allotment act if it was not the purpose of the Congress which passed it, and of the Executive whose signature made it a law ultimately, to dissolve all tribal relations, and to place each adult Indian upon the broad platform of American citizenship. Under this act it will be noticed that whenever a tribe of Indians, or any member of a tribe, accepts lands in severalty, the allottee at once, *ipso facto*, becomes a citizen of the United States, endowed with all the civil and political privileges, and subject to all the responsibilities and duties, of any other citizen of the Republic.

It is to secure the enjoyment of those privileges, and the performance of those duties, that we deem further legislation essential.

PROFESSOR PAINTER: Many of you will remember Miss Robertson and her work in the Indian Territory,—how full her heart is of missionary zeal! I had a letter from her last winter, in which she said that more than the missionary, more than the teacher, courts were needed in the Indian Territory. That was a good deal for her to say, but she said it deliberately. She told me of a shooting case where the physician refused to go to see the wounded man, because he could not take the consequence of knowing the facts and being summoned as a witness down to Fort Smith. Yet we can get no bill passed to establish courts, because Arkansas, and Texas, and Kansas object. I believe it is about three hundred miles on the average from the centre of our reservations to where the Indian can be brought into court. The condition of things on the reservations we may easily believe is bad. It is on some of them simple anarchy, and it is growing worse. They are not places in which people whom we wish to become civilized should be kept. Mr. Abbott spoke of this proposed bill as a bridge between the old state of things and the new, but it is said by Senator Dawes that the bridge will be so short that it is not worth while to be at the expense of erecting it. That is a very important consideration,—one that must have its full weight. The expense of bridge-building is a matter that we must meet. The two points that will come up for discussion will be the length and the cost of the bridge. If the Severalty Bill shall be carried out as slowly as at present it promises to be, as slowly as safety requires it shall be, the length of the bridge will be considerable. The department has been able to take up no new work in allotting.

Work had to be suspended in the spring. The agents had to be called home. The House put upon "the urgent deficiency bill," a number of thousand dollars to carry it on, and it passed the House. But the Senate, under the leadership of the Indian Committee, struck it out, because it was feared that we were going too fast. There was no appropriation available till after the first of July, and it was then so small that the Secretary cannot undertake to do any new work till he knows whether he can finish that in hand. In the meantime great efforts are being made to pass *special* bills to break up reservations and dispose of Indian lands, and I have grave apprehensions whether much of their land will be allotted under the provisions of the general bill before the land-grabbers, the men who are reaching out for these reservations, shall get through special bills, and secure the ends they have in view.

As to the cost of it. Almost any man is willing to pay something to have justice done. We know the expense which men will incur in courts for abstract justice in even trivial cases. But many of these Indians are paying a great deal for injustice, and are left without any facilities for protection. Let me give an instance. I met in Washington Gabriel Renville, a Sisseton Sioux, who came there to see whether he could have justice done him. He was the leader of the scouts furnished by the Sisseton-Waupeton Band of Sioux at the time of the outbreak in 1862, of hostile Indians. Under a treaty the Sissetons were entitled to \$73,400 a year for fifty years from 1851. Ten payments had been made before this outbreak occurred. These Indians had also furnished soldiers who were at this time fighting our battles for the preservation of the Union. They furnished fifteen hundred scouts who risked their lives for our people in putting down this outbreak of the Sioux. Through their aid the outbreak was suppressed. In the year 1863, February 13th, Congress passed a law which confiscated all their lands in Minnesota and all their annuities, and turned out these friendly Indians penniless. After some time General Sibley called the attention of Congress to this case in such a way that a delegation from the band was brought on to make a new treaty. They came to Washington, and were kept there four months. During that time one of the chiefs was kidnapped. After six weeks a reward of one hundred dollars was offered for him, and he was found hung on a tree on the Virginia side of the Potomac, evidently dead before he was hung there. Under such treatment the Indians signed a treaty. By this treaty we agree that "for and in consideration for all their faithfulness and good service rendered us, and because of the wrong we had done them," to do what? Well, we gave them a piece of land of their own, that we had not confiscated, over in Dakota. Then we sent them some surveyors to survey the land, and they ran the line so as to take 46,000 acres off from the border, and charged them \$45,000 for running the lines. Feeling that they ought to have some relief, Renville came on with Brown, a half-breed scout, who has never taken a natural step since he rode forty hours without rest, and brought information to General Sibley which enabled him to head off the hostiles. These men came on once more this winter to get relief. I happened to be in the room of the Commissioners when the clerk brought in a statement of account with these Indians. It was a remarkable state-

ment. It showed them to be a hundred thousand dollars in our debt. Renville was overwhelmed, as well he might be. I asked the clerk to let me look at that account. The first item was for damages paid, amounting to about nine hundred thousand dollars. I asked the meaning of that, and found it was for damages paid to whites for injuries inflicted by the hostiles—damages inflicted by the men they were fighting! Their accounts were so inextricably mixed up with the affairs of the hostile bands that no Bureau clerk can ever disentangle them.

The time is coming soon when these Indians will demand an overhauling of their accounts with the Government, and the statements of the Bureau must be examined and settled in the courts. It has been deemed a matter of small importance whether moneys were paid to this or that party, and whether loss and damage should be paid out of the funds of this or that band, or whether on charges that were clearly fraudulent. There will doubtless be in the immediate future a large field to be gone over in such courts as shall give the Indian a fair and full hearing along with white men.

GEN. C. H. HOWARD, Chicago: It seems that all there is left for this Conference to do in regard to this bill is to indorse it. But there is some one else besides this Conference to be convinced. Congress has got to be convinced. Others have to be convinced. I know that Senator Dawes is as good a friend of the Indian as there is on this continent. In his thoughtful and able way he gives days and nights to the consideration of this subject. It ill becomes any of us to go hastily against the judgment of such a man in such a place, after he has devoted twenty years to the study of this question. But Senator Dawes cannot be both in the United States Senate and on the Indian reservation, and he cannot know the facts that press on the hearts of those missionaries in regard to the terrible wrongs not of ten or five years ago, but of to-day. One missionary stated that twenty-five Indians had just been arrested in Minnesota, who were earning a dollar and a half a day, driving logs, off the reservation. They were cast into jail because they were off the reservation. My point is this, that till we have the Severalty Bill in operation on every reservation, we need an administration of justice that cannot sanction such things. We need it, also, as an educational measure, to teach these Indian people how to attend courts, how to get justice, and how to administer these things themselves. I would like to second the motion to indorse this bill, and to appoint a committee to urge it before Congress.

MR. CHAS. EMORY SMITH, Philadelphia: I listened to the very clear and incisive paper of Professor Thayer with keen interest, as I did to the admirable paper of Dr. Abbott, yesterday. As I listened to Professor Thayer's plea for the protection of these Indians under our Constitution, I could not help recalling a scene which made a vivid impression on my mind a year ago, when in Philadelphia we celebrated the centennial anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution. In the long procession there was one feature which attracted universal attention. It was a company of Indian boys, who had come down from Carlisle, marching in a place of honor, almost at the head of the procession, with their slates under their arms. It seemed to me that on one side there was a kind of mockery in bringing these

Indians to participate in a celebration in commemoration of the adoption of a Constitution under which they had suffered such grievous wrongs, and under which they had enjoyed no protection. But, on the other hand, I regarded the fact that they were placed in this position of honor as emblematic of the truth that we had come at last to recognize that we owe them a great obligation, and that they have their place under our Constitution, and are entitled to the protection of their rights under it. And I noticed that there was no feature of the procession that enlisted so much popular interest, and commanded so much applause, as that body of Indians. It seemed to me that the hundreds of thousands who were looking on, many of them never having felt any direct or immediate interest in this question, yet having the vague sense which pervades the American mind that we had done this people a great wrong, had come to realize that we had at last struck the wise policy of dealing justly with them.

I have listened to this discussion with interest, and have thought that the simple statement of the facts was the conclusive argument; that it needed to be enforced by no logic, because the simple narrative of what is now the state of the no-law, the absence of all law, and the condition of things under it, shows the duty of providing some law which should more adequately meet the pressing requirements. As I understand it, the object which we are aiming at is to incorporate these Indians in the great body of the citizenship of this country, and to wipe out every distinction which separates them from ourselves, except that one distinction which is beyond our control, and which God has stamped upon the skins of the two races. To do that, we must educate them as we do our own people, because we hold that under republican institutions education is the very foundation of civil liberty; and we must have effective law, because organized law is the substance and security of government. The discussions thus far have pointed to the application to the Indian question of those measures which will bring about general harmony in our system of government, and we are steadily tending toward that policy and result. We are bringing our municipal governments more into harmony with the general system of responsible administration. So it seems to me that the object at which we should aim is that indicated in the discussion of yesterday and to-day—better education, and more comprehensive and efficient law. We should build up this Indian policy on broad principles which are in harmony with our whole system. There has been some discussion here as to whether what is proposed is practical. I think the first thing to which we should address ourselves, is to determine *what is right*; and when we have determined that, I have faith that we can accomplish it. I am ready to accept the maxim of the great Lincoln that “right makes might, and let us dare to do our duty.” I believe that embraced within this Conference are men and women who, when they have deliberately determined to unite upon what they feel to be right, possess within themselves and within the influences which they can bring to bear, the power to carry that policy through. It may take one year, or two years, or longer, but they must succeed eventually.

MR. Houghton: I move that the bill which has been discussed here to-day be adopted as the sentiment of the Mohonk Conference, and that the same committee be appointed to look after its interests in

Congress. It was determined here a year ago that there was a necessity for some such legislation, as this bill indicates. That sentiment manifested itself in two different schemes. The Morgan Bill does not meet the case fully, and we need a rallying point. This bill gives it to us. I am confident that these gentlemen, who have spent so much time, and have considered this matter so carefully, are not tenacious to have the bill passed exactly as presented, or as reported to the committee in Congress. They welcome any criticism. The only regret that I have heard, is, that there has been here, so far, no criticism, because all criticism from this Conference is enlightened criticism. It desires to get at the truth, and not to oppose for the sake of opposition. This Conference has come to the conviction that the Indians need something in the way of legislation in addition to what they have already. The Nomads of ancient times, who journeyed from Egypt to the Holy Land, needed law to regulate their action; and I think they made the best code that has ever existed, with all due respect to the distinguished members of the profession here. It was suggested by the father-in-law of Moses, an outside barbarian, who saw that there was necessity for it. It has been made clear to us here that all law is simply attaching penalties to the moral law. We seem to think that while we are on the way to universal peace and good will, it is necessary to have sheriffs; and I believe that is true. The acquisition of property is the first step to civilization. As soon as the Indian owns houses and land he wants law. As soon as he has a dollar in money to invest in property, he wants the aid of police and law to protect him in that property. This is one of the first steps in emerging from a state of savagery to a state of civilization. Let the Indian have the protection of law while he is going over the bridge that separates these two conditions, be it ever so short. If the Indian is to be civilized, and to become one of our citizens, he must have law as soon as possible. As it has been intimated here, and as I heard Captain Pratt say in Washington, we must wipe the Indian out by making him a citizen of the United States,—by absorbing him into our civilization.

MRS. O. J. HILES said that she understood the proposed law took no cognizance of tribal relations. There were certain tribal customs which would be considered crimes under our laws. She did not understand how such cases were to be treated during the passing away of the tribal relation.

MR. AUSTIN ABBOTT: If I said that the law does not recognize tribal relations, I would qualify it by saying that it does not *deal* with tribal relations. It does not allow tribal customs to sanction that which is not legal under our laws. But, still further change needs to be made; the sooner it is made the better. There is no good reason why we should not extend the local law, to which all other citizens have to submit, over these new American citizens, with the qualification that the National Government may exercise such reasonable restraint as is necessary to keep the peace during the continuance of the reservation system. But even now no Indian usage is a defense before a state or territorial court to a charge of crime.

MR. SETH LOW: There is one point which this Conference ought to consider in any action. It seems to me that the judgment is almost universal that this law proposes a step in the right direction. At the

same time it appears that Senator Dawes and others equally interested with ourselves in the end to be attained, have doubts as to the constitutionality of the law. Professor Thayer himself suggested that it might be wise to submit that large question to good legal minds to be agreed upon. I think that in committing ourselves to this law, we want to do it with so much reservation as shall leave the way open for such action as that. We do not want to break up our forces. We have gained the Severalty Bill by working together. We shall not gain the still further advance if we allow ourselves to drift apart, and I should be sorry to see this Conference take such a stand with relation to this law as would seem to make us advocates of this particular measure, so that those who differ from us would be upon the other side. I would like to see a resolution that should be written out and carefully worded to cover this point. Is it not well to avoid placing ourselves on one side, and Senator Dawes and others on the other side, of this particular measure? I would ask if Professor Thayer cannot write out such a resolution as he would like to have passed. The question has been discussed with great power and intelligence, and with singular felicity, and I can see no use in discussing it further.

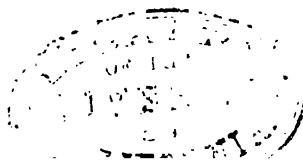
GENERAL WHITTLESEY: Will not the effect of this measure, in case it becomes a law, be to keep the Indians for a long time a separate people? Will it not keep them from becoming absorbed as a part of our body politic?

PROFESSOR THAYER: I do not see that it would have that effect. The bill assumes the continuance of the reservation system, but not as a permanent system. It simply says that the reasonable restraint which is necessary for the reservation system, is not by this bill forbidden. How long the reservation system shall continue is untouched. The bill simply provides that while the reservation system continues there shall be law—the law of the State or Territory under which these persons will have to come when they are absorbed into our citizenship, and that courts shall be provided for the reservation and administered by the United States Government. The bill is neutral as touching the length of time the reservation system shall continue; but while it continues it insists on the power of the United States Government to retain the control. It has a duty to these people as its wards so long as it keeps up this system,—the duty of administering as well as providing law, instead of allowing that system to be administered by their worst enemies, or by their neighbors in the States adjoining.

As regards the very important and interesting suggestion of Mr. Low, I think everyone must feel the desirableness of it. This, however, is to be said: that Senator Dawes takes the same position which he took last year here; that the Severalty Bill has done so much, and promises so much improvement, that there is no need of any legislation of this sort; that it magnifies the difficulty too much; that it is providing for a vanishing state of things; that it will take a great while to get it in working order even after the bill is passed; that before then the Severalty law will be in effective working, the Indians will have escaped, and there will be no reservations. There is no likelihood of our being able to commend this bill or any other to him so long as he retains this position. The question is, whether that

opinion is a right one. Last year the Conference was pretty unanimous in thinking that some legislation was needed, contrary to the opinion of Senator Dawes. I think, therefore, that there is a distinct issue there. As happens always in the progress of reform, there comes a point when the older persons who have carried forward the reform stop, while others who are also engaged in carrying it on, who have perhaps come into the work later, see the necessity of going still farther. Then there comes an issue, and we must accept it. It seems to me that the general opinion is that such legislation is necessary, conforming in its main aspects to this bill. This Conference differed last year, and I think it does this, from the position maintained by Mr. Dawes. I should think, if he finds that the general opinion of the friends of the Indian is the other way, it might be hoped that he would accept that general opinion as being, perhaps, more likely to be right than his own. That is the reason why I should think it not right to change the proposed resolution in any such form as would seek to avoid the position that we do differ from Senator Dawes upon that point.

As regards any particular objections to the bill, I should agree fully with what Mr. Low has said. No resolution should be framed which should commit this Conference to the details of this bill. If there be any point in it which shall be thought unconstitutional or inexpedient, this Conference should not in advance close that point. It was in reference to that, that I said we should take the highest professional opinions as to this bill. One objection which I think Senator Dawes presented, was as to legislating to this extent in the States where there are reservations, or even in Territories. He thought it was impossible to deal so summarily with the citizens of the United States who were in a State or Territory, although on a reservation. We have competent opinion that that is not so, and it is shared by prominent legal gentlemen to whom I have spoken. Our general theory is, that while the Government maintains a reservation it maintains a place from which it has a right to exclude everybody; that on that particular piece of ground, while it is maintained as a reservation, it has the right not only to exclude, but to admit, on terms, and so to admit subject to the jurisdiction of such courts as we provide. If I am not right in that, the bill can be modified. Senator Dawes holds that when an Indian has taken up land in severalty, that land is taken out of the reservation. It is as if it were taken up bodily and lifted outside the reservation. It appears rather to us that he is still on the reservation, although he is a citizen of the United States, and has a right to live there and go back and forth; but he must submit to the discipline of the reservation. It is not, for example, possible for this newly-made citizen to set up a whiskey shop and trade in whiskey. The Government must maintain the discipline of the reservation. If Mr. Dawes' view as to the existing law is right, then the law should be changed; and the proposed law would change it. As regards details, I should suppose that the resolution that is proposed would meet the opinion of Mr. Low, that it should be the duty of this Committee to endeavor to harmonize views as to the main question.



The following resolution was read by Dr. Ward, who asked to have it referred to the Committee on Resolutions:

Resolved, That this Conference, recognizing that it is absolutely necessary for the protection of the rights of the Indians, that a general judicial system should be extended over all the Indian reservations, do hereby approve the purpose and plan of the bill to establish courts, presented by the Committee appointed by the Mohonk Conference last year, and that this Committee be continued, and requested to take such action as may be in their power to secure the passage of this bill, after conference with legal experts and such emendations as may be found necessary.

MR. A. K. SMILEY: It is the hardest work to get any legislation for the benefit of the Indian, owing to the opposition of his enemies. An appropriation of money has to be pressed almost at the point of the bayonet. We cannot afford to lose the support of a man who is, by general consent, the best friend of the Indian in this country. The more I have talked with Senator Dawes, the more I am impressed with his wonderful intelligence on Indian affairs. He is the most judicious and wisest of any of the friends of the Indians, and whatever he says in the Senate in regard to Indian affairs, is quite sure to be adopted by it, on account of his integrity and his good judgment. You cannot get a single Indian measure through the Senate without his approval. Is it wise, then, even if we are persuaded in our own minds, to press a measure to which we know he is opposed? I should hesitate to put anything on our record that looks in the least like disapproval of Senator Dawes. He may be too conservative and more cautious as he grows older, but many of us who press this measure have nothing of his experience.

MISS ANNA L. DAWES: It seems to me that a word ought to be said for my father. I feel a little embarrassed about saying it, but I think it is necessary. I think there is no danger that any difference of opinion here will "offend" Mr. Dawes. He is very sensitive lest there should be any such feeling. Of course, he has very strong opinions on this subject. He feels bound to hold them because he feels bound to do for the Indian the best that he can see to be done for him. Nothing that I remember for many years has grieved him so much as differing from the friends of the Indian on this subject. But he will be the first and strongest to beg you not to qualify your opinions on his account. He hopes the Mohonk Conference will feel no delicacy in supporting its own opinion on his account. The members of this Conference are responsible for their opinions as he is for his, and you may be sure that he will appreciate the delicate consideration that has been exhibited this morning.

DR. STRIEBY: I appreciate as much as any one can the reasons for not differing from Senator Dawes. I indorse everything that Mr. Smiley has said; but I still think that we ought to put ourselves on record as having the opinion that something ought to be done in this direction. Most of us are laymen, and not lawyers. We can only say what our impressions are from what we have heard. With regard to the necessity for further legislation, we must vote as we believe.

MR. SETH LOW: We want to express that idea positively, not negatively. Unless the trumpet sounds clearly, how shall men know when to prepare for the battle? We must not say what we do not mean. I like Dr. Ward's resolution, with this possible reservation:

his resolution speaks of certain action as being necessary to protect the Indian in his legal rights. As I understand it, the Indian, as an individual, has no legal rights; therefore they are to be created rather than protected.

GENERAL ARMSTRONG: I think Dr. Ward's resolution is excellent. Senator Dawes wishes people to be perfectly honest and candid with him. When I was on the reservations I asked the opinion of the different agents as to the necessity of further legislation. Here is one illustration of the necessity. Two Indians on Turtle Mountain reserve got into a row. A writ was got out, but when it was brought to the sheriff to serve he would not do it because it would cost the county some money; and if he spent the county's money he might not be re-elected. Something needs to be done to further protect the Indian, especially when he takes up land and becomes a citizen. That was the opinion of those with whom I talked. The Indian courts have done well so far, and Indian police are a great success. This effort for proper legal conditions for the Indian as he is changing his relations, should be carried through. The conditions on the reservations are exceedingly varied, and no one rule or set of rules applies to all. The one great advantage of Professor Thayer's proposition is, that it is to be applied where it is needed; and no doubt it is greatly needed, for there must be places where there will be no law except under such provision. There is great advantage in the flexibility of the bill. Congress will cross bayonets over it with its friends, but let us commit ourselves to the right general idea, and let the details be worked out by those who are familiar with the facts, and competent to do it.

It was then unanimously voted that Dr. Ward's resolution should be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Adjourned.

FOURTH SESSION.

GOVERNMENT AND MISSIONARY SCHOOLS.

THURSDAY EVENING.

THE Conference met at 8 P. M., the President in the chair.

General Whittlesey read two brief reports on education among the Indians, and on the results accomplished by the Severalty Bill, as follows:—

INDIAN SCHOOLS.

During the year ending June 30, 1888, there were in operation 126 boarding and 107 day schools—a total of 233 schools, with an enrollment of about 16,000, and an average attendance of between 12,000 and 14,000.

Of these schools 70 were Government boarding and 85 Government day schools, 5 training schools, and 3 schools for which special appropriations were made by Congress. There were 49 boarding and 22 day schools conducted under contract.

The attendance has more than doubled in the last four years. The Indians on nearly all the reservations are anxious to have schools established near their homes.

The Government schools have accommodations for only about 10,000. If it were not for the accommodations furnished by buildings by parties having contract schools, not more than one fourth of the children of school age could be accommodated.

The increased attendance and the increasing interest aroused among the Indians as to the necessity of education for the children, are both very gratifying to all the friends of Indian civilization. The prospects are brighter than ever before.

ALLOTMENT UNDER THE SEVERALTY BILL.

Since the date of the last Annual Report of the Indian Bureau, September, 1887, allotments have been made as follows:—

RESERVATION.	NO. OF ALLOTMENTS.	QUANTITY LAND ALLOTTED, ACRES.
Crow, Montana	452	71,336
Siletz, Oregon	59	4,737
Winnebago, Nebraska	317	28,495
Absentee, Shawnee and Pottawatomie, Indian Territory	383	49,946
Wyandotte, Indian Territory	129	11,506
Eastern Shawnee, Indian Territory,	14	1,094
Seneca, Indian Territory	115	8,797
Yankton, Dakota	342	28,553

Two hundred and fifty-two others also made selections, at Yankton, of lands which could not be allotted at the time, because incorrectly described.

RESERVATION.	NO. OF ALLOTMENTS.	QUANTITY LAND ALLOTTED, ACRES.
Sisseton, Dakota (to all the Indians but 25)	1,365	128,424
Fond du Lac, Minnesota : : :	173	

Field work on allotments at Siletz, Yankton, Crow, and Winnebago stopped at the beginning of last winter, and for want of funds could not be resumed in the spring. But Special Agents Howard and Fletcher resumed work at Crow and Winnebago as soon as possible after the Appropriation Bill passed, and Special Agent Connelly has been sent out to complete allotments at Fond du Lac. Field work on Fond du Lac and Winnebago, it is hoped, will be completed before winter.

Special Agents Minthorne and Collins have been instructed to make allotments at Warm Springs and Grand Ronde, Oregon.

The reason that work is not now in progress on all the reservations on which it was commenced during the last fiscal year, is want of funds; Congress having specifically limited the amount which can be expended in completing work already begun.

After reading these reports General Whittlesey continued.

GENERAL WHITTLESEY: It is very evident that some supplementary legislation is needed for the protection of the Indians in their rights; and though we may not hope that the bill which has been brought before us, and upon which so much earnest labor has been expended, will go through both houses of Congress in its present shape, I think we may hope that something will grow out of it, and that the labor which has been expended will not be in vain.

With regard to the education of the Indians, there are two or three points on which I would like to say a word. It was very positively asserted yesterday that there is no system of Indian education. I am not disposed to accept that statement in such unqualified terms. We have for the Indians a superintendent, and we have received word this afternoon of the appointment of Mr. Albro, of this state, as superintendent; an excellent man. In the Appropriation Bill passed last winter, a clause was introduced for which we are mainly indebted to Senator Dawes, I believe, defining the duties of the superintendent, and greatly enlarging his powers. We have, then, a superintendent; we have under his direction several schools of higher order, like Hampton, Carlisle, Chillico, Lawrence, and others. We have a large number of boarding schools, and of industrial schools, carried on by Government; also, a large number of contract schools. Besides these we have many carried on by Missionary Societies. We have a number of day schools, that correspond to our common schools in the States. Now, is not that a system? Surely it is, and it has been in operation for a score of years. You cannot create a system by an act of Congress, nor by a resolution of the Mohonk Conference. A system is an organization which must grow. You cannot create a full grown tree, but you can plant an acorn, and it will germinate, and spring up, and catch the sunlight, and breathe the air, and expand, until it becomes a mighty oak. So a system of education must have

its germ, its growth, and its expansion, and it can come to perfection only after years and years of expansion and growth. The seed was planted a score of years ago. We have now in Indian schools sixteen thousand children, and the number has doubled within the last four years. If it doubles again in four years we shall have about three fourths of the Indian children in school. It seems to me we would better not destroy a growth of that kind, and undertake by a resolution and by an act of Congress to put something in its place. Then these contract schools which are spoken of, we do not want to sweep them away. They are among the best schools that we have. Hampton is a contract school; the school at Santee is a contract school; there is one at Wabash, Indiana, and others at other places. They are specially adapted to a race coming out of barbarism, from the fact that they are religious schools. The time may come when they will be no longer needed, when the Government shall afford facilities for the education of all children of school age. Then the contract schools will change their work and become normal schools, for training teachers and preachers. What we want to urge in this Conference is, that Congress shall afford the facilities for education. We have been insisting upon this for some years, and we want to bring all the influence that we can to bring it about. We worked ten years to get the Severalty Bill; if we persist, and bring up public sentiment, we shall get appropriations to furnish school-rooms and teachers for all the Indians of school age. We need not be alarmed because the school system is in the hands of politicians. Everything is in this country. We are all politicians, and we ought to be; we would not be good Americans if we were not. What we must do is to insist that the politicians who have the charge of the schools shall be good men. I trust we are to have a good man for superintendent, and if he will appoint good men and women, our system of Indian education will grow year by year until it is a complete system.

Mr. Smiley read the following telegram from Hon. John H. Oberly:

Please give to the Sixth Mohonk Conference my thanks for its unanimous indorsement of my nomination to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Should the nomination be confirmed, I shall enter upon the duties of the office with the determination to discharge them faithfully, and in the hope that I may be instrumental in consummating the purposes so earnestly and wisely advocated by the Conference.

DR. STRIEBY: The American Indians are passing through a critical crisis, and unless they, as a race and individuals, have the guidance of the Divine Father, there will be no safety in the transition. The avenue along which these people will travel is the school. Character is formed in the school. If the school, therefore, is under the influence of something that will reach not only the mind, but the heart and conscience, and make character, then you have got these people on an avenue that will lead safely. The primary school is where the scholars will be most closely touched. The primary school is, therefore, the most essential thing. If the Devil has the control of the primary school, if these children are tinctured with scepticism, taught to scoff at things sacred; if they and their fathers breaking away from old superstitions, have nothing given in their place; if the school has no Christianity in it, — then you will fail to supply the fountains of life for these people. If your primary schools start them wrong, where will your men and women for the normal schools come from.

As to contract schools, when the United States has made adequate provision for the education of the Indian, then we may talk of the comparison between government schools and contract schools. But at present the Government is doing nothing of the kind.

As to teaching in the vernacular, the Indian tongue is inadequate ; but, after all, I think it is more essential to give a man character than to propagate a language. The thing we want to do, is to make character. Give them that which makes them men and women, citizens and Christians. The whole history of Christian missions shows that people can be better reached in their own language. I would rather have a good, honest Christian man, if he speaks Dakota, than to have him a scoundrel if he talks English.

DR. KENDALL thought there was great reason for gratitude, in spite of the discouraging things that had been said. The work in the missionary fields on the whole is encouraging. That in Sitka had never been so interesting as now. That remarkable man, Mr. Wm. Duncan, who absolutely took up his thousand Indians and moved them out of British Columbia into Alaska, is helping a great deal in the missionary work there. The school at Sitka is flourishing. In the Zuni field, which is a discouraging one, three or four men have resigned, and some of the workers have died. The work has, therefore, been given up largely to women. Two of them recently volunteered to take the school, and they have gone to work. Dr. Kendall paid a very high tribute to the bravery and ability of the women employed as missionaries, relating several instances showing the good results of the work which they have accomplished and the influence they exert over the Indians. He closed by making an appeal for more men. There was money enough to be had for carrying on missionary endeavors, if the consecrated and devoted men could be found to take up the work.

Miss Collins was invited to address the meeting. The following is an abstract of her remarks.

MISS M. C. COLLINS: It is strange to stand before so many white people, and feel that they are all interested in this great cause. It is also strange and pleasant that I should have before me so many men and women whom I have entertained at my home on the reservation. My work has been that of a Christian missionary among the Indians. I have made everything else secondary to that. I have felt that it was more important to gain the friendship and love of some family, than to teach A, B, C's to a child in a school. The school work is important, but others can do the school work ; not so many can go into the homes and talk with the people. Six years ago we went one hundred and fifty miles north of my home, and built a little log school-house. It was Thanksgiving Day when the men were putting the roof on. It was very cold ; they could hardly handle the hammers. Mr. Riggs himself was one of the carpenters. But we succeeded in getting the house put up. Then a teacher came and took charge of the school. He did not know English. Two years ago I found that the children—not an English-speaking child among them—could read and write their own language. I went into the home of Little Eagle ; he had a family of children who had been in the school. One of his children was very sick. I looked after him, visiting him some-

times two or three times a day. I often sang and read the Bible to them in that little home. I could not help feeling that if the child recovered, Little Eagle would become a Christian, because he would feel that God has answered prayer. The child was sick about three months. Finally the time came when I knew that he must go. I shall never forget the day. Little Eagle came in and said, "Winona,"—the name by which they called me,—“will my child recover?” I was afraid to say no, for I thought, Indian-like, he would leave the house. I replied, “We must leave the child in the hands of God.” He rose, and said solemnly, “Whether my boy lives or dies, I will serve your God.” Little Eagle had a son at school at Santee. He hoped that the child would live until this son returned; but the little boy was buried away out of sight before that time. This son, Harry, came home in the spring, and was himself taken sick not long after. We could not help asking, What would the family do if Harry were taken away? But it was evident that he was going to die. One day I went in, and was surprised to find half a dozen old men and women sitting round him. Harry was telling them not to cut their flesh when he died. “It does not make you any better,” he said; “and it makes you suffer, and I do not want you to do that. I want you to love God and serve him.” Day after day he talked to the young men and old men, as long as he had his voice. At last, one morning the father came to my door and said, “Can you come over now?” I went over, and as I talked with the boy I said, “What shall I read about?” “Read, ‘My peace I leave with you,’” he said; and I read to him that beautiful chapter. “Shall I sing?” I asked. “No, pray,” he replied; and I knelt and prayed. All the people were gathered about. It was a beautiful Christian death. The next Sabbath Little Eagle rose in the service, and preached such a sermon as I never heard from the lips of any man. This man could not speak a word of English, but he was nevertheless a man. He could be saved though he did not understand English. Has the work of that teacher, Edwin Phelps, been in vain because he did not know English? What kind of a teacher would leave the comforts of life in the East, and come out on the frontier to work simply for the money which he would receive? What kind of a man can you hire who will live forty miles from a post-office or one hundred miles from the base of supplies, for five hundred dollars a year? You must have teachers and missionaries who love the work, who come from devotion to it.

Miss Collins closed by making an earnest appeal for more teachers, missionaries, and school-houses. She wanted special means provided for teaching the boys and girls how to work. She hoped that, as the Government schools were provided, Christian teachers would be engaged to do the work.

The following report from Mrs. Sara T. Kinney, president of the Connecticut Indian Association, was read:—

The Home Building Committee has received during the past year twenty-seven applications for loans. It has not been possible to grant all these requests, but homes have been built for three Indian families in Alaska, and for two in Nebraska. Small loans have been made several persons to enable them to repair and enlarge their

homes. From the Emergency Fund a number of families have been helped in small ways, and an organ has been sent to the Mission Station at Hoopa Valley, Cal.

During the two years of its existence the Home Building Committee has loaned out something over \$4,000, and in nearly every case the men have already commenced to pay back the money. One Indian, a Sioux, has already paid \$100 of the \$450 he borrowed a year ago. The others are doing, proportionately, as well.

BUREAU OF INFORMATION.

Miss Anna L. Dawes was invited to report on the work which she has accomplished during the year, in giving information concerning opportunities for Indian work.

MISS DAWES: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Conference: A year ago at this time, persuaded by some remarks made at the Conference as to the needs of the West, and the needs of the East, I offered to try in an amateur way to bring them nearer together. I therefore agreed to attempt the experiment of securing a meeting point between the two (an experiment called by your President, with that fine sarcasm of which he is master, a "Bureau of Information"), and I promised to report at this meeting. For various reasons it has seemed best to include in it the work of the whole year, and therefore those who heard a similar report of three months effort at Washington last Winter, will I hope excuse the necessary repetitions.

Since the Conference last year, I have received applications for work of various kinds, from nineteen societies, seven individuals, six Sunday-schools, two boarding schools, of which one was Vassar College. Two men wanted boys to help them on their farms, four persons wanted to be teachers or missionaries, one of them being at present an Indian agent.

Besides these forty district applications, most of which I was able to furnish with the work desired, I have given such information as I possessed or could gather, to numbers of people about various matters of legislative or administrative detail, about the establishment of industrial schools, the interpretation of laws, the meaning and purpose of the Indian Defense Association, the use of the "vernacular," and other subjects about which I knew equally little.

On the other hand, I have received from the field applications for help from two different tribes in danger of starving or freezing to death; from seven individual Indians for household goods, plows; clothing, loans, etc.; from Miss Goodale for wagon and harness, from Miss Tileston for a debt of \$140 on a new kitchen; for \$40 to build a new ice-house at St. Mary's, Rosebud; for a horse and wagon from one Indian clergyman and an organ for another; for assistance at Albuquerque; for the money to build a boarding school in Dakota; for the education of a North Carolina Cherokee, and many other things. These applications came to me directly and indirectly, but largely through Mr. Welsh, Miss Fletcher, and Mrs. Kinney.

You will be interested to hear that co-operating with Miss Dewey and others, we were together able to meet the immediate wants of the Turtle Mountain Indians for whom Bishop Walker made so thrilling

an appeal last year. They received some twenty barrels and boxes, and, through the efforts of Senator Dawes, the Government provided them with \$3,000 worth of food.

Need of a similar kind among the Winnebagoes (though resulting from causes creditable to the Indians) was met by the great generosity of a Brooklyn Sunday-school, by liberal authorities from Germantown (acting through the "Bureau of Information"), and by the loan of \$250 (given through Miss Fletcher) by the Friends Association of Germantown. For this loan I was indebted to Mr. Philip C. Garrett.

Besides these other undertakings, several Christmas boxes were sent out; about \$25, was sent to the West in small sums; a four months' correspondence was carried on relative to the education of an Eastern Cherokee at Hampton, a case having a special bearing on the question of Indian education, etc. I was also able to raise \$551.40 toward the building of a much-needed boarding school for Rev. Philip de Lovia in Dakota.

The whole amount of money passing through my hands, was between \$800 and \$900.

I have written one hundred and ninety-five letters, and the expenses of this Bureau have been \$4.54.

In conclusion, I would say I am at loss whether this effort is likely to prove permanently valuable or not. The limited scope of the applications from the West, and the difficulty of getting efficient assistance in that quarter, makes it doubtful whether the labor involved is of real value. For instance: it happened twice to the same society to receive from Western freight agents the notification that its barrels had arrived, but had not been called for! This is something of a damper to Eastern enthusiasm, nor is it convenient to receive five different addresses for Turtle Mountain and no acknowledgments of goods received! The enthusiasm also fell off. Of the one hundred and ninety-five letters, all of them except four were written before May. Whether this was owing to the season, or to a lack of interest, or because I ceased to stir up the Indian-loving public, I cannot tell.

Yet, on the other hand, I can but realize that something was accomplished, and that even among our many agencies for Indian work, most of them are too much occupied with their special interests to attend to these multiplied and various minor concerns.

On motion, Miss Anna L. Dawes was unanimously re-elected to her position as "A Bureau of Information."

The following letter from Miss Alice C. Fletcher was read:—

WINNEBAGO, NEBRASKA, Sept. 8, 1888.

MR. A. K. SMILEY:

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Permit me to present one or two points for the consideration of the thoughtful friends gathered under your hospitable roof. These points have been made clear to me from a close observation during practical work under the Severalty Act.

First, and most important, is the absolute need that but one law shall control both Indians and white men. The Severalty Act places the Indian under the civil and criminal law of the State or Territory in which he is allotted, but it does not provide for setting the machinery of the law in motion. Until this is done there is no law in reality. How can this be remedied? There seems but one sure and safe way; that is, that the land

on which the Indian is allotted shall pay a revenue to the county in which it lies. The law makes the land not taxable for twenty-five years. This is a wise provision so far as the Indian is concerned financially, for he is at present quite incapable of meeting this expense. To pay taxes would take a large share of his earnings, and weigh him down so heavily that thrift and progress would be well nigh unattainable. But the fact remains that the white people who support the state and county government in which the Indians' untaxable land lies, will not take the expense of administering the law upon these non-productive people. It is of little use to say what the white people should or should not do; the stubborn fact remains that the pioneer farmers are poor and struggling, and they cannot add to their present financial burdens in justice to themselves and their future welfare. Perhaps a little more of detail will make this clearer. I know of offenses committed by Indians, and efforts have been made to get the authorities of the county to order the arrest and secure the trial of the offenders; but so far it has been impossible to get sheriffs to ride twenty, thirty, forty miles to make arrests; nor are the county's officials willing to incur the boarding expenses at the jail of the Indians arrested. There is no revenue received from the people thus thrown upon the county; nor is there any fund from which the legal expenses of arrest and trial can be paid. The result is that there is no law, since there is no money by which to pay for it. There is another aspect of this matter; that is: Where some reservations lie, when these are allotted, and the unallotted lands are thrown open to settlement, counties will be formed, the burden of county government will fall solely upon the white settlers, while a large bulk of the land will be untaxable, and held by Indians. One plan proposed by which the settlers can relieve themselves is, to issue bonds that will be payable when the Indian's land becomes taxable. By this plan the accumulated debt will fall upon the Indian, and deprive him of his heritage; thus the county would rid itself of unthrifty inhabitants.

In view of the present conditions, it looks as though some method would have to be devised by which the Indian's footing in the county may be more nearly equal to that of the white settler, if the Indian is to be actually protected on his land, and placed actually under the benefits of the law. To illustrate:—

This tribe numbers about twelve hundred. It will take not far from seventy-five thousand acres to allot them. The bulk of this land lies in Dakota County, where the taxes are from \$6 to \$6.50 per acre. The allotted land, if held by settlers, would yield \$18,000 yearly revenue. The Indians will give nothing, but, on the contrary, demand from the county. The case is still worse in some other tribes. These figures tell the story of the Indian's status.

It is to be feared that Congress will be slow to appropriate taxes for allotted lands, and the funds held by some of the tribes are inadequate to meet the full demand, as is the case with this branch of the Winnebagoes; but the issue is squarely here, and something must be done. In devising methods it should be remembered that while the Indians are, under the present conditions, a burden to the county, still they are identified with it, and cannot be legally helped outside of it. Their daily life is mingled in many ways with the whites. All their business relations are between the two, and but one law can hold both safely.

In presenting this serious difficulty to your consideration, I would in no wise be understood as deprecating severalty. It is the only road to civilization and manly living. Civilization costs. It has not been attained, nor can it be enjoyed, without effort and sacrifice. The Indian must help himself if he would not die. Our responsibility lies in the fact that owing to our methods he has been steadily unfitted to meet the conditions that we are now unable to avert from him. His old-time environment is gone. His old-time organization is broken. He is encircled by our civilization, and must adopt it or be crushed. No human power can ever change these facts and conditions.

While Indian funds may not be able to meet all the pecuniary demands upon Indian allotments, a part would be well invested if applied toward a percentage of the taxes on allotted lands.

I trust Mr. N. S. Porter, special agent to allot the Shawnees and Potawatamie Indians territory, will be present. He can verify my statements, and present some other points for your consideration. If the Indian children can be caught and trained, there is hope. Education is vital to the Indian's self-help.

THE MISSION INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA.

The report of the work among the Mission Indians of California was read by Mr. J. W. Davis, in behalf of the committee appointed last year on this subject, as follows :—

The halo that surrounds the name of Mrs. Jackson reaches to the present work for the Mission Indians, and enlists, we are sure, your immediate interest in any report of its progress ; and the higher glory of ministry to these needy ones in His name, which is above every name, has also strengthened all other interest, and will give the energy and persistence which the case of the Mission Indians, and of the whole race demands.

The stimulus that comes from success has not been lacking, but the zeal, evidently required in this and every branch of Indian work, must be independent of the measure of immediate success.

At the time of the last Conference, in what was considered the test case of Byrne against the Saboba band, the lower Court had given a decision permitting their ejection from their old homes. An appeal to the California Supreme Court had been secured by the prompt advance by Mr. Welsh, personally, of \$3,300 required as a guaranty for a new trial. The case was in the care of Mr. Shirley C. Ward, as attorney for the United States ; and although the ability of his management of it was fully attested, so many interests were depending upon the final decision, that this committee offered to him the aid of strong associate counsel. While here during the last conference we received his reply declining to divide with any one the honor of victory, of which he was very confident ; and this confidence was subsequently justified by the result.

As the province of this committee (as far as this suit was concerned) could not extend beyond *offering* aid to the Government counsel, the committee then sought for a person with legal training to act as field-agent, to prepare for the contingency of other suits already threatened, and to engage in the immediate defense of numerous small bands and individual families, who were too ignorant or too discouraged to apply to Government for protection, and in the invasion of whose rights there had been little or no check, and no regard for the decisions of courts.

The voluntary and frequent visits of a recognized legal adviser to all parts of the field, ready to respond promptly in case of need, restoring long-lost courage in the Indians and checking their timid surrender of rights, was, in the opinion of the committee, a vital step, second only to the pending struggle in the Saboba suit. After a prolonged search the services of Mr. Frank D. Lewis were secured, and he entered upon the work February 23d of this year.

Meanwhile, as above intimated, victory crowned Mr. Ward's skillful defense of the Sabobas,—a victory unexpected by the bar of California as well as by the public, and against great inherent difficulties.

This defense of the wards of the nation was in continuation of work begun by Government several years ago, but the Department, nevertheless, refused to pay the attorney of its own appointment and doing its own work ; refused, also, to appear as defendant of its wards, and made it necessary for an individual to give bonds for a

new trial; and has, since the victory, still refused compensation to Mr. Ward, till months were spent in various efforts for it by Senator Dawes, Mr. Painter, and others. Your committee had finally organized a special appeal, supported by some of the strongest intimate friends of the Administration, when our earnest Senator from Massachusetts made a new effort, and by a forcible appeal secured an appropriation of \$2,500.

The limited funds in the hands of the committee, we understood, were not designed to pay the bills of the Government, and even under a justly liberal policy on the part of the Government there will be still abundant need of a supplementary work there. We were, therefore, also anxious lest the absolutely needed continuance of Mr. Ward's or other equivalent service should be thrown upon our entirely insufficient private subscription.

There is a deep feeling, not confined to the committee, that the friends of the Indian work, loyal as they have been to assist the Government in ways which the President and many members of his administration have been pleased to acknowledge as invaluable co-operative, have a right to claim that the interests in charge should not be so imperiled, and that their own time, strength, and money, so much needed in the main work, should not be taxed by these side struggles to secure due Governmental action.

Following the Saboba decision, an application was made to the Court to reduce largely the acreage decreed to the Indians, on the plea of error in the statements submitted; but this has, within the last month, been denied, and final judgment entered for the Indians.

We have not yet been able to secure the application of this decision to the San Ysabel Ranch Indians, and restore to them the lands from which they were fenced out, but are at work upon it, and the plans for ejecting other bands, we trust, are effectually checked.

Cause for great rejoicing as this decision gives, both its importance and its *limitations* need to be kept in mind. It defends only those on Mexican grants—less than one-sixth of all the Mission Indians,—and gives them simply a right of occupation, not ownership; but in its application to all grant Indians including the Sabobas, it saves from ejection nearly five hundred persons; and beyond the material value and the relief from despairing foreboding and struggle for new homes to these, it brings to all of the Indians the stimulus of hope of better days; and with a realization of this hope, more thrift and less intemperance, we trust, will prevail among those who have been demoralized, as well as depressed, by their wrongs.

Mr. Lewis was instructed to follow up the earnest preparatory work of Mr. Painter, and impress upon the various scattered bands the bearing of the Saboba decision upon their interests, and instruct them in the careful maintenance of their boundaries and use of the land, on the strictness of which maintenance the continuance of their newly defined rights depend.

This main struggle in court has overshadowed the need of legal help to hundreds scattered on Government land without legal title, or knowledge how to secure it.

To these separate, and often isolated ones, living in constant fear that their little patches will fall under greedy eyes and clutch, as those of so many of their fellows have, and with many of them

already in the foul grasp, Mr. Lewis has been especially sent, and much time has been, and will be, absorbed in loosening this grasp and completing their title.

Without struggle, but not without much patient labor, an increasing number of families are being assisted in making their entries, and changing from mere occupants to owners of the land.

The committee were also brought immediately into contact with numerous cases of encroachment, disputed boundaries, interference with water rights, pasturage, etc., on the reservations, and on the borders of reservations, where the boundaries had come in question—cases that had been accumulating, and called for immediate investigation.

To these Colonel Preston, the new agent, in his vigorous grasp of his manifold new duties, is reaching out as speedily as possible, inspiring the respect of all, and giving assurance of even-handed justice to white and red man alike.

The purpose of the committee's appointment being to supply legal assistance in urgent cases where Government protection was lacking, without specific limits, Mr. Lewis has been instructed to give his time especially to general cases having a broad and general bearing; but, as far as consistent with this, to reach out also to individual cases, until, as is hoped will soon be the case, there shall be less boldness and prevalence of aggression, and more boldness in the Indians' maintenance of their rights, with more confident appeal to the regular authorities.

Of the three classes of Mission Indians, those on Mexican grants, on public lands, and on reservations, it will be understood that the third, the reservation Indians, constitute the large majority located upon twenty executive reservations.

Of the "restoration to the public domain," as it is delicately called, of such reservations,—a restoration often secured by unscrupulous pressure and misrepresentation, and proving a simple opening of Indian homes and fields to white covetousness,—these Mission Indians have had with others sufficient experience.

With such history in memory, and the new Severalty Bill fresh before us as an effectual antidote, the committee could not be engaged in any work for the defense of reservation Indians without urging them, for this and other reasons, to intrench themselves on homesteads (steadfast homes) offered by this bill.

But under the limited appropriations, the beginning of regular allotment work in California may be much delayed; and up to a recent date the Southern California Land Office had no official information regarding the Severalty Bill. Nevertheless, with blanks and the Department Circular construing the act, which Mr. Lewis took with him from Washington, he secured, in June last, an allotment to an Indian,—the first case in California,—and others will follow.

In conjunction with others this committee has made earnest appeals, but without avail, for the passage of the bill "for the relief of the Mission Indians," in which especial provision is made for their allotments. This bill is still desirable to avoid delay, and for the important provision of commissioners to settle their reservation questions.

During the summer there has been repeated official recognition of these Indians as citizens, following a very able and exhaustive plea of Mr. Ward on this subject; and their votes are now being sought. We watch with deep interest the result of this.

We cannot close our report without an earnest acknowledgment of the zeal and thoroughness of Mr. Lewis' work, and of the invaluable co-operation of Mr. Painter, and, not least, the devoted work of a member of this Conference, Mrs. Hiles, who has spent months in California, in both independent and co-operative effort.

Submitting herewith the treasurer's report, the committee asks instructions as to the continuance and close of its work.

PHILIP C. GARRETT, <i>Philadelphia,</i>	} Committee of Lake Mohonk Conference.
MOSES PIERCE, <i>Norwich, Conn.,</i>	
JOSHUA W. DAVIS, <i>Boston,</i>	
ELLIOTT F. SHEPARD, <i>New York,</i>	
EDWARD L. PIERCE, <i>Boston,</i>	

REPORT OF TREASURER.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand Sept. 26, 1887	\$2,203.36
Installments received on subscriptions during the year	400.00
Interest on cash funds	71.52
	<hr/>
	\$2,674.88

DISBURSEMENTS.

Expenses of W. S. Crittenden to Mohonk (in hope of securing his services), Sept. 30, 1887	\$16.00
Printing	6.50
Typewriting (in Boston) for two years	12.48
Telegrams	8.83
Stenographic work and typewriting in Washington,	10.00
Remittances to California as detailed below	1,450.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,503.81
Cash balance Sept. 26, 1888, on interest	\$1,171.07
Besides which there are the balances of subscriptions subject to call, as required	\$1,800.00
The remittances to California (\$1,450) cover items as follows:—	
Salary of Mr. Lewis, at rate of \$1,000 per year, from Feb. 23 to Sept. 1, 1888	\$519.22
Expenses of Mr. Lewis to California	115.00
Traveling expenses in California to September 1st,	422.72
Cost of horse and buggy	180.00
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	\$1,236.94
Advanced for September and onward	213.06
	<hr/>
	\$1,450.00

J. W. DAVIS, *Treasurer.*

SEPTEMBER 26, 1888.

The undersigned have examined the above account, compared the payments with vouchers and the balance with the committee's bankbook, and find eleven hundred and seventy-one $\frac{17}{100}$ dollars, remaining on hand as above stated, Sept. 26, 1888.

PHILIP C. GARRETT.
MOSES PIERCE.

OCTOBER 30, 1888.

On motion the report of Mr. Davis was accepted, and the committee continued.

NEW YORK STATE INDIANS.

The following note from O. S. Vreeland, of Salamanca, was read.

To the Hon. Chairman of the Lake Mohonk Conference :

DEAR SIR,—I am requested, by the people of Salamanca, to invite a committee from some body to visit this village and examine into the condition of the affairs of the Indians here. Certain measures relating to the lands of the Indians here are pending before Congress, and the Chairman of the New York Assembly Committee named last winter lives here, and it has occurred to us that it might be of interest to the friends of the Indians to come and look the situation over. We greatly hope that some suggestion may find favor with you.

I remain very truly yours,

O. S. VREELAND.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., Sept. 24, 1888.

Judge Draper, referring to the subject of the note from Salamanca, spoke as follows :

JUDGE DRAPER : Those of us who were here last year, will recollect the discussion which resulted from the presentation to the Conference of the declaration regarding the condition of the various bands of Indians on reservations in this State ; a declaration which reflected severely upon the reservation system. The verbiage of that report came from the pen of Bishop Huntington. When the annual report of the Department of Public Instruction of the State of New York was made this year, this question was considered somewhat carefully, and treated at length. The declaration of the Mohonk Conference concerning the New York reservations, was introduced into that portion which treated of the Indian question. This attracted some attention. The newspaper fraternity gave it some attention, and the superintendent received numerous letters challenging the truth of it. The result was that it became necessary to back down or prove it, and we asked for a legislative investigation. The lower house of our Legislature appointed a committee with all the modern improvements and appliances,—stenographers, counsel, and power to subpoena witnesses and administer oaths,—and we began operations. We have had before this committee numerous witnesses, white and Indian,—the most reliable people who could be found upon or in the neighborhood of our Indian reservations. The report of the committee has not yet been presented, but will be in January. I myself have been present upon two or three occasions, and have personally conducted the examination of the witnesses. It is entirely safe to say that the allegations of the Mohonk Conference will be more than sustained by the sworn proofs before the committee. My own views in reference to these unfortunate people in our Commonwealth have been somewhat modified in the course of the year. I know more about them, and perhaps some things more in their favor. I think it may be said with entire truthfulness that the situation is deplorable. Their word is generally reliable, and to be counted on. They are not much given to thieving, and are not very quarrelsome. But progress toward civilization or Christianity is so slow as to be unappreciable. We have kept five thousand Indians on reservations in this State for a great number of years. They have been entirely surrounded by Christian

civilization, but there has been but little progress toward Christian civilization in fifty years. I asked an old missionary among the Senecas, who had been fifty-three years among that people, if the work was not discouraging. He said, "No; it is full of encouragement." "What progress has there been?" I asked. He replied, "When I came here fifty-three years ago, Indians, horses, cows, and poultry all lived in the same room; they don't do that any more."

These remnants of the old Five Nations have each a tribal organization. Each tribe is governed by a council of chiefs. These chiefs have the power of perpetuating their authority indefinitely. If a chief dies, the other chiefs elect a young chief to take the chieftainship. If a chief becomes a Christian he is soon frozen out of the chieftainship, and a more reliable pagan is put in his place. There is no marriage relation upon these reservations which is recognized by any law, civilized or pagan. They live indiscriminately. Among themselves they speak Indian languages almost exclusively. The language of the different tribes is not the same, but they commonly understand each other. A man and woman will live together for such time as they see fit, and then make other alliances, the children always going with the mother. These chiefs control the whole thing. They control the title of the land upon which the tribe lives. This will be disputed, but it is a fact. They have the right to allot it among themselves as they please. The members of the tribe have, it is true, what is called an Indian's possessory title to the little strip of land on which they live, but the council at any moment can dispossess the holder. The influence of the council is always pagan; always against schools and missionaries. There are one hundred thousand acres of land as good as any in the State of New York, within these seven reservations, and yet the fact is that hardly more than one acre in a hundred—I speak advisedly—is under cultivation by Indians. It is very common to find that the Indians exercise their possessory rights and let all their lands to whites. It was found upon investigation that these lands were frequently let for many years in advance for a nominal consideration, which had been paid in advance. It was also found that there were, in some of these reservations, valuable quarry rights, and that the council had frequently sold these privileges, and had appropriated the avails to their own use. These people are divided into two classes—a division commonly recognized—a Christian class and a pagan class. The Christian class is in the minority in every instance, I think. The whole array of their power is against the encroachments of civilization.

Now, the inference which I derive from this is, that the reservation system has got to go, and go effectually and forever before you can solve the Indian problem. If you cannot Christianize Indians who are upon a reservation of but a few square miles, entirely surrounded by wholesome influence, in a half a century, it will be impossible to solve the great Indian problem of the West in any such way.

MR. SMILEY: What legal objections are there to doing away with these reservations?

JUDGE DRAPER: The law questions regarding this matter are even more complicated in New York than in the West, it strikes me; but the resolutions instructing this Assembly Committee not only direct them to investigate facts, but also to report upon the law questions involved, and to that end legal counsel was given them.

There are 1,605 Indian children of school age, according to the last report, between the ages of five and twenty-one, in our State. Here is an interesting fact: Thirty-two years ago, when the school age was from four to twenty-one, there were 1,658 children of school age. Now it is five and twenty-one. If there is any difference, we have more Indians now than then. They are not diminishing in number. There were in our thirty schools 1,040 children, but the daily average attendance was only 444. We have as good Indian school facilities as there are anywhere; we have all the facilities, all the appliances, and any amount of money to establish them. The Legislature has never refused to give any reasonable appropriation requested for this purpose, and the State superintendent has absolute and sole management of it.

DR. KENDALL: Have you any native teachers?

JUDGE DRAPER: No; with possibly one exception. The experiment was tried, but never worked satisfactorily. We have built a dozen new schoolhouses for them recently, and every one is in prime condition. Everything is supplied that could be attractive or useful, and I venture to say that there is not a teacher among them who is not fitted to be there by reason of competency, experience, and moral character. There has been great care exercised in this respect, yet we cannot keep the scholars in the school.

DR. KENDALL: Is attendance compulsory?

JUDGE DRAPER: There is no police power on these reservations, and I know of no way to require attendance.

DR. WARD: Is there a difference between the Christian and the pagan children in reference to attendance on the school?

JUDGE DRAPER: Not much; possibly some.

DR. ABBOTT: What advantage is it to an Indian child to get an education? In what way can he, being on the reservation, get on any better if he has been educated?

JUDGE DRAPER: He cannot get on as well if he stays on the reservation. The more Christianity and education he has the tougher time he has, I think.

DR. WARD: Do they stay on the reservation after they get an education?

JUDGE DRAPER: Perhaps the best of them go away, but not to any extent. You may keep these Indian children in day schools and let them go back home every night, and you will never solve the Indian problem. You have got to get rid of the parents in some way. We have had at Versailles an Indian orphan asylum, with 120 boys and girls, and it is one of the most interesting institutions I ever saw. The results so long as they remain in the asylum are excellent. They are lovers of music. We have three brass bands upon this reservation, made up entirely of Indians, and they compare very favorably with our best military bands.

QUESTION: What becomes of the children after they leave the orphan asylum?

JUDGE DRAPER: Very many go back to their original state; situations are found for others.

QUESTION: Is there much missionary work done?

JUDGE DRAPER: Yes, a large amount.

QUESTION: What is the result of the missionary instruction and of the missionary schools?

JUDGE DRAPER: I can scarcely measure it. I dislike to say or think it does not bear fruit, but there is no substantial progress.

QUESTION: Are they Catholic or Protestant?

JUDGE DRAPER: Protestant, almost exclusively.

QUESTION: Do the Indians go off among farmers to get work?

JUDGE DRAPER: Very little. They are not given much to work, and never go far to look for it.

QUESTION: Have they funds enough to enable them to live in idleness?

JUDGE DRAPER: I do not see any evidence of much wealth, but they commonly live in idleness. They are in a most deplorable and wretched condition,—dirty, filthy, idle, without ambition. Of course there will be some exceptions, but this is the general rule.

QUESTION: Do they get whiskey?

JUDGE DRAPER: To some extent; yet the laws have been pretty fairly enforced.

QUESTION: Do the Christian Indians live in the same squalor as do the pagans?

JUDGE DRAPER: Not while they remain Christians, but they backslide easily. You will say that this is not encouraging, but it is true. It is just the situation as it is known to exist.

GENERAL FISK: Do you think it would be worth while to appoint such a committee as is requested from Salamanca?

JUDGE DRAPER: I dislike to say no, but I am unable to see what advantage would come from a journey to Salamanca. I think that a committee of this Conference would be more effectual before the Legislature next winter, when this report shall be presented. There will be very strong opposition to the abolition of the reservations.

COLONEL DUDLEY: What can the Legislature do about abolishing them?

JUDGE DRAPER: That is a legal question. I will not attempt to answer it. The legislative committee is directed to do so. The question is, whether the State is able to abolish the system, or whether it requires the action of the General Government. The State has entered into treaty with these Indians within five years, but the National Government has not for seventeen years. The Indians themselves will mostly be against the abolition of the reservations, and so will the people about them. The latter fear that the Indians will become paupers and charges on the counties within which the reservations are located.

GENERAL FISK: Will you tell us something about Mr. Albro?

JUDGE DRAPER: Mr. Albro is perhaps forty-five years of age. He is a man of as substantial character as will be found anywhere, thoroughly reliable, a good man in every way. He has been a teacher all his life, never following any other pursuit. He was for several years in the Fredonia State Normal School, and has for several years been an institute conductor. He is thoroughly devoted to educational interests, and is at the forefront of educational men in this State. I cannot say how he will develop as an administrative officer,—that remains to be seen; but I will say that he is an educator of high standing and substantial character.

MRS. CRANNELL asked about the provision for giving normal education to Indian youth.

JUDGE DRAPER: An Indian is as eligible to our normal schools as a white person or as a negro. He would have to enter a normal school upon the same terms as any other person, however. There is no appropriation for the support of Indian youth. Their tuition is free and books are furnished; but we have no way of boarding them. I want to ask General Armstrong, why cannot we get the benefits of the institutions at Hampton and Carlisle for a limited number of our Indian youth who might wish to go beyond our primary schools?

GENERAL ARMSTRONG: There would be no trouble about it. One of the best men we ever had came from here. He became a civil engineer.

JUDGE DRAPER: Who will pay the bill?

GENERAL ARMSTRONG: If they are first-rate students we will get that out of you people.

Major Porter was invited to address the Conference. He replied that he would be glad to answer any questions.

MR. DAVIS: You have been engaged in allotting lands to the Indians, and, I believe, have met among them some who had been educated. Was that education a help or a hindrance to you?

MAJOR PORTER: It was a very great help. About the middle of August, 1887, I was directed to go to the Sac and Fox agency, there to make allotments to the Shawnees and Potawatomies. After spending a few days in looking over my instructions, and studying, so far as possible, the history of those people, I went with the agent to the Shawnee country, about forty miles distant. There the agent introduced me to the head men, and arranged for a talk next day. In that talk he stated to them what we had come for, and described our purpose of making allotments. They very quickly told us that if that was all we came for that we might go back; that all they wanted was to know how much money the Government was going to pay for the houses and cattle that the soldiers had destroyed the year before. I told the agent not to trouble them further. I returned to Shawneetown and made arrangements to camp with these people. After some days, in visiting the people and talking with them, I became acquainted with Thomas Alford, a graduate of Hampton, and another young man by the name of Thomas King. I found them very agreeable, and willing to talk about allotments, and very much interested in the success of the plan. But they wanted their people to become satisfied with it before they were willing to declare for allotment. Finding I could trust them I went over my instructions with them, and in that way they became much interested in my work. By their continued assistance, and some patience on my own part, I began work; and at the time the appropriations were exhausted we had made four hundred allotments. I am free to say that but for the assistance and continued support of these young men, I believe I should have had to obey the instructions of the chief, and return home without making any allotments. These young men also took pains to encourage the school at the agency, keeping the children in school, and visiting it once or twice a week.

MR. AUSTIN ABBOTT asked what provision could be made on the reservations for highways and public expenses, when the lands are not taxable.

MAJOR PORTER: I saw at once the trouble that would follow allot-

ment in regard to highways, especially if there is no place designated for roads. When the white man begins to take from the Indians something that has not been bargained for, there is always trouble. If it can be understood from the first, trouble can be avoided. I asked the Commissioner for instructions in this regard, but he never gave me any. There is no provision for roads.

MR. BAESTOW: Was there no government survey?

MAJOR PORTER: The lands had been surveyed seventeen years before, but no roads had been thrown out on the survey.

I am exceedingly anxious that the aid of education in making allotments and in advancing the cause of civilization, may be made clearly apparent.

The Potawatomes, who are of the citizen's band, by special act of Congress some years ago had been allotted lands in Kansas, and made citizens of that State, and most of them had exercised the right of franchise. Such land as remained untaken was speedily occupied by white settlers, and in course of time the uneducated majority lost their lands; some by reason of unpaid taxes, and others, no doubt, by the superior shrewdness of their white neighbor. A few of the more educated and intelligent men made a success of their allotments, and to-day are rivals of the best business men and farmers among the white people of the State. Those returning to Indian Territory were, of course, those who had failed in their first direct contact with the white man. Congress, by another act, allowed them to settle in Indian Territory, promising that one hundred and sixty acres of land should be allotted to each man and woman. These allotments were made at different times by special agents, though only thirteen were ever approved, as the rest were unable to pay the thirty cents per acre stipulated in the act.

I found the younger portion of this people more or less advanced, most of them being able to read and write. Nearly all were anxious to receive allotments under the provisions of the Dawes Bill, those opposing it doing so because this latter bill failed to allow women the one hundred and sixty acres allowed in a previous act. They claimed that since a previous treaty allowed a larger amount of land, a certain paragraph of the Dawes Bill provided that this previous treaty should govern the present allotments. Notwithstanding this, the people took lands as fast as they could be surveyed.

I can further illustrate by giving briefly my experience among the Sioux of Montana. My administration among this latter people covered a period just previous to the final extermination of the buffalo. Foreseeing that the rapid slaughter of this animal would deprive them of their principal means of support, I early advised their making good this loss by cultivation of the soil; and to better do this I aided them in making settlements along the fertile streams and bottoms of the Missouri, where wood and water were abundant.

Early in 1880 Rev. John P. Williamson visited the agency, and was so well pleased with the plan, that he promised the Indians to recommend the establishment of mission schools in settlements of twenty or more Indian houses, where farming was made a practical means of subsistence. The result was the founding of four schools in the most prosperous settlements. The schools were taught by educated Christian Sioux, the whole being in charge of white mis-

sionaries living at the agency. During my stay these were well attended, and much interest manifested, and among the people of the different settlements a friendly spirit of rivalry stimulated them to making their own farms and schools the best ones. This was accomplished without extra expense to the Government. These teachers were a living example of what education and Christianity could and would do for the Indian. Further, they greatly helped to allay the restless migratory instinct inherent in them, and by their words and example stimulated them to new interest in their first steps toward the higher life.

Adjourned at 10.45 P. M.

FIFTH SESSION.

CONTRACT SCHOOLS.

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 28.

THE Conference met at ten o'clock, and was called to order by Mr. Smiley, who read a note from General Fisk stating that he found he must leave at once, though he did it very reluctantly. He nominated as Executive Committee to serve for the coming year, Albert K. Smiley, Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Dr. William Hayes Ward, Mrs. A. L. Coolidge, Dr. Ellinwood, Miss Anna L. Dawes, Mr. H. O. Houghton, Dr. Lyman Abbott, Mrs. A. K. Smiley, Dr. Merrill E. Gates, Dr. Kendall, Dr. M. E. Strieby.

To the Law Committee he added the names of Mr. Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia, and Mr. F. J. Stimpson, of Boston, subject to the approval of the Conference.

On motion it was voted that Dr. Ward should take the chair.

On motion it was voted that the nominations to the Executive Committee be confirmed.

On motion it was voted that the Law Committee should be continued during the year, with the addition of the names suggested by General Fisk: namely, Messrs. Herbert Welsh and F. J. Stimpson.

On motion it was voted that the proceedings of the Conference should be printed, as heretofore, in a volume, to be distributed under the auspices of the Indian Rights Association.

A letter from William S. Hubbell, of Buffalo, N. Y., written to Mr. Smiley, was read, in which he took the opposite view of the state of things on the New York reservations from that of Judge Draper. The letter is as follows:—

BUFFALO, N. Y., June 28, 1888.

I am anxious to express my profound dissent from the conclusions of Professor Draper and Bishop Huntington contained in the Lake Mohonk Report last issued. So far as the Indians within the Presbytery of Buffalo are concerned, these statements, or charges, are grossly exaggerated, if not entirely baseless. They have attracted wide attention here, and at the Foreign Board of the Presbyterian Church in New York City. At the request of the Foreign Board a Committee of Investigation was appointed by the Presbytery, with myself as chairman thereof, with instructions to examine the Cattaraugus, Alleghany, Tuscarora and Tonawanda reservations, all of which are in partial charge of missionaries of the Presbyterian Church.

The charges to be investigated seem to be as follows:—

1. Indians are opposed to schools, and refuse to send their children to them.
2. They are lazy and shiftless; do not cultivate their land; not more than one acre in a hundred under tillage.
3. Tribal organizations are tyrannical in dispossessing Indian settlers of their homes.

4. Wedlock commonly treated with indifference; "nests of uncontrollable vice."
5. Superstitions rampant, and not on the decline.
6. Impure religious rites practiced by the pagans.
7. No laws competent for protection of the people.
8. Chronic barbarism.
9. English language generally neglected.
10. (At Onondaga, no true Christians.)
11. Reign of chiefs, against all civilization.
12. Indians do not pay debts, and are generally good for nothing but to be removed from our path.

Our committee have thus far inspected the Alleghany and a part of the Cattaraugus reservations.

In order to test charge No. 9, I resolved to dispense with an interpreter, until I found some Indian who could not understand me in English. We therefore took an intelligent young Seneca with us, but requested him to be silent unless called upon to speak.

The Alleghany reservation comprises a strip one mile wide and forty miles long, on both sides the Alleghany river. We began at Salamanca, and journeyed through the greater part of the strip to Oldtown, at the lower end. We were not expected, and no preparation had been made to receive us. I found nine tenths of the men at work, either farming, repairing roads, or peeling bark for tanning. I was fortunate enough to meet the census-taker on his rounds, from whom I could secure the acreage of land under tillage, much of which is on the river-bottom, out of sight of the road, and not likely to attract the notice of a casual visitor passing along the highways. Three Indians whom I met told me that each had one hundred acres under cultivation, and another had seventy-five acres under tillage. I conversed with about thirty Indians of all ages, and most of them men. Not the slightest difficulty was experienced in using the English, except that they spoke slowly. I noticed no difference between their speech and what I hear in Buffalo. Not once did I need my interpreter, and the missionary tells me that nothing needs to be interpreted except expositions of Scripture, containing words and truths to which the Indians are not accustomed in ordinary exchanges of thought.

I have not time to go into details, but with singular unanimity, the testimony was against all the alleged facts of the "charges." There is actually no basis for one of these twelve charges at the Alleghany reservation.

All whom I saw are in favor of schools, and I could learn of only one family who wished to remain in ignorance, and this out of personal dislike to the teacher.

Not an instance had ever occurred of settlers being dispossessed of land by the chiefs.

Wedlock among the pagans is just as real under their ceremony as if it were Christian marriage, and the squaw just as really a wife. Only one instance known on the Alleghany and Cattaraugus reservations of intermarriage with a negro, and that man was despised.

No one has ever heard of such a thing as *impure* religious rites. I conversed about this with a pagan chief of council, who became a Christian a year ago, and had every motive to speak the truth.

As to laws, their peacemakers correspond to our justice of peace, and thence they appeal to the council (composed of eight Christian and eight pagan representatives or councilors, the president being taken from each party alternately); and if justice is denied here they can appeal to the county court, after which they have all the legal luxuries of whites.

As to vice, drunkenness and licentiousness are much less common than in Buffalo. The reign of the chiefs is not on the whole obstructive to civilization, though the pagan chiefs are jealous of their old prerogatives.

There are many sincere and intelligent Christians among them, and, as Rev. Mr. Trippe the missionary, says, at least one hundred and twenty-five families, or more than one half, living reputable Christian lives. Many of the homes are neat and inviting, and none that I saw were squalid. Everything about the two reservations was far above the level of the Pequot and Mohegan reservations in Norwich and North Stonington, Conn., with which I was familiar twenty-five years ago.

In a word, I was greatly cheered and encouraged by what I saw. There is a model orphanage at the Alleghany reservation in charge of the Friends,

whose admirable method and genuine success deserve special mention. Mr. Aaron Dewees is the superintendent, aided by six women teachers.

There has been no sacrifice of the White Dog (the old pagan ceremony) for twelve years, and the superstitions are fast disappearing.

The chiefs of the Tuscaroras have prohibited the playing of baseball on Sunday, and no such games have been allowed on the Sabbath there for the past seven years.

The Indians say that more than two thirds of all on reservations can use the English language readily, and that only the very aged, and the young children who have not yet left home for school, cannot *understand* the English when spoken to. They add, that often to strangers an Indian assumes a sullen air, and pretends not to use English when he understands it perfectly.

Mr. Crandall, a very intelligent and honorable merchant on the reservation (Alleghany), says that the Indians there, as a rule, are honest, pay their debts, and are trusted by him as readily as the whites. His account-books at the store corroborate this statement. The census-taker told us that out of eight hundred and eighty-seven Senecas and one hundred and twenty-four Onondagas, two thirds talk English, and not more than fifty could not understand it when spoken to them.

I also conversed at Salamanca with many white citizens of that thriving town, which is built on the reservation under special Act of Congress (1875), the land being leased for a small sum (said to be about \$11,000), and then sublet at a very large profit by these white pre-emptors. One gentleman told me that he had never heard of an instance when an Indian man had insulted a white woman. The testimony of all the whites was favorable to the general good character of these Indians, except that it seemed to be the general belief that they were indolent and shiftless. One gentleman, a Democrat and politician, gave me a list of eight or ten families on the Alleghany reservation who were of high character, and "as reliable as anybody." He said that out of the twenty-one hundred Indians at the Cattaraugus and Alleghany reservations, two thirds could converse in English. He estimated that one half of all the tillable land was under cultivation.

DR. ELLINWOOD said that he could only speak for the Cattaraugus and Alleghany Indians; he knew nothing of the Onondagas. He thought that the same discouragements existed as among other heathen races, but he was confident that the results of missionary work among the Alleghanians would compare favorably with those of ministerial work anywhere. The additions to some of the churches had been two or three times as great in the last two years as the average additions to the Presbyterian churches throughout New York. There is no vernacular work in the missions among the New York Indians. The gospel can be as freely preached in English there as anywhere, and the school work is all in English. Until the railroad lines were cut through the reservations the Indians were steadily increasing in numbers, but the contact of the white men had been a blight. He was glad to state that the character of the teachers in the schools supported by the State had constantly improved. Judge Draper had brought out the facts on one side, and doubtless the Presbytery of Buffalo would in time produce all the light that could help to form a complete estimate.

JUDGE DRAPER: I see no good result to come from any prolonged discussion of this matter. I will not challenge the good intentions of the writer of this letter. I say the man is deceived. He has been on a reservation which is, perhaps, in a better condition than any in the State, and probably on the best part of that reservation—a reservation which is a mile wide and forty miles long. The only interest I have in the matter is to get the real facts out. In the course of the next winter I will endeavor to supply to the members of this Confer-

ence the report of the Legislative Committee, and as much of the testimony that has been taken by it as can with propriety be put in print, and then we will see who is best advised about the matter.

ADOPTION OF PLATFORM.

Dr. Abbott, as chairman of the committee appointed to draw up a platform, read the following resolutions, and asked that they might be voted on separately.*

The Lake Mohonk Conference, at this its Sixth Annual Conference, reaffirms the principles of justice and equal rights affirmed at previous sessions, and, in the name of the people of the United States, demands their application in better and more thoroughly organized systems of jurisprudence and education.

1. The Indian is not a foreigner; the tribe is not a foreign nation. Whatever his past history may have been, the Indian now is, in point of fact, a member of this nation, and as such must be amenable to its laws, subject to its jurisdiction and authority, and entitled to the privileges and prerogatives which belong to and are inherent in citizenship. Among these are the right to protection in the ownership of property, liberty in his industry, and the freedom of an open market for his productions. The land laws already passed recognize these his inherent and inalienable rights. It remains for the Nation to protect him in them by some adequate system of courts organized by and vested with the authority of the Federal Government, and easily accessible to the poorest, the least influential, and the most remote. During the present transition period, the Indian cannot with either safety or justice be given over to the protection of State and local courts, which are often inaccessible and not always impartial, nor left to petty police tribunals organized by and dependent on the will of the Indian agent; tribunals essentially inconsistent with the fundamental provisions of the Constitution. The Conference gives its hearty approval to these essential principles of organized justice, and urges upon the favorable consideration of Congress the bill proposed by the Law Committee of this Conference, now pending in the United States Senate, or some other bill embodying these principles.

2. Neither the land in severalty, nor law administered by competent courts, will suffice for the protection of the Indian. More fundamental than either is his education. The present ill-organized and unsystematic educational methods of the Government, the imperfections of which have necessitated the labors of voluntary and philanthropic societies, should give place to a well-organized system of popular education, framed in accordance with the principles of our American institutions, and competent to provide the entire Indian race with adequate education. It is the duty of the Federal Government to undertake at once the entire task of furnishing primary and secular education for all Indian children of school age on the reservations under Federal control. It has no right to thrust this burden on the pioneer populations in the midst of which the Indians happen to be located. It has no right to leave this burden to be carried by the churches and private philanthropic societies which have taken it up only because the necessity was great and the neglect absolute. The cost of education is immeasurably less than the cost of war; the expense of educating the Indian for self-support less than one tenth the cost of keeping him in pauperism. We call upon the Department of the Interior to inaugurate at once a thorough and comprehensive system, providing at national expense, on principles analogous to those which experience has incorporated in our public school system, for the education of all Indian children in its ward and care, in all the elements of education essential to civilized life and good citizenship—the use of the English language, the common industrial arts and sciences, the habits and proprieties of domestic life, and the ethical laws which underlie American civilization. We call upon Congress to provide at once, and by wholly adequate appropriation, the necessary funds for such a system, for buildings,

*For the sake of convenience the resolutions are given here as finally adopted, the verbal changes suggested during the discussion being embodied.

teachers, inspectors, superintendents. And, in the name of the Christian and philanthropic people of the United States, and of the people of those Western States and Territories who rightly demand that the charge and burden of a pagan and pauper population shall no longer be thrown upon them, we pledge their cordial co-operation in such an effort to remove at once the National dishonor of supporting ignorant and barbaric peoples in the heart of a Christian civilization, with only feeble and wholly inadequate endeavors to bring them into harmony with a free and Christian civilization.

3. This education should be compulsory; but on those principles of compulsion which are recognized as legitimate in the free commonwealths of the world. The Indian child should be required to receive such education as will fit him for civilized life and for self-support therein, but his parents should be left at liberty to choose between the Government and the private school, so long as the private school furnishes the elements required by civilized life, and conforms to a uniform standard prescribed by the Government and maintained in its own schools. A uniform standard of qualification should be required of all teachers receiving appointment, and should be enforced by rigid and impartial examinations. The tenure of the teacher's office should be permanent. Removals should be made only for inefficiency, incompetency, or other unfitness. And the entire educational service, from the superintendents of schools to the primary teachers, should, in the interest of just administration and efficient work, be exempt from those changes and that instability of tenure which appertain to political and party appointments.

4. In view of the great work which the Christian churches have done in the past in inaugurating and maintaining schools among the Indians, and of the essential importance of religious as distinguished from secular education, for their civil, political, and moral well-being, an element of education which, in the nature of the case, the National Government cannot afford, the churches should be allowed the largest liberty; not, indeed, to take away the responsibility from the Government in its legitimate sphere of educational work, but to supplement it, to the fullest extent in their power, by such schools, whether primary, normal, or theological, as are at the sole cost of the benevolent or missionary societies. And it is the deliberate judgment of this Conference that in the crisis of the Indian transitional movement, the churches should arouse themselves to the magnitude and emergency of the duty thus laid upon them in the providence of God.

5. Nothing should be done to impair or weaken the agencies at present engaged in the work of Indian education. Every such agency should be encouraged and promoted, except as other and better agencies are provided for the work. In particular, owing to the anomalous condition of the Indians and the fact that the Government is administering trust funds that belong to them, what is known as the "contract system"—by which the Nation aids by appropriations private and missionary societies in the work of Indian education—ought to be maintained by a continuance of such aid, until the Government is prepared, with adequate buildings and competent teachers, to assume the entire work of secular education. In no case should the Government establish schools to compete with private or church schools which are already doing a good work, so long as there are thousands of Indian children for whose education no provision is made.

On motion the report of the committee was accepted, and the resolutions were then taken up separately. After discussion, in which Dr. Foster, Professor Painter, Dr. Abbott, Dr. Strieby, Dr. Aikman, General Howard, the Messrs. Smiley, Professor Thayer, Mr. Barstow, and General Whittlesey, took part, the first resolution was unanimously adopted.

The second resolution was then read by Dr. Abbott. This was discussed at great length by Dr. Ellinwood, Mr. A. K. Smiley, Professor Painter, Mr. Shelton, Colonel Dudley, Dr. Kendall, Dr. Abbott, General Howard, Dr. Ellinwood, Mr. Davis, Miss Collins, Dr. Ward, Professor Thayer, and General Whittlesey. The resolution was then adopted unanimously.

After a few words of discussion the third resolution was unanimously adopted.

The fourth resolution was then discussed by Mr. Barstow, Dr. Strieby, Dr. Ward, Dr. Ellinwood, General Howard, and Mr. A. K. Smiley, after which it was unanimously adopted.

The fifth resolution was unanimously adopted after slight debate. The platform as a whole was then unanimously adopted.

On motion it was voted that the Law Committee be requested to take all suitable measures to secure the passage of the bill reported by the Committee and now pending in the United States Senate, with such modifications and amendments, if any, as may seem to them desirable.

On motion it was voted that a committee of five be appointed by the chair, to be known as the Educational Committee, whose duty it shall be, as representatives of this Conference, to co-operate with the Commissioner of Indian affairs and the Superintendent of Indian Schools, to secure the organization of such an educational system as is foreshadowed in the platform just adopted by the Conference. The committee was afterward announced as follows: President Gates, Superintendent Draper, President Rhodes, Mr. A. K. Smiley, and the Rev. F. G. Peabody.

The following resolution was offered by General Armstrong:—

Resolved, That in view of the desire already expressed by some Indians to cease depending on Government food, and to have in ways that are better for them the equivalent of the rations; this Conference urges upon the Government the importance of allowing any Indian entitled to rations the privilege of drawing the equivalent in farm utensils, furniture, live cattle, or in other ways that may be approved by the Indian Bureau.

GENERAL ARMSTRONG, in support of his resolution, said that the ration question was one that must be got out of the way. The Santees, who are entitled to rations, asked to have implements instead, but they were refused. The Sissetons made a like request, and were refused. Major Anderson saved a thousand dollars from the amount due the Indians, and hoped to have it in utensils, but was refused. This pauperizing method of feeding the Indians is their curse. They must be taught to be self-supporting, and it would be a step toward it if the young men could be allowed to have means for becoming self-supporting instead of their rations. An expression from the Conference like that embodied in the resolution would have weight with the Government.

MRS. HILES asked if the Mission Indians would derive any benefit from such an arrangement.

PROFESSOR PAINTER replied that the Mission Indians had never surrendered anything to Government, hence they were not entitled to rations, and this was meant only to take the place of rations.

The resolution offered by General Armstrong was then adopted.

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

SIXTH SESSION.

DISCUSSION OF RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING AN AGENT IN WASHINGTON AND CONTRACT SCHOOLS.

FRIDAY NIGHT, SEPTEMBER 28.

THE Conference met at 8 o'clock, Dr. Ward in the chair.

The following committee was appointed to collect funds and take charge of the publication of the proceedings of the Conference: Mr. Augustus Taber, Mrs. E. Whittlesey, and Mrs. W. W. Crännell.

The following telegram was read from General Fisk:—

The country will be listening for the final utterance of our Conference as never before. Let us say that which shall encourage and cheer those who have so successfully laid the foundations, and resolve to go on with them to perfection as rapidly as possible. Firmness for the right and charity make a happy combination.

The following resolution was offered by Mr. Houghton, as chairman of an Informal Committee:—

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed, whose duty it shall be to select a man who shall be the paid secretary of this Conference, and who shall reside in Washington, and give his time to the promotion of the religious, educational, industrial, and secular interests of the Indians along the lines of policy pursued by this Conference. It shall be the duty of the gentleman selected to secure all information possible that may be of use to this Conference, to attend to legislation before Congress, and to aid the Indian Bureau by suggestion and legitimate influence; and it shall also be a part of his duty to represent in any reasonable way, in Washington, those benevolent societies working among the Indians which shall contribute to his support. His action shall be under the supervision of the committee above named, and he shall make an annual report to this Conference.

Mr. Houghton, in presenting this resolution, spoke as follows:—

MR. HOUGHTON: This Conference represents all shades of opinion. It brings into confederation all the people who are interested in the welfare of the Indian. There are many societies interested in Indian work. This Conference embraces them all. The only certificate that is asked to admit a man here, is that he shall be interested in the best welfare of the Indian. We manufacture public sentiment here; that is, the sentiment that goes out from here has its influence on the opinion of other people and of the Government. Why? Simply because it carries on its face and in its action the impress that it has no end to serve except the best good of the Indian. It has no private axe to grind. It realizes the great fact that we have a race of pagans among us. We want to absorb and Christianize them. We want them all to be men, and to have the rights of citizenship. It seems to me that we want to unify this sentiment, and give

power to it, and not let it end in talk. Talk is the least practicable of all the means of reforming the world. How can we make the sentiment of this Conference effective? The best sentiment is based on actual facts. We want to get at facts. To get the facts we want a broad man to serve us. We want one who shall be accustomed to dealing with the world; who shall be a politician in the best sense of that term. Whether we can find that man I do not know; but if we can, and he can come here once a year and give us a careful survey of the field, then we shall have so far a foundation on which to act, and we shall get a new impetus for action. Information thus obtained and passed through the crucible of discussion, and formulated as the sentiment of this Conference, may then be spread broadcast throughout the country by means of the press, the clergy, and individual effort; and we all know that public sentiment in this age is nearly omnipotent everywhere.

I do not know if we can find this man, or whether we can raise the money; but I think if we can get the one we can then get the other. I think this is a practical question. No doubt there are difficulties connected with this matter, as with everything else. But I think if we can make up our mind that we want a paid secretary of this Conference, one who shall be not only at the command of the Conference, but at the service of all the organizations that go to make it up, who contribute to his support, we can find him, and secure the means to pay him.

DR. STRIEBY moved the adoption of the resolution. He thought the appointment of such a man would be a good thing, though he saw difficulties in the way.

JUDGE DRAPER doubted the advisability of this proposition. He did not doubt the money could be raised, and if the money was found a man could be found to work for it. He thought the whole thing was too "worldly" for the Mohonk Conference. It would mean the keeping of a man in Washington to the end that the various denominations affiliated with the Conference should have their fair share of things at headquarters. He did not approve of any denomination doing such a thing; and because any one did it, that was no reason why others should, and certainly no reason why the Mohonk Conference should do it. Speaking as an official, he said that while the disinterested suggestions of a committee of this Conference would be almost controlling with him, he should feel like showing a paid agent kept on hand to watch him the way to the door. The intention might be good enough here, but it would be misunderstood, and in the public mind would go far to change the status and lessen the influence of the Conference.

MR. FRANK WOOD said that if the Conference were simply the representative of religious bodies he should agree with Judge Draper. He thought it unseemly for religious bodies to be vying with each other for public plunder. He thought, however, that the Conference had been able to accomplish as much as it has because it has had the *unpaid* services of such a man who happened to be the agent of an unsectarian body, who has generously given his time and talents to this work. Many a time information had been received from Professor Painter which had started movements for the benefit of the Indians. The enemies of the Indians were represented by agents

in Washington, and he thought a little more worldly wisdom on the part of their friends would not come amiss. The presence of such an agent as was desired in Washington would save many journeys there on the part of busy men. He hoped the resolution would be adopted.

DR. FOSTER thought the fears of Judge Draper unfounded. Most of the denominations were receiving already as much money as they could match with that contributed by their own churches. He thought if such a man were appointed, he would be very useful in communicating to the religious bodies news directly from the field. The object of appointing an agent was not to get more money out of the public crib.

GENERAL WHITTLESEY said that he agreed entirely with Judge Draper. He thought it would change for the worse the character of the Conference. It would also be understood as putting it in a position of antagonism to one of the great denominations of the country. He thought the Conference did not want to put itself in that position.

DR. WARD: Certainly not.

DR. STRIEBY thought there could be no harm in making the experiment, and if the result were not good, it could be given up.

MR. HOUGHTON said the object was not to put the Conference in antagonism with the Catholic Church.

DR. ABBOTT thought that if any such radical measure were to be adopted by the Conference, it should be carefully considered; he therefore moved that this resolution be referred to the Executive Committee, with power, and this was done.

The following letter from J. P. Williamson was then read:—

The Dakota Mission, made up of the Presbyterian and Congregational missionaries among the Dakotas, in annual session at Oahe, Sept. 20, 1888, desire hereby to remonstrate against the policy of discrimination against our mission schools pursued by some of the Indian agents, as they claim, by the requirements of the Department. By this ruling the agents claim that no children can go to mission schools until the quota of the agency school is made up, and that no children once in Government schools can be transferred. In this way the liberty of Christian parents, as to where they shall send their children to school, is interfered with. And so this mission appeals to the Government to have this trenching upon individual liberty brought to an end, and thus the national honor preserved. In specification we would name the agencies of Fort Peck, Fort Berthold, Yankton, and Devil's Lake where these causes of grievance have existed.

Attest, JOHN P. WILLIAMSON, *Chairman*.

FRANKLIN CROSS, *Secretary*.

GENERAL ARMSTRONG, in an appeal for the Apache Indians now held by the United States Government, said: Last year reference was made to the three hundred and fifty Apache prisoners, including one hundred and fifteen children under twelve years of age, and one hundred and sixty women; the rest, men, about one half of whom were infirm. For two years they have, as to education, been neglected, except during their stay in Fort Marion, Florida. They have been moved to Mt. Vernon barracks, and are under excellent care, where Geronimo and his band have joined them. It is not, however, a suitable place for their permanent detention, or for their practical education, though the women can be taught to do certain kinds of work. We recognize the great courtesy and interest

of the War Department, but it is time something final were done for these Indians. Teachers, delayed by yellow-fever scare, will soon be there, and will be well received. A capable nurse is expecting to go and see to the sick,—one of experience with Indians. The money question is the main point. I brought the matter before the Boston committee, and, as a result of a satisfactory meeting, about one thousand dollars have been collected by Mrs. Bullard. There ought to be at least five hundred dollars more contributed. The salary of each teacher will be about five hundred dollars, with traveling expenses from the North, and some outfit must be provided. These men had to be moved out of Arizona. But some of them either took no part in the recent outrages, or fought on our side against the renegades. We have no right to hold these innocent men as prisoners. It is a great wrong. The one good thing done in connection with them has been the sending of one hundred and six to Captain Pratt's school, in Carlisle, Pa. I have proposed purchasing a place of eight hundred acres of fine land on Back River, a very healthy place near Hampton, and settling these Apaches on lands in severalty there. The Hampton school has right alongside of that a farm of six hundred acres, which would be a material benefit. We have had already there fifteen Arizona Indians, and have had, except in two cases, no trouble on account of their health. About sixteen have died at Carlisle school, showing that they are sensitive to Northern climates. All civilization of such people is costly of life. No earnest attention seems to have been paid to my proposition, though very politely received; its merits might well have been examined, especially as to health and industrial conditions. General Crook, the best authority on the Apaches, approves this plan. Mr. A. K. Smiley and Mr. Herbert Welsh have examined the ground personally, and approved it. So far as I can see, nothing is likely to be done about it. Other plans may be in view. It is to be hoped that these innocent men, held arbitrarily as prisoners, will not remain so longer than is necessary. What justification is there of their past confinement of two years?

General Armstrong presented the following resolution:—

Resolved, That in the work which is pressing immediately upon us in the education of thousands of Indian children now wholly unprovided for, that this Conference deems it all important that the Government continue its aid to the various missionary societies and boards with prompt and generous support.

In support of this resolution General Armstrong spoke as follows:—

GENERAL ARMSTRONG: I have been strongly advised not to bring this resolution up. But it means that we desire more recognition for the contract schools established by the Government, uniting with the churches. This method of education is to me the ideal thing. It calls upon all the resources of our Government and all the resources of the people to combine for the elevation of the Indian. I defy any one to say that it has not worked most successfully in the past. It has been the best work of all. The discussions which we have heard look to the New England system, which is colorless as to religion, as the ideal thing. The idea proposed by Dr. Abbott and others was not to stop at once the Christian schools in existence,

but to hasten the establishment of these colorless schools to take their place. In New England you have the Christian home, and you can therefore afford to have your schools colorless as to religion. The Indian has no home; the children have no religious influence, but are pagans. The only way to build up his character is by Christian teaching. I assume that religion is the basis of character—that morality is conditioned upon it. The “contract schools” are building up character. Some of the Government schools are very good; the teachers are good and in earnest, and are more Christian than I supposed; but they do not compare with those that our missionaries and churches have built up. It is the difference between the fairly good and the very good. These very good contract schools are the issue.

An overwhelming majority have voted not to put them down, but to increase the Government schools. I hold that the contract schools ought to be enlarged. If I know anything about the Indian, this resolution in their favor is too weak. The contract schools are the best thing we have. They are making good the place of father and mother; sending back into savage homes in the summer vacations Christian ideas and inspirations caught from teachers, who secure and hold their places, not by official patronage, as most Government teachers do, but from a desire to lift up the red race. They always have done the best work, and always will; let us have more of them.

PROF. J. B. THAYER: It is, of course, obvious that General Armstrong is proposing an addition to the platform, which was carefully prepared, and was adopted this morning. I think there is some misapprehension as to what the platform is and what it is not. I would ask that it be now read, that we may hear exactly what it is. [After the reading of the platform, by Dr. Abbott, Prof. Thayer continued.]

It appears to me that it is highly undesirable at this late moment to undertake a complete overhauling of our platform. There is a difference of opinion here. There are a number who object as a matter of principle to the union of Church and State, and who would think it inexpedient to recommend the Government to maintain religious schools. I am of that number, and I should wholly object to any pure and simple proposition of that sort. The point, however, that is alluded to by General Armstrong,—the cordial recognition of the fact that the religious bodies have heretofore done, and are doing, immense service,—appears in this platform. Nothing whatever appears to oppose the continuance of the present system, by which the Government gives money to religious bodies, even though it does not give impartially; for I believe it has been stated here that the Catholics, out of three hundred thousand dollars, get two hundred thousand. Nothing is said in the platform which objects to the continuance of this system of helping along those who are willing to teach and civilize. On the contrary, the platform, by its silence, must be understood as approving, certainly not as objecting to it in the least. It proposed, however, what appeared to meet the approbation of our body this morning,—that it is the duty of the Government to maintain an unsectarian system of schools. I hope the Conference is not going back on that. It is now proposed to introduce a wholly new thing, a proposition which so far has been avoided: that it is the

opinion of the Conference that the contribution for religious schools should be increased; or that it should be continued,—without any expression of the condition that it should only be continued until this new system is adopted. It is to be understood from the platform that the Conference does not oppose granting the money *until* the new system is adopted. I think it stands right as it is. There is a cordial recognition of what the religious denominations have done; and there is, besides, an expression of the opinion that the Government should establish and maintain unsectarian schools.

Dr. Foster moved as a substitute the following:—

Resolved, That so long as the Government fails to provide for the thorough education of every Indian child in those elements essential to civilization, the Government should, by its contract system of Indian schools, continue its liberal aid to the mission schools organized and sustained by benevolent and missionary bodies.

DR. FOSTER said that he could not stultify himself by voting against the union of Church and State in Massachusetts, and in favor of such a union at the Mohonk Conference. His resolution put as the prominent thought the fact that the Government had failed to do its duty, and that therefore we were justified in asking its aid in attempting to do for it what it was not yet ready to do fully itself.

MR. A. H. SMILEY said that he hoped the Conference would come to some harmonious conclusion. He thought it was a bad thing for Church and State to be united, but the schools among the Indians that had been established by the religious bodies were acknowledged to be the best schools that exist among the Indians, for the reason that they have been planted by earnest religious men, and the teachers are permanent; whereas the teachers in the Government schools are changed every year or so, and sometimes even more frequently. He thought there was no possibility of securing from Government at once the amount of money necessary to put in operation schools of as high a character as the existing contract schools, and it would be most disastrous to the Indian work to have those given up for a long time to come. These schools should eventually be set aside, because they were un-American, but not at present.

JUDGE DRAPER opposed the resolution and the substitute. He thought the Conference should at least be consistent with itself. It had that morning adopted a declaration of principle which he considered the broadest, the most advanced, and the most complete, which had ever been put forth by the Conference. Are you going back on that? he asked.

(Several voices,—No, No, No.)

JUDGE DRAPER, continuing: This morning we said we were in favor of the adoption of an Indian educational system free from sectarian influence and control. That was in full line and accord with our American ideas upon the school question. Now we are asked to support a proposition which asks for Government support of schools which are entirely managed by different religious denominations. I am opposed to that. The most that we can ask is, that in the transition period from one system to a better one we shall simply say nothing upon that question. We shall let the Government go on in the old way without protest, till the time comes when Government schools are provided suited to the needs and the circumstances of the Indians.

DR. KENDALL was strongly in sympathy with the position of the Committee that the school system should be made more perfect, but he wished to have a recognition of the work already done, and a desire expressed that that work should be continued until the Government had made the proper provision for educating Indian children.

GENERAL HOWARD thought that the Conference was practically united. The only thing that kept members apart was that all were not familiar with reservation life. It was important to keep good schools in existence, and to give them a hearty indorsement for the time being. In the Government schools, as they at present exist, there are all sorts of teachers. In the contract schools teachers are appointed on account of their qualifications for their work; in the other schools this is not so. Until Government has taken up this work and is prepared to carry it on, the best schools must be supported as they are.

MR. SMILEY said that Government is founded on principles of general expediency. It has been found inexpedient to have religious teaching in Government schools. He supposed that if good religious instruction could be maintained in the public schools in all cities, it would be a wonderful advantage to the country; but the people do not agree as to the kind of religious teaching, so it is not expedient to have any. While, therefore, the Conference would enunciate the general principle that sectarian schools are an evil, he did not see the objection which Judge Draper saw to continuing them until something better is provided.

JUDGE DRAPER repeated that the platform said nothing against the continuance of the old arrangement during the transition period, and it was the understanding of the committee that nothing would be said against that, but the resolution under consideration asked in an affirmative way that the Government should continue sectarian schools.

DR. STRIEBY said the Conference had always been a practical body, and he hoped it would so continue. There were two thoughts before it: one a far-off ideal; the other, whether the Conference should not try to push forward and extend what is practically doing so much good now. Should the weight of the assembly be thrown into that which cannot be reached for fifty years, perhaps, in such a way that it would damage the good practical work that must be carried on to reach that distant period so greatly desired?

DR. SMITH, of New York, agreed with Mr. Smiley in the importance of harmony in the Conference. Any resolution which this Conference should pass should be passed unanimously. It would be a gigantic step backward if it should for a single moment give the slightest support to the union of Church and State. He wished to offer as a substitute the words "until the establishment of national schools, those already established shall not be interfered with."

MR. FRANK WOOD thought the cause of all our difficulties in the Indian system was, that everything connected with it is un-American. It is un-American to put a set of men on reservations and shoot them if they try to leave. The actual conditions, however, must be considered. The bill discussed and recommended, giving the Indians courts and a system of laws, is a great stride in advance; yet it retains reservations, though un-American, because they are necessary

for the preservation of the Indian. He believed in the principle that the Church and State should not be united. He believed in all the principles of the platform adopted; but the present Government reservation schools are not fit to educate a lot of pagans; and, on the other hand, it is admitted by all that the best work has always been done by the mission schools. He himself would not have entered this work if he had not thought he was following, perhaps afar off, the steps of Him who said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it to the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." What was wanted was not a body of educated pagans. It was largely a question of money. If the Christian Church would not support its schools alone, he thought it would be folly to refuse aid from Government to make these men good citizens and Christians.

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT: I urged General Armstrong not to introduce this resolution at this time, not because I had any fear of a free discussion, but because it seemed to me the time had gone by when we could have it profitably. Some members who had strong opinions on this subject have gone home thinking it was settled. I object to Dr. Foster's resolution. I have been thus far very conservative at this Conference, and I should like to say now just what I think. I think that we Christian ministers do not trust the Christian churches and people enough. I think we make a mistake in supposing our work is dependent on Government aid. While I think it is unfortunate to make radical revolutions by sudden measures, or to interrupt good work except as other and better agencies are put in its place, I believe that the junction of Church and State, in every phase of it, has been equally injurious to the State and to the Church. If I could go into Plymouth pulpit next Sunday morning and say to my people, The Government has resolved to withdraw all appropriations from the American Missionary Association, and it must, in the future, do its religious work without a cent from the national treasury, I believe the church would double its subscription. I believe every pastor could double the subscription of his church to the American Missionary Association in the same way. But I do not expect to bring the world to my way of thinking. I am content if we say that we must leave religious education to the Church, and, keep our hands off from the present work until a better method is organized.

Dr. Foster withdrew his substitute.

GENERAL ARMSTRONG: I am ready to stand by the sentiment of the Mohonk Conference, that not one dollar of Government money should go to the support of a religious school. If that is inconsistent I stand on that. But remember, that the Government is the trustee of the Indians' funds, and has a perfect right to take the Indians' money and do the best for the Indians, body and soul, that it can. When it sees fit to take the Indians' money for lands that he has sold and use that money which we are holding, it has a perfect and absolute right to maintain these contract schools. Why have you a word to say against them, so long as they are maintained with the Indians' own money?

DR. WARD: I would like to say a word on this resolution. A good deal has been said about consistency, and it is a jewel; but it has been implied that there is only one principle which governs these things, and that the same principle which governs in an ideal State

should govern under other circumstances. As I understand it, we do hold to the principle of no union of Church and State as an ideal. But we are looking at facts. We do have an American system, which does allow and does insist upon the use of Government money as well as Indian money for purposes which have to do with religious education. This principle does not apply to the North nor the South; it belongs to the whole country. Chaplains are employed to give instruction to children in reform schools, to men in reformatories, in prisons, hospitals, and in the South in schools supported by the public funds. That is done in Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, and other States in the Union which have exceptional classes of men with which to deal, where the State puts them in families, and *must* care for their religious needs. Every one of these States gives money for religious purposes. There is not a particle of difference between the State of Virginia giving money to support a school under religious auspices, and our request that the United States should do the same thing for the Indians. I insist upon it that it is an American principle, but one that has to do with imperfect and temporary conditions. We have been told again and again that we are dealing with a vanishing state of things in dealing with the Indians. So long as we cannot have the ideal condition we must have the best that we can get, and the best schools to-day are those religious schools that are aided with the Indians' money. We have most admirably expressed the general American theory, or one American theory. We must also consider the conditions which are temporary.

DR. ELLINWOOD took the ground that the Indians are the wards of the nation; and as a guardian would be at liberty to pay for the tuition of the children under his care out of the funds belonging to them, so he believed the United States Government, acting as guardian for the Indians, had a perfect right to pay for the education of those Indians out of moneys belonging to them. He contended that this did not militate against the principle that had been discussed.

Dr. Abbott offered to incorporate the changes suggested in the platform which he had offered. It was unanimously voted that this should be done. (See platform, on page 94.)

General Howard offered the following resolutions, which, by vote, were referred to the Executive Committee:—

WHEREAS, information from credible sources has reached this Conference that purely missionary and religious work has been interfered with by Government officials, under cover of authority from the Indian Bureau, at eleven or more agencies or separate tribes, and by different agents and inspectors, and in repeated instances and in the following specific ways, namely,—

1. In forbidding to hold prayer-meetings more than once during the week days.
2. In forbidding to hold more than two religious meetings on the Sabbath.
3. In forbidding missionaries to go from family to family, and read the Bible in the Indian homes.
4. In the forbidding of native Indian missionaries, supported wholly by our Indian Missionary Society, from doing purely missionary work.
5. In ordering Indian children to discontinue going to a Sabbath-school devoted solely to religious instruction.
6. In forbidding white missionaries to hold religious services except in certain prescribed ways and at times appointed by said officials, and with the threat that unless they complied with the orders relating to these religious matters, they should be expelled from the reservations.

7. In forbidding native missionary teachers in schools supported wholly by missionary funds from opening their schools by prayer;

And whereas the existing orders of the Indian Bureau continue to the present time to sanction interference with the rights of conscience and religion,—

Resolved, (1) That this Conference do hereby express its condemnation of all such orders, instructions, and actions on the part of Government officials, and pronounce them in violation of the spirit of the Constitution of the United States, which guarantees to every person of our country, without exception of race, entire religious liberty.

Resolved, (2) That we learn with satisfaction of the appointment of a new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and believe that it will only be necessary to bring the abuses herein specified to his attention to have them promptly corrected.

Resolved, (3) That to this end a copy of this preamble and these resolutions be sent to the Hon. J. H. Oberly, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The Educational Committee was announced as follows:—

President Gates, of Rutgers College; Judge Draper, Superintendent of Education in New York; President Rhoades, of Bryn Mawr; A. K. Smiley, and Prof. Francis G. Peabody, D.D.

DR. ELLINWOOD: We have met once more under this hospitable roof, and have been impressed anew with the great privilege it is to meet here through the princely hospitality that we have received for the sixth time. I am sure we shall not be willing to go from this place without in the most hearty manner expressing by a vote of thanks our appreciation of the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Smiley. I move such a vote of thanks.

PROF. F. G. PEABODY: It has been my great pleasure to come among you as a stranger, and to remain among you with a feeling of friendship, not to say intimacy. And I have witnessed something which is more remarkable than possibly many of you have suspected. Here was an issue brought before us with some abruptness, and with the prophecy of our host that the discussion would be serious and warm. But, with a unanimity which was beautifully complete, this issue has melted away before us. As we climbed the heights of this great argument and reached this peaceable conclusion, I confess it was like mounting these rugged rocks about us; and the same experience came over me to-night that I felt when, after a somewhat arduous climb to the summit, I found myself peacefully resting in an arbor. I wish to say that for a new comer, the same sense of home, the same delicious sense of peace, the same eagerness for the work that calls us together, comes to me that must have recurred to you all, and I gladly second this motion of gratitude and respect.

The vote of thanks was then unanimously passed.

Mr. Smiley acknowledged the thanks, and wished the members of the Conference a happy year until they should come back to resume their meetings.

After the singing of "America" and a benediction, the Conference adjourned, *sine die*, at 10.40 P. M.



LIST OF MEMBERS.

ABBOTT, REV. LYMAN, D.D., Editor *Christian Union*, New York.
ABBOTT, MRS. LYMAN.
ABBOTT, AUSTIN, LL.D., Counsellor at Law.
ABBOTT, MRS. AUSTIN.
AIKMAN, REV. DR. WILLIAM, Atlantic City, N. J.
ARMSTRONG, GEN. S. C., Principal Normal and Ag. Inst., Hampton, Va.
BARROWS, MRS. ISABEL C., *The Christian Register*, Boston, Mass.
BARSTOW, A. C., Ex-Chairman Board Indian Commissioners, Providence, R. I.
BULLARD, MRS. S. H., President of the Massachusetts Indian Association.
CLEAVELAND, Miss ABBY E., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
COLLINS, Miss M. C., Dakota Mission, Dakota.
COOLIDGE, MRS. A. L., Massachusetts Indian Association, Boston, Mass.
CRAIG, OSCAR, State Board of Charities, Rochester, N. Y.
CRAIG, MRS. OSCAR.
CRANNELL, MRS. W. W., Secretary Eastern New York Branch Woman's National Association, Albany, N. Y.
DAVIS, WILLIAM MORRIS, Philadelphia, Pa.
DAVIS, MRS. WILLIAM MORRIS.
DAVIS, JOSHUA W., Vice-President Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.
DAVIS, MRS. JOSHUA W.
DAWES, Miss A. L., Pittsfield, Mass.
DAWES, MRS. H. L., Pittsfield, Mass.
DEAN, Miss ELIZA A., New York.
DEAN, Miss LOUISA, New York.
DRAPER, A. S., Superintendent Public Instruction, State of New York, Albany, N. Y.
DRAPER, MRS. A. S.
DUDLEY, L. EDWIN, Editor *The Citizen*, Boston, Mass.
DUDLEY, MRS. L. EDWIN.
EATON, REV. THEODORE A., D.D., Rector St. Clements Church, New York.
EATON, MRS. THEODORE A.
ELLINWOOD, REV. F. F., D.D., Board Foreign Missions Presbyterian Church, New York.
ELLINWOOD, MRS. F. F.
FISK, GEN. CLINTON B., Chairman Board Indian Commissioners, New York.
FISK, MRS. CLINTON B.
FOOTE, REV. HENRY W., Pastor King's Chapel, Boston, Mass.
FOSTER, REV. ADDISON P., D.D., Pastor Immanuel Congregational Church, Roxbury, Boston, Mass.
GALLUP, MRS. J. C., Clinton, Oneida County, New York.
GODDARD, MRS. DELANO A., Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.
HARDING, REV. JOHN W., Editorial Writer, *Springfield Republican*, Longmeadow, Mass.
HARDING, MRS. JOHN W.
HILES, MRS. O. J., Milwaukee, Wis.
HOUGHTON, MR. H. O., Treasurer Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston Mass.
HOUGHTON, MRS. H. O., President Cambridge Indian Association.
HOWARD, GEN. C. H., Ex. U. S. Indian Inspector, Chicago, Ill.

HUNTINGTON, DANIEL, President National Academy of Design, New York City.

HUNTINGTON, MRS. DANIEL.

IRVING, MRS. THEO. L., President of the New York Indian Association.

KENDALL, REV. H., D.D., Secretary Board Home Missions, Presbyterian Church, New York.

KINNEY, MAJOR JOHN C., Editor *Hartford Courant*, Hartford, Conn.

KINNEY, MRS. SARA T., President Connecticut Indian Association, Hartford, Conn.

LONGFELLOW, MISS ALICE M., Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Cambridge, Mass.

LOW, SETH, Brooklyn, N. Y.

LOW, MRS. SETH.

LUDLOW, MISS HELEN W., The Normal and Ag. Inst., Hampton, Va.

MARSHALL, GEN. J. F. B., Boston Indian Citizenship Committee and in charge Southern and Indian Educational Work, American Unitarian Association.

MARSHALL, MRS. J. F. B.

PAINTER, PROF. C. C., Corresponding Secretary National Educational Committee, Indian Rights Association, Great Barrington, Mass.

PEABODY, REV. FRANCIS G., D.D., Harvard University, Boston, Mass.

PEABODY, MRS. FRANCIS G.

PORTER, MAJOR N. S., Ponca, Neb.

QUINTON, MRS. A. S., President Woman's National Indian Association, Philadelphia, Pa.

SHELTON, REV. CHARLES W., Financial Secretary for Indian Missions, American Missionary Association, Birmingham, Conn.

SHELTON, MRS. CHARLES W.

SMILEY, ALBERT K., Member Board Indian Commissioners, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

SMILEY, MRS. ALBERT K.

SMILEY, ALFRED H., Lake Minnewaska, N. Y.

SMILEY, MRS. ALFRED H.

SMILEY, MISS REBECCA H., Woodford, Me.

SMITH, CHARLES E., Editor *Philadelphia Press*, Philadelphia, Pa.

SMITH, MRS. CHARLES E.

STRIEBY, REV. M. E., D.D., Corresponding Secretary American Missionary Association, New York.

STRIEBY, MRS. M. E.

TABER, AUGUSTUS, New York.

TABER, MRS. AUGUSTUS.

TALCOTT, JAMES, New York.

THAYER, PROF. JAMES B., Professor Law, Harvard University, and Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Cambridge, Mass.

VALENTINE, LAWSON, New York.

VALENTINE, MRS. LAWSON.

WADE, MISS, New York.

WADE, MRS. ROBERT, New York.

WARD, REV. WILLIAM HAYES, D.D., Editor *The Independent*, New York.

WHITTLESEY, GEN. E. W., Secretary Board Indian Commissioners, Washington, D. C.

WHITTLESEY, MRS. E. W.

WOOD, FRANK, Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.

WOOD, MRS. FRANK, Treasurer Massachusetts Indian Association.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
OF
FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PREFACE.

THE seventh annual session of the Lake Mohawk Conference of friends of the Indian was held Oct. 2, 3, and 4, 1889, at the Lake Mohawk House, Ulster County, New York, under the patronage of its founder, Mr. Albert K. Smiley. The names of those in attendance and their personal or official position will be found in the list of members at the close of this report. To facilitate communication between members, their full addresses have been added.

Though many points bearing upon the welfare of the Indian were considered, the central theme of discussion at this Conference was the subject of Indian education, the nucleus of which was found in the paper read at the opening session by General T. J. Morgan, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Since the close of the Conference, General Morgan has more fully developed his plan. His papers on "Indian Schools and Teachers" and the "Cost of Indian Education" have therefore been added to his original essay, and will be found to cover some of the questions raised in the interesting discussion which it stimulated. The result of the three days' deliberation on various phases of the Indian problem is expressed in the platform formulated by the Business Committee and unanimously accepted by the Conference.

S. J. B.

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First Session.

INDIAN EDUCATION.

The seventh annual meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference began at the Lake Mohonk House, Ulster County, New York, on Wednesday, Oct. 2, 1889.

The Conference was called to order at 10 A.M. by Mr. A. K. Smiley, who extended a cordial welcome to those present. He expressed the hope that, as in previous years, a spirit of kindly feeling might prevail. Difference of opinion he hoped would be freely expressed. That is the only way to get at truth. But he trusted that this would be accompanied by a spirit of concession, so that finally on Friday, when they came to make the platform, they would all be able to unite upon it, as in previous years. He felt that the prayer offered by their Indian brother, Rev. Mr. Coolidge, was a fit opening for the Conference. With a single eye they should all look to the best interests of the Indian. Never before had they had such a large and distinguished company. Beginning at the very highest station in the nation, the army, the navy, the law, and many departments of the government were represented, not forgetting the Indians whom they saw before them. He nominated General Clinton B. Fisk as presiding officer, who was unanimously elected.

ADDRESS OF GENERAL CLINTON B. FISK.

To be thus unanimously called for the seventh time to preside over the deliberations of the Mohonk Conference is an honor not to be lightly esteemed. It is especially grateful to me, who lacked about five million votes of being made President on another and different occasion. If my friend Smiley and the host of other friends grouped about him are better satisfied to continue the ills they already have than to fly to those they know not of, then I must gracefully submit. It is, indeed, an honor to be deemed worthy of a place in this Conference, where for seven successive years, at the bidding of our generous host and hostess, we have come to discuss and promote the welfare of the Indian. Many who sit here have been in attendance every year. We welcome a large number of distinguished persons this morning, who for the first time enroll as members of our Conference. They may be interested to know that this movement grew out of a good thought in the heart of Mr. Smiley, who had for many years been one of the most faithful members of the Board of Indian Commissioners, a Board now twenty years old, created at the instance of President Grant among the first measures of his first Administration. Our great soldier President established what was termed the "peace policy" in the conduct of Indian affairs. He invited to his aid certain citizens from civil life, who, by the terms of

the law by which they were appointed, were to serve gratuitously. I believe I am the surviving senior member of that Board, through whose instrumentality a wonderful revolution in the administration of Indian affairs has been accomplished. Mr. Smiley was appointed a member of the Board by President Hayes more than ten years since. Mr. Smiley's connection with the Board led him to reflect upon the necessity of interesting a large number of the friends of the Indian in a conference where there might be calm deliberation and wise conclusions. Like every wise man, he consulted his good wife on the subject. That noble woman quickly solved the problem by saying: "Albert, thee must call a hundred or more to meet at our house, as our guests, and with them organize the Mohonk Conference." It was done; and hither have come the increasing tribes of Mohonkers at each returning autumn.

Hither comes this morning, for the first time, ex-President Hayes, who gave to the country one of the wisest and cleanest Administrations that ever blessed the country. We welcome General Morgan, the new wisely chosen Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Here, too, are the brothers Wayland, one the Dean of the Yale Law School, the other the accomplished editor of the *National Baptist*, sons of Dr. Wayland, whose Political Economy and Moral Science we studied, and, alas! too much of it forgot. And here, for the first time, we greet Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley, the able editor of the *Christian Advocate*, who never fails to give reasons for the faith that is in him. By his side sits Mr. Barrows of the *Christian Register*. In fact, our editorial group is something to be proud of. In this Conference sit Dr. Abbott of the *Christian Union*, Dr. Ward of the *Independent*, Mr. Barrows of the *Christian Register*, Dr. Buckley of the *Christian Advocate*, Dr. Ferris of the *Christian Intelligencer*, Dr. Wayland of the *National Baptist*, Dr. Dunning of the *Congregationalist*, Dr. Gilbert of the *Advantage*, and a large representation of the secular press. Surely, there are "chiels amang us takin' notes," and what we do and say will be heralded to the world.

Several gentlemen have been invited to prepare papers. We shall endeavor to have those presented and followed by addresses. In most cases, we shall hope to have some one who has been selected for the purpose appear with an impromptu speech, ten minutes long. Discussion will then be opened to the Conference at large. Twenty minutes will be allowed for papers, ten minutes for addresses. Unless you are speaking exceedingly well, I shall call you down on the spot.

General Whittlesey, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, who is generally posted with regard to Indian affairs, will give us a *résumé* of the legislation for the year and of the progress of Indian affairs generally. That progress has been very great. In no year in the history of Indian affairs have we made so much progress as in this. Indeed, we have been making progress all along since 1887, when the "Century of Dishonor" was closed by the passage of the Dawes Bill. We began in earnest then to make the Indian somebody, making him our equal as rapidly as he can possibly come to that position, governing him by the same laws that govern us, punishing him as the white man is punished, giving him the same protection as we receive. Allotments are being made on

several reservations; and there is a general interchange of earnest thought among the Indians at large about the immediate future, when they shall all become citizens of this republic, the tribal relation being entirely dissolved, and the Indian owning his own home. The First Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, twenty years ago, declared for nearly all the great reforms which this Conference has urged for many years. I suppose that all other influences combined have not been equal to the power of the Mohonk Conference in matters of legislation. Our committees have had influence with the committees in Congress, and with the President of the United States and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, aided by our uninterrupted and plentiful letter-writing to members of Congress. One member said to me the other day, "I had sixty letters, and all about one thing." We must remember how much influence that may have upon our own members of Congress. They like to look after their constituents; they love to be exhorted to do the right thing by those of us who vote for them.

On motion of Mr. H. O. Houghton, of Boston, Mr. J. W. Davis, of Boston, and Major J. C. Kinney, of Hartford, were elected secretaries. Mr. Augustus Taber, of New York, was elected treasurer, and the secretaries and treasurer were constituted a publishing committee.

On motion of Dr. Lyman Abbott, it was voted that a committee of seven on resolutions be appointed by the chair, who should present after the discussions a platform for the action of the Convention. The chair subsequently appointed the following committee: Dr. Lyman Abbott, Dr. J. M. Buckley, Mrs. Sara T. Kinney, Dr. W. Hayes Ward, Prof. Francis Wayland, Miss Kate Foote, James Wood.

INDIAN LEGISLATION DURING THE LAST YEAR.

BY GENERAL E. WHITTLESEY, .

Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

As I had no intimation that such a request would be made before I came to this meeting, of course I have had no opportunity to look over the acts of Congress. But from memory I think I can give the prominent points of legislation in behalf of the Indians since we met last fall.

In the first session of the last Congress, a very large number of bills were passed affecting Indians; but the majority of them were for the benefit of whites rather than Indians. They were bills authorizing rights of way for railroads through Indian reservations. Of these I need not speak. Just at the close of the first session of the last Congress, one important bill affecting the matter of allotment of lands was passed. It gave to the Secretary of the Interior the right to accept a relinquishment of previous allotments that had been made under old treaties where Indians preferred to take their new allotments under the bill of Feb. 8, 1887, which we call the "Dawes Bill," or "General Allotment Bill." That we regard as a very important act, because it relieved the agents making the allotments of

the difficulty which they found upon almost all the old reservations. Indians had taken small allotments of land and had received patents for them in some instances ; but they were debarred from taking allotments under the new law. But under the new law they could get a better position and a larger allotment, and therefore this act was passed. We regard this as a very important and beneficial act. During the last session of the Fiftieth Congress, the principal measures affecting Indians all bear upon one point ; that is, the breaking up of reservations, making the Indians citizens, to be treated as men and no longer as "Indians not taxed." One of these relates to the Indians of Northern Minnesota. A bill was passed authorizing a Commission to negotiate with all the Chippewas of Northern Minnesota for the relinquishment of their surplus land, and their removal to the White Earth Reservation. This is large enough to support all the Indians, is very beautiful, has abundant prairie land, timber land, and abundant lakes and streams. Whether the Commission has succeeded in carrying out the purpose of that act, I do not know. I have not seen the official report. It is reported that they have succeeded in that negotiation, and that the Indians relinquish from two to three million acres of valuable land, and the payment for that land is to be funded for their benefit.

Another important measure is the Sioux Reservation Bill, with which you are all more or less familiar. The act of two years ago failed ; but the act of the last session of the last Congress has been carried out. That provides for the dividing up of this immense territory occupied by several distinct tribes of Dakota Indians into distinct and separate reservations, and then the sale to the United States of about half of the whole territory,—about eleven million acres. A Commission was appointed to negotiate with them, to get their consent to this measure. That Commission has also succeeded. General Crook was at the head of it.

Another measure, which was one of great importance, was the purchase from the Creek Indians of the Indian Territory of that tract of land in the centre of the Indian Territory known as "Oklahoma." That certainly was a very important step forward for the Indian Territory. The Creeks themselves, through their representatives in Washington, proposed this sale. It was not forced upon them. There was no act of Congress providing for it beforehand, but they themselves suggested it. The agreement was ratified by an act of Congress and by an appropriation of money, over two millions of dollars, in payment for that country, which is now given up to the settlement of whites, in the very centre of the Indian country. The Creeks and Seminoles joined in this. They owned it jointly. Now we are told that the Choctaws, occupying a large tract of country, are also beginning to talk about dividing their lands among themselves and offering to sell the surplus to the government. Finding that the Creeks have obtained large sums of money in their treasury, they think that it would be a good thing for them to have a large sum placed to their credit in the Treasury of the United States for lands which they are not using and cannot use. It seems to me that the example which the Creeks have set will probably open the whole Territory for settlement, and thus bring in all of that Territory into the cluster of States.

A Commission was also authorized by Congress to negotiate with the Cherokees for what is called the Cherokee strip. That tract of country just south of Kansas contains six million acres of land. The Commission have not been able to accomplish anything. There is a strong opposition on the part of the Cherokees; and that opposition will not be overcome for a year or two.

Now let me speak of two or three measures which ought to have passed, but were not. One of these measures this Conference and the Board of Indian Commissioners and the Indian Rights Association have been urging for years. That is a bill for the relief of the Mission Indians of Southern California. It passed the Senate three successive times, but failed in the House. There was another for the relief of the Indians of Round Valley in the northern part of California. It passed the Senate twice, but failed in the House. Another measure, which we urged very earnestly last winter, was for the relief of the poor Stockbridge Indians, who, since they left Massachusetts a hundred years ago, have been ordered repeatedly again and again to move on and move on; and they have been moving on until they are pretty nearly exhausted. There are only a few of them left. There are great troubles among them on account of the eagerness of the people around them to get hold of their land. We strongly urged a measure for their relief last winter; but that failed.

Another measure was presented to Congress, and urged very earnestly by the people surrounding the Oneida Indians in Wisconsin. That measure did not seem desirable to us who were on the watch; and by "us" I mean Professor Painter and myself. But in this case I mean especially Mrs. Hiles of Wisconsin, who has taken great interest in this matter. This measure provided for the allotment of the Oneida lands to the Oneidas, giving them the right to sell again, just as a white man can when he takes up a homestead; and the object of it was to get possession of those valuable pine lands just as soon as possible by the surrounding people. Fortunately, by the exertions of Mrs. Hiles and others of us who were in Washington, that measure was defeated. And now, under the general allotment bill, the lands of those people are being allotted to them by an agent appointed lately; and Mrs. Hiles, I hope, will give to the Conference an account of the happy results of the defeat of that proposed Oneida bill. She has been among the Indians during the last summer, and knows all about them.

There is one other matter which Mr. Painter reminds me of. A measure was introduced for the removal of the Southern Utes of Colorado. There has been for a long time a determination that no Indian should remain in Colorado. The Representatives in Congress from that State have succeeded in removing all the Indians who once occupied that large territory, formerly Los Pinos, and carried them over into Utah; and this was the measure introduced, I am sorry to say, for the removal of the Southern Utes from Southern Colorado over into the Territory of Utah. It passed the Senate, but did not pass the House. We regard it as a very unfortunate move. These Utes were moved only a few years ago out on that reservation. Their lands were surveyed at great expense. I think they were moved during President Hayes's administration, and portions of the lands were allotted. Some of the Indians have settled down to farming.

They have, unfortunately, a good reservation where they are,—a reservation with good land and capable of cultivation. I say “unfortunately,” because that fact fixed the eyes of greedy people, who are living in other parts of Colorado, upon it. It was through the earnest efforts of these people that that measure was passed by the Senate last year. We hope that that move will be defeated, and that they will not be compelled to go. A Commission was sent down there to get their consent for the removal; and, by offering them a large amount of money and stock, they were finally persuaded to consent to the removal. But that has not been ratified. We hope it will be defeated.

Another matter of importance is legislation for the establishment of a court in the Indian Territory, one of the very best things that have been done. We have been urging this measure for a dozen or fifteen years. It has been provided for by the legislature during the last year.

Mr. H. O. Houghton, of Boston, then read the following paper:—

INDIAN WORK.

What are the Best Methods of prosecuting it in the Future?

BY H. O. HOUGHTON, OF BOSTON.

As the best evidence of the progress of humane sentiment respecting the Indian, we rarely hear the brutal remark now that the “only good Indian is a dead Indian.” For this growth of public sentiment in the right direction, we cannot fail to recognize the influence of the earnest work of private individuals, of the various Indian associations, and especially of the Mohonk Conference, which brings together persons of all shades of opinion and from all parts of the Union. From these and other sources, we have been able to obtain more accurate knowledge of the condition of the Indian, both on the reservation and outside of it. That the reservation system only continues, and does not improve the original tribal and barbaric condition, is shown by the testimony that has been given in this Conference of the degradation exhibited on the reservations in the great State of New York, in the midst of the highest development of civilization of the present time.

The great problems that now confront us are the civilization, education, and Christianizing of the Indians.

(1) The last work has been left chiefly and properly to the churches and the missionaries. That it has not been well done no one has a right to say, unless he can show better results from other agencies. This phase of the work should be left as much as possible to the churches; and, the more exclusively they devote themselves to it, the more fruitful will be the results. Their work is but a part, yet a most important part, of the work of bringing this people from barbarism to civilization.

(2) *Education.*—As has been ably argued in this Conference, this work properly belongs to the State, and it should undertake it as soon as it can maintain schools equal or superior to those now

under the control of private organizations, and the work should be prosecuted in a broad and catholic way. Whatever makes the State great and strong and wise should be imparted to the Indian, to make him a constituent part of the same.

(3) *Civilization*.—This is perhaps the least important of all the problems to be solved; but it is the first, and in many ways the most difficult. To the necessities of this work and the obstacles in the way of accomplishing it I propose to confine myself chiefly in this paper. It involves the breaking up of the tribal relation, the allotment of lands in severalty, and the equal protection of the Indian with all other citizens under the law. I need not rehearse here what progress has been made in these several directions. It has been substantial. Some Indians are now citizens; allotments of land in severalty have been and are being made to them; the protection of the law is being thrown about them,—inadequately, doubtless,—but public sentiment and the sense of justice will insist eventually that this shall be made adequate. The course for the future, then, is to work on these lines until we find every Indian within the boundaries of our country an independent citizen, tilling his own acres, or supporting himself by some handicraft,—and no longer a ward of the nation. The work of bringing about this desired result is committed not only to private individuals, who are moved to undertake the work, but also to the various Indian associations. It is of the greatest importance that the object to be attained should be well defined. While methods may necessarily be diverse, yet they should be harmonious. If we could only realize in the work the vision of the Prophet Ezekiel, and all our associations be “as if it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel. . . . When those stood, these stood; and, when they were lifted up,” these lifted up themselves also; “for the spirit of the Living Creature was in the wheel.”

The great problem in our civil policy is unity in diversity, and it is the same here. Each individual reformer has his specific, by means of the use of which all maladies are to be healed; but the patient is sure to die under the application of so many and diverse remedies. We need, as in the body politic, a final court of arbitrament, which, while declaring as well as creating public sentiment, shall by its own character be able to harmonize and energize the work of the local associations. This Conference, by its very organization, seems to come the nearest to this desired final court of arbitrament. As I said before, its members come together from every part of our land. They are drawn hither by no mercenary interests, but only from their common interest in the welfare of the Indian. They come from all the leading professions and occupations of life. Many are persons of large experience in, and knowledge of Indian affairs, and have no badges of office except what character and high purpose always give. Besides, the relation of host and guests, while it gives all the freedom of fireside talk, represses, by the very freedom of hospitality which surrounds it, any unseemly demonstrations or the exhibition of angry passions.

Local associations need just this restraining influence. Circumstances may give them a strong local coloring; comparatively unimportant matters may be unduly magnified; ambitious members may want to engraft other reforms upon this Indian question. The ordinary reformer is very apt to think that his mission is to reform all the

wrongs that exist, and is very uncharitable if all do not agree with him. Such is not the history of the great reforms of the world. The Great Teacher of mankind kept to his specific work, and bade his disciples to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." The great apostle knew only "Christ and him crucified." Luther rang all the changes on the words, "The just shall live by faith," and confined himself to them. Wesley was a man of one book. Their reforms have permeated the world.

Therefore, I say, in conclusion, let the work of all the friends of the Indian, either as individuals or associations, be one work, avoiding all entanglements with outside objects or questions. Let the motto be, "This one thing I do." The work may be divided, as it cannot well help being; and, if separate portions of it are intrusted to different individuals or organizations, let them be like an "army with banners" marching under its greater Leader, in separate columns, independent, but mutually supporting each other. Such an army, well manned and well officered, cannot fail of victory in the end.

Rev. Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT.—I share the general impatience I am sure of others here to listen to the paper which we are presently to hear from General Morgan, on the subject of "Indian Education." In seconding Mr. Houghton's admirable paper, I shall speak only a word with reference to its concluding portion, the legitimate function of this Conference. Every well-educated American rides several hobbies. We have them all stabled somewhere; but here we have only one hobby, and that is Indian reform.

The CHAIRMAN.—This is a stable hobby.

Dr. ABBOTT.—The difference, then, is that this is a stable hobby, and that the others should be stabled hobbies. We have but one work,—to promote the education and civilization and the redemption of the Indians in this country. All questions that are not correlated with that theme do not belong to our work here, however important they may seem in other relations. In the consideration of this question, we are to set ourselves not to the righting of specific wrongs, not to the administration of details, not to the discussion of particulars, but to the settlement of great general principles. These are the lines on which we have acted in the past, and I am sure on these lines we shall act in the future. We concentrate our interest on the work of Indian education, civilization, and redemption. We do that, not by attempting to show how general principles should be applied in particular cases, but by showing what are the great general principles which must be, in the nature of the case, left to others to apply in administration. In this work, it has been our good fortune in the past, and I trust it will be our good fortune in the present, to have mated what are not always mated,—absolute free discussion and absolute unanimity of result. Full, perfect, free discussion,—that has been the characteristic of Lake Mohonk Conference at every session. No man has hesitated to give his opinion, and his whole opinion. No man has hesitated to let his opinion clash with the opinion of somebody else. We have not walked timidly or in fear. We have believed that the air is free, and that we can discuss with freedom. But, when our discussions have ended, we have always reached a substantially unanimous result. We have sometimes done it after the

manner of the jury, who, after being locked up and not being able to agree, handed in a sealed verdict, which, being opened in the morning, read, "This jury agreed to disagree." It cannot be expected on questions of expediency that independent thinkers will come to a common agreement. Experiment is often the only way to reach a result. But upon great questions of right and wrong Christians ought always to be able to come to a unanimous conclusion, if they will have patience with one another and allow time to do its work. This seems to me a fundamental distinction. The great principles of right and wrong we can agree upon; and, if we cannot agree upon them in this Conference, we can say what we do agree upon, and can leave the settlement of further questions until further time has elapsed. The Lake Mohonk Conference is and has been a power; but why? It does not represent a solid constituency; it casts no vote; it exercises no political influence, in the ordinary sense of that term; nor does it exercise any ecclesiastical or church influence. It represents the conscience of the American people on the Indian question. The history of this country has abundantly shown that, when the conscience of the American people is aroused, it is the most potent factor in American politics, defeating and bringing to shame the cunningly devised schemes of politicians that disregard or condemn it. If we are to represent the conscience of the American people, we must get an agreed and common conscience ourselves. When we are able to do that, to speak in words which carry the sentiment of this whole body on that which is right and that which is wrong, we shall have an echo coming from the whole country which Congress will heed and public men will follow, not only because they fear conscience, but because the element of conscience in public life, and in our Congress and in our public administration, is a far more important element than our newspapers or our reformers are always willing to concede. Let us, then, work in this Conference to this end. Let us discuss principles; let us discuss them with absolute freedom. When we are reaching a result, let us reach unanimity by no use of words in a double sense, meaning one thing to one party and another thing to another. Let us know exactly what we mean, let us say exactly what we mean, let us not say more than we can agree to say together with united voice. This has been our policy in the past. It is and will be our policy in the future, under the guidance of our Chairman, who seems to be abundantly supplied with that oil of good-humor which is the best possible oil for machinery if it ever creaks; and under the beneficent presence of our hosts, who give us no gift so good as the gift of a peace-loving spirit, which we all breathe when we enter these walls; and under the guidance of the All Father, in whom through all our divergent purposes and opinions we unitedly and heartily believe.

General Whittlesey then read the following letter from Miss Alice C. Fletcher:—

LETTER FROM MISS ALICE C. FLETCHER.

IN CAMP, SOUTH FORK OF CLEARWATER.
NEZ PERCE AGENCY, IDAHO, Sept. 17, 1889.

My dear General Whittlesey,— From my tent in this cañon, shadowed by pine-trees and carpeted with straw, I send greeting to you and to the kind host and hostess at Mohonk and the many friends gathered

there. I recall the faces that I met in years gone by. Some are now transfigured in the higher life; while others are still with you, bringing their joy with them. The group of counsellors at Mohonk may change; but the spirit of the council remains, and each year gains upon the work in hand, to the lasting benefit of the Indian.

For three years it has been my fortune to be at the field end of the line, working out the measures that were so long our earnest theme of discussion. From my point of view, I have sent words of suggestion. They have all referred to the changes imminent to the allotted Indian, but their practicality could not be demonstrated except by a knowledge of the exact state of affairs. This I grant to be difficult to obtain. I had almost said impossible; for it is among the rarest of gifts,—the power to discern the invisible, to foresee events,—and this power the inspector, agent, or visiting official must possess if the truth is to be reached and the Indian benefited by "investigations."

Each year I am more deeply convinced that neither the government nor the friends of the Indians as yet realize the changes that are at hand, and already here, under the working of the act of Feb. 8, 1887. These changes nothing can deter, and they bring much trouble and distress that could be averted, were they anticipated and suitable action taken to prepare the Indian to meet them. The Severalty Act confers citizenship upon the allotted Indian. From two to three years elapse between the beginning and completion of the work of allotting a tribe; that is, the issue and receipt of the patents. During this period, if not before, the Indians should have training in self-government, based upon geographical divisions of land, and officers should be elected by the people. In a word, the precinct and the precinct election should be foreshadowed, and the Indians instructed in the duties and responsibilities as well as the privileges of citizenship. This can best be done before the agent loses his legal control, as that totally disappears when the Indian becomes a citizen.

I am aware that this suggestion is executive in character, but it is not likely to be put in practical operation until the Indian officer inaugurating the change shall be assisted by a sympathetic public opinion approving the abolishment of a political office. There are many reasons why such a policy would be considered impolitic and uncalled for. These will easily suggest themselves. I would not again mention this subject, but that each experience in allotment—and the Nez Percé is my third tribe to allot—convinces me of its importance, of its real necessity, to the Indians.

As to my present work, the Nez Percé Reservation is very rugged in parts, and has been misrepresented as to the character of its soil. In general terms, all this region of country is grazing rather than agricultural. Grazing is the chief, almost the sole, industry among the white settlers. Grain ripens in favored localities; but the scarcity of water, the dry climate,—little rain from June to September, none at all this year,—the elevation of the land east of Craig Mountain, known as Camas Prairie, where the bulk of the reservation lies,—all these natural conditions make this a grazing rather than a farming country. West of Craig Mountain, the land is not dissimilar in character. The "opening of the reservation" has been the theme of the local newspapers for some months past, and the land has been talked of as though it were veritable prairie. Fears that I might allot

it without discrimination, as grazing land, have led to some funny performances on the part of a portion of the people hereabouts. You can fancy me followed about by persons who consider it their "duty to look after the interests of the settlers"; and you would be amused, if not incensed, at the strange comments and almost threats, when it is discovered that desirable locations are already allotted. It is often openly declared, "The Indians have no right to the land: they ought to be made to stay in the cañons." Perhaps the Indians have no right, and perhaps the white men have none either. Right to land is considered by some people as a mooted question; but I fancy the average Idahoan does not bother his head about agrarian theories, apart from reservations.

I desire again to bear testimony to the advantages which an education off the reservation gives to an Indian man or woman. The difference between the young people of the same age and apparent ability, who have had the different kinds of training, has been marked in my experience here. This tribe were wholly unprepared for my advent, and could not believe that I had been sent to allot them, they never having asked for allotment. I read and explained the law; but the returned students took the law, read it for themselves, assured the people it was true, and recounted how they had heard of it while at school among the white people. These students are a great help to their people and to my work. Four are assistants to the surveyor, and others are in my employ.

The Nez Percé are practically a Christian people. They have four native churches, ministered by native pastors. These men were all trained by Miss S. L. McBeth. To this lady and her sister, Miss Kate McBeth, not only these Indians, but the entire country, owe a debt of gratitude for their remarkable work, bearing some of the most noteworthy results it has ever been my good fortune to meet. The people are orderly, industrious, and tractable, and offer a promising field for the teacher and the friends who would labor for the welfare of the Indian. They are now interested in their allotment, and are taking their lands as rapidly as it can be surveyed and I can grade it. I have over four hundred names upon my registry and several thousand acres allotted, and this in the face of difficulties that at one time seemed truly formidable; but these are now about overcome.

With cordial regard to you and yours,

Sincerely,

ALICE C. FLETCHER,
Special Indian Agent.

QUESTION.—Why this delay in issuing patents?

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—It takes a long time to make the surveys and find out from each Indian where he wants to go to, and to mark out his allotment and have it surveyed and get the boundaries fixed. Then there is the long work in the Indian Office of getting the plots properly arranged, so that there shall be no mistake.

General Whittlesey also explained that grazing land is allowed to be allotted in double quantities, twice the amount of farming land.

Gen. MORGAN.—The patents came to the Indian Office for the Sisseton Indians printed on very poor paper. I asked the Land Office to print them on better paper. The reply came that it was imprac-

licable. I then ordered that there should be placed a strip of cloth on the back. That is the reason why those have not been long since delivered.

The chairman then announced that General Thomas J. Morgan, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, would read a paper on the "Education of American Indians."

Gen. MORGAN.—When President Harrison tendered me the Indian Bureau, he said, I wish you to administer it in such a way as will satisfy the Christian philanthropic sentiment of the country. That was the only charge that I received from him. I come here, where the Christian philanthropic sentiment of the country focusses itself, to ask you what will satisfy you.

The CHAIRMAN.—We shall tell you.

Gen. MORGAN.—I have but one motive; and that is, so far as it is practicable, to embody in administrative work the highest thought which you elaborate in regard to the treatment of the Indians. I have had one other charge given to me, and only one other, as to how I should manage the Indian Bureau. General Noble, the Secretary of the Interior, said to me, I wish you to manage it on the highest business principles. Now, if I succeed, sir, in satisfying the Christian conscience and at the same time in administering the Bureau on the highest business principles, I certainly shall need that which I shall get from this Conference and from the Board of Indian Commissioners,—sympathy, co-operation, and advice. I have been in the office three months. While attempting to feel my way through the mass of details which have been thrust upon me, I have been impressed very fully with the thought that there ought to be some well-defined scheme of general education which would meet with the assent of all those interested in Indian work. I have come to you, this morning, to ask for your counsel, and to know whether this paper will satisfy this body of people. I am prepared to modify it, and to adapt it to that high commission which has been given to me to embody in some degree the philanthropic and Christian sentiment in Indian education.

General Morgan then read the following paper:—

THE EDUCATION OF AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY GENERAL THOMAS J. MORGAN.

The American Indians, not including the so-called Indians of Alaska, are supposed to number about 250,000, and to have a school population (6 to 16 years) of perhaps 50,000. They occupy for the most part government reservations, aggregating approximately 190,000 square miles. If we exclude the five civilized tribes which provide for the education of their own children and the New York Indians, who are provided for by that State, the number of Indians of school age to be educated by the government does not exceed 36,000, of whom 15,000 were enrolled in schools last year, leaving but 21,000 to be provided with school privileges. These people are separated into numerous tribes, and differ very widely in their language, religion, native characteristics, and modes of life.

Any generalizations regarding these people must therefore be con-

sidered as applicable to any particular tribe, with such modifications as its peculiar place in the scale of civilization warrants. It is certainly true, however, that, as a mass, the Indians are far below the whites of this country in their general intelligence and mode of living. They enjoy very few of the comforts, and almost none of the luxuries, which are the pride and boast of their more fortunate neighbors.

When we speak of the education of the Indians, we mean that comprehensive system of training and instruction which will convert them into American citizens, put within their reach the blessings which the rest of us enjoy, and enable them to compete successfully with the white man on his own ground and with his own methods. Education is to be the medium through which the rising generation of Indians are to be brought into fraternal and harmonious relationship with their white fellow-citizens, and with them enjoy the sweets of refined homes, the delight of social intercourse, the emoluments of commerce and trade, the advantages of travel, together with the pleasures that come from literature, science, and philosophy, and the solace and stimulus afforded by a true religion.

That such a great revolution for these people is possible is becoming more and more evident to those who have watched with an intelligent interest the work which, notwithstanding all its hindrances and discouragements, has been accomplished for them during the last few years. It is no longer doubtful that, under a wise system of education, carefully administered, the condition of this whole people can be radically improved in a single generation.

Under the peculiar relations which the Indians sustain to the government of the United States, the responsibility for their education rests primarily and almost wholly upon the nation. This grave responsibility, which has now been practically assumed by the government, must be borne by it alone. It cannot safely or honorably either shirk it or delegate it to any other party. The task is not by any means an Herculean one. The entire Indian school population is less than that of Rhode Island. The government of the United States, now one of the richest on the face of the earth, with an overflowing treasury, has at its command unlimited means, and can undertake and complete this work without feeling it to be in any degree a burden. Although very imperfect in its details, and needing to be modified and improved in many particulars, the present system of schools is capable, under wise direction, of accomplishing all that can be desired.

In order that the government shall be able to secure the best results in the education of the Indians, certain things are desirable,—indeed, I might say necessary:—

1. Ample provision should be made at an early day for the accommodation of the entire mass of Indian school children and youth. To resist successfully and overcome the tremendous downward pressure of inherited prejudice, and the stubborn conservatism of centuries, nothing less than universal education should be attempted.

2. Whatever steps are necessary should be taken to place these children under proper educational influences. If under any circumstances compulsory education is justifiable, it certainly is in this case. Education, in the broad sense in which it is here used, is the Indian's

only salvation. With it, they will become honorable, useful, happy citizens of a great republic, sharing on equal terms in all its blessings. Without it, they are doomed either to destruction or to hopeless degradation.

3. The work of Indian education should be completely systematized. The camp schools, agency boarding-schools, and the great industrial schools should be related to each other so as to form a connected and complete whole. So far as possible there should be a uniform course of study, similar methods of instruction, the same text-books, and a carefully organized and well-understood system of industrial training.

4. The system should be conformed, so far as practicable, to the common school system now universally adopted in all the States. It should be non-partisan, non-sectarian. The teachers and employees should be appointed only after the most rigid scrutiny into their qualifications for their work. They should have a stable tenure of office, being removed only for cause. They should receive for their service wages corresponding to those paid for similar service in the public schools. They should be carefully inspected and supervised by a sufficient number of properly qualified superintendents.

5. While for the present special stress should be laid upon that kind of industrial training which will fit the Indians to earn an honest living in the various occupations which may be open to them, ample provision should also be made for that general literary culture which the experience of the white race has shown to be the very essence of education. Especial attention should be directed toward giving them a ready command of the English language. To this end, only English should be allowed to be spoken, and only English-speaking teachers should be employed in schools supported wholly or in part by the government.

6. The scheme should make ample provision for the higher education of the few who are endowed with special capacity or ambition, and are destined to leadership. There is an imperative necessity for this, if the Indians are to be assimilated into the national life.

7. That which is fundamental in all this is the recognition of the complete manhood of the Indians, their individuality, their right to be recognized as citizens of the United States, with the same rights and privileges which we accord to any other class of people. They should be free to make for themselves homes wherever they will. The reservation system is an anachronism which has no place in our modern civilization. The Indian youth should be instructed in their rights, privileges, and duties as American citizens; should be taught to love the American flag; should be imbued with a genuine patriotism, and made to feel that the United States, and not some paltry reservation, is their home. Those charged with their education should constantly strive to awaken in them a sense of independence, self-reliance, and self-respect.

8. Those educated in the large industrial boarding-schools should not be returned to the camps against their will, but should be not only allowed, but encouraged, to choose their own vocations, and contend for the prizes of life wherever the opportunities are most favorable. Education should seek the disintegration of the tribes, and not their segregation. They should be educated, not as Indians,

but as Americans. In short, public schools should do for them what they are so successfully doing for all the other races in this country, — assimilate them.

9. The work of education should begin with them while they are young and susceptible, and should continue until habits of industry and love of learning have taken the place of indolence and indifference. One of the chief defects which have heretofore characterized the efforts made for their education has been the failure to carry them far enough, so that they might compete successfully with the white youth, who have enjoyed the far greater advantages of our own system of education. Higher education is even more essential to them than it is for white children.

10. Special pains should be taken to bring together in the large boarding-schools members of as many different tribes as possible, in order to destroy the tribal antagonism, and to generate in them a feeling of common brotherhood and mutual respect. Wherever practicable, they should be admitted on terms of equality into the public schools, where by daily contact with white children they may learn to respect them and become respected in turn. Indeed, it is reasonable to expect that at no distant day, when the Indians shall have all taken up their lands in severalty and have become American citizens, there will cease to be any necessity for Indian schools maintained by the government. The Indians, where it is impracticable for them to unite with their white neighbors, will maintain their own schools.

11. Coeducation of the sexes is the surest and perhaps only way in which the Indian women can be lifted out of that position of servility and degradation which most of them now occupy on to a plane where their husbands and the men generally will treat them with the same gallantry and respect which is accorded to their more favored white sisters.

12. The happy results already achieved at Carlisle, Hampton, and elsewhere, by the so-called "Outing System," which consists in placing Indian pupils in white families, where they are taught the ordinary routine of housekeeping, farming, etc., and are brought into intimate relationship with the highest type of American rural life, suggest the wisdom of a large extension of the system. By this means they acquire habits of industry, a practical acquaintance with civilized life, a sense of independence, enthusiasm for home, and the practical ability to earn their own living. This system has in it the "promise and the potency" of their complete emancipation.

13. Of course, it is to be understood that, in addition to all the work here outlined as belonging to the government for the education and civilization of the Indians, there will be requisite the influence of the home, the Sabbath-school, the church, and religious institutions of learning. There will be urgent need of consecrated missionary work and liberal expenditure of money on the part of individuals and religious organizations in behalf of these people. Christian schools and colleges have already been established for them by missionary zeal, and others will doubtless follow. But just as the work of the public schools is supplemented in the States by Christian agencies, so will the work of Indian education by the government be supplemented by the same agencies. There need be no conflict and no unseemly rivalry. The Indians, like any other class of citizens,

will be free to patronize those schools which they believe to be best adapted to their purpose.

If the friends of Indian civilization can be led to unite upon a scheme of which the foregoing is a tentative outline, the so-called "Indian problem" can be quickly and successfully solved. The expense of it would be small, compared with the present costly system of Indian reservations and agencies. It could be so far advanced during the present administration as to put it beyond the reach of enemies and opposers. An enlightened public opinion concentrated upon it would render it as secure as the public school system itself. The system is broad enough and elastic enough to admit of differences of opinion and diversities of method in minor details, without affecting its essential virtue.

INDIAN SCHOOLS AND INDIAN TEACHERS.

INDIAN HIGH SCHOOLS.

It is the purpose of the government to provide adequate facilities for the proper training of all Indian youth of school age who can be reached. There are three general classes or kinds of government schools,—the so-called industrial training-school, the reservation boarding-school, and the camp or day school. There are for these schools, as a whole, no established course of study, no order of exercises. The teachers do as the Israelites did in the days of the Judges,—“each one that which seems right in his own eyes.” The schools sustain no necessary relation to each other. There is no system of promotion or of transfer from one school to another.

One of the obvious needs of the hour is to mark out clearly the work of the schools and to bring the different grades into organic relationship. Assuming that the government should furnish to the Indian children who look directly to it for preparation for citizenship an education equivalent to that provided by the several States for the children under their care, the problem is greatly simplified. The high school is now almost universally recognized as an essential part of the common school system. There are in operation in the United States about 1,200 of them, with an enrolment of 120,000. These “people’s colleges” are found everywhere, in cities, towns, villages, and country places from Maine to Oregon. Colorado and other new States rival Massachusetts and other New England communities in the munificence of their provision for high school education of their youth. A high school education at public expense is now offered to the great mass of youth of every race and condition except the Indian. The foreigner has the same privilege as those “native and to the manner born.” The poor man’s child has an equal chance with the children of the rich. Even the negroes of the South have free entrance to these beneficent institutions. The government, for its own protection and for the sake of its own honor, should offer to the Indian boys and girls a fair opportunity to equip themselves as well for citizenship and the struggle for life that citizenship brings as the average boys and girls of the other races with whom they must compete.

What, then, should an Indian high school be? The answer is at hand. An Indian high school should be substantially what any other high school should be. It should aim to do four things:—

1. The chief thing in all education is the development of character, the formation of manhood and womanhood. To this end, the whole course of training should be fairly saturated with moral ideas: fear of God and respect for the rights of others; love of truth and fidelity to duty; personal purity, philanthropy, and patriotism. Self-respect and independence are cardinal virtues, and are indispensable for the enjoyment of the privileges of freedom and the discharge of the duties of American citizenship. The Indian high schools should be schools for the calling into exercise of those noble traits of character which are common to humanity, and are shared by the red children of the forest as well as by the children of the white man.

2. Another great aim of the high school is to put the student into right relations with the age in which he lives. Every intelligent human being needs to have command of his own powers, to be able to observe, read, think, act. He has use for an acquaintance with the elements of natural science, history, literature, mathematics, civics, and a fair mastery of his own language, such as comes from rhetoric, logic, and prolonged practice in English composition.

The Indian needs especially that liberalizing influence of the high school, which breaks the shackles of his tribal provincialism, brings him into sympathetic relationship with all that is good in society and in history, and awakens aspirations after a full participation in the best fruits of modern civilization.

The high school should lift the Indian students on to so high a plane of thought and aspiration as to render the life of the camp intolerable to them. If they return to the reservations, it should be to carve out for themselves a home, and to lead their friends and neighbors to a better mode of living. Their training should be so thorough, and their characters so formed, that they will not be dragged down by the heathenish life of the camp. The Indian high school, rightly conducted, will be a gateway out from the desolation of the reservation into assimilation into our national life. It should awaken the aspiration for a home among civilized people, and offer such an equipment as will make the desire prophetic of fulfilment.

3. The high school, while standing at the apex of the common school system, and offering all that the mass of youth of any class can receive, offers to the few ambitious and aspiring a preparation for university culture. The high school, even in some of the newer States, prepares for college those who have special aptitudes and lofty ambition.

Several Indian boys have already pursued a college course, and others are in course of preparation. There is an urgent need among them for a class of leaders of thought,—lawyers, physicians, preachers, teachers, editors, statesmen, and men of letters. Very few Indian boys and girls, perhaps, will desire a college education; but those few will be of immense advantage to their fellows. There are in the Indian the same diversity of endowment and the same high order of talent that the other races possess; and they wait only the touch of culture and the favoring opportunity for exercise to manifest themselves. Properly educated, the Indians will constitute

a valuable and worthy element in our cosmopolitan nationality. The Indian high school should offer an opportunity for the few to rise to any station for which nature has endowed them, and should remove the reproach of injustice in withholding from the Indian what is so freely offered to all others.

4. Owing to the peculiar surroundings of the mass of Indian children, they are homeless, and are ignorant of those simplest arts that make home possible. Accordingly, the Indian high school must be a boarding and an industrial school, where the students can be trained in the homely duties and become inured to that toil which is the basis of health, happiness, and prosperity. It should give especial prominence, as is now done in the best industrial schools for white youth, to instruction in the structure, care, and use of machinery. Without machinery, the Indians will be hopeless and helpless in the industrial competition of modern life.

The pupils should also be initiated into the laws of the great natural forces,—heat, electricity, etc.,—in their application to the arts and appliances of civilized life.

The course of study should extend over a period of five years, in order that there may be time for the industrial work and opportunity for a review of the common branches, arithmetic, grammar, and geography. Special stress should be laid upon thoroughness of work, so that the students may not be at a disadvantage when thrown into competition with students of like grade in similar schools for other children.

The plant for each institution should include necessary buildings for dormitories, school-rooms, laboratories, shops, hospitals, gymnasium, etc., with needed apparatus and library, and an ample quantity of good farming land, with the necessary buildings, stock, and machinery.

The schools should be located in the midst of a farming community, remote from reservations, and in the vicinity of railroads and some thriving village or city. The students would thus be free from the great down-pull of the camp, and be able to mingle with the civilized people that surround them, and to participate in their civilization.

The teachers should be selected with special reference to their adaptation to the work, should receive a compensation equivalent to that paid for like service in white schools of same grade, and should have a stable tenure of office.

The number of these schools that will be ultimately required cannot be determined accurately without more experience. The number of pupils who can be profitably educated in high schools is not large, but is growing larger year by year. It may be best for the present to develop a high school department in, say, three schools. Those at Carlisle, Pa., Lawrence, Kan., and Chemawa (near Salem), Ore., can readily do so. Indeed, high school classes have already been formed and are now at work. In the future, the schools at Genoa, Neb., and Grand Junction, Col., can be added to the others, making a group of five high schools, admirably located to supply the needs of the great body of Indians. Their graduates will supply a body of trained men and women competent for leadership.

The cost of maintaining these schools will depend upon the number of pupils provided for. One hundred and seventy-five dollars per

capita, the sum now paid at several places, will probably be ample. For the year ending June 30, 1889, the sum of \$80,000 was appropriated for Carlisle, and \$85,000 for Haskell Institute. It would be easy to carry into successful operation the plan here outlined by an annual outlay of \$100,000 for each school, which is a very small advance over the present appropriation.

INDIAN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

As the large mass of Indian youth who are to be educated will never get beyond the grammar grade, special pains should be taken to make these schools as efficient as possible. The studies should be such as are ordinarily pursued in similar white schools, with such modification as experience may suggest.

Among the points that may properly receive special attention are the following:—

1. The school should be organized and conducted in such a way as to accustom the pupils to systematic habits. The period of rising and retiring, the hours for meals, times for study, recitation, work, and play, should all be fixed and adhered to with great punctiliousness. The irregularities of camp life, which is the type of all tribal life, should give way to the methodical regularity of daily routine.

2. The routine of the school should tend to develop habits of self-directed toil, either with brain or hand, in profitable labor or useful study. The pupils must be taught the marvellous secret of diligence. The consciousness of power springing from the experience of "bringing things to pass" by their own efforts is often the beginning of a new career of earnest endeavor and worthy attainments. When the Indian children shall have acquired a taste for study and a love for work, the day of their redemption will be near at hand.

During the grammar school period of, say, five years, from ten to fifteen, much can be accomplished in giving to the girls a fair knowledge of and practical experience in all common household duties, such as cooking, sewing, laundry work, etc.; and the boys may acquire an acquaintance with farming, gardening, care of stock, etc. Much can be done to familiarize them with the use of tools; and they can learn something of the practical work of trades, such as tailoring, shoemaking, etc. Labor should cease to be repulsive and come to be regarded as honorable and attractive. The homely virtue of economy should be emphasized. Pupils should be taught to make the most of everything and to save whatever can be of use. Waste is wicked. The farm should be made to yield all that it is capable of producing; and the children should be instructed and employed in the care of poultry, bees, etc., and in utilizing to the utmost whatever is supplied by the benevolence of the government or furnished by the bounties of nature.

3. All the appointments and employments of the school should be such as to render the children familiar with the forms and usages of civilized life. Personal cleanliness, care of the health, politeness, and a spirit of mutual helpfulness should be inculcated. School-rooms should be supplied with pictures of civilized life, so that all their associations will be agreeable and attractive. The pupils' games and sports should be such as white children engage in; and

they should be rendered familiar with the songs and music that render our home life so dear. It is during this period particularly that it will be possible to inculcate in the minds of pupils of both sexes that mutual respect that lies at the base of a happy home life and of social purity. Much can be done to fix the current of their thoughts in right channels by having them memorize choice maxims and literary gems in which inspiring thoughts and noble sentiments are embodied.

4. It is of prime importance that a fervent patriotism should be awakened in their minds. The stars and stripes should be a familiar object in every Indian school, national hymns should be sung, and patriotic selections read and recited. They should be taught to look upon America as their home, and upon the United States government as their friend and benefactor. They should be made familiar with the lives of great and good men and women in American history, and taught to feel a pride in all their great achievements. They should hear little or nothing of the "wrongs of the Indians" and of the injustice of the white race. If their unhappy history is alluded to, it should be to contrast it with the better future that is within their grasp. The new era that has come to the red men through the munificent scheme of education devised for and offered to them should be the means of awakening loyalty to the government, gratitude to the nation, and hopefulness for themselves.

Everything should be done to awaken the feeling that they are Americans, having common rights and privileges with their fellows. It is more profitable to instruct them as to their duties and obligations than as to their wrongs. One of the prime elements in their education should be a knowledge of the Constitution and the government under which they live. The meaning of elections, the significance of the ballot, the rule of the majority, trial by jury,—all should be explained to them in a familiar way.

5. A simple system of wage-earning, accompanied by a plan of savings with debit and credit scrupulously kept, will go far toward teaching the true value of money and the formation of habits of thrift, which are the beginnings of prosperity and wealth. Every pupil should know something of the ordinary forms of business and be familiar with all the common standards of weights and measures.

6. No pains should be spared to teach them that their future must depend chiefly upon their own characters and endeavors. They will be entitled to what they earn. In the sweat of their faces must they eat bread. They must stand or fall as men and women, and not as Indians. Society will recognize in them whatever is good and true, and they have no right to ask for more. If they persist in remaining savages, the world will treat them as such, and justly so. Their only hope of good treatment is in deserving it. They must win their way in life just as other people do,—by hard work, virtuous conduct, and thrift. Nothing can save them from the necessity of toil; and they should be inured to it as at the same time a stern condition of success in life's struggle and as one of life's privileges, that brings with it its own reward.

7. All this will be of little worth without a high order of moral training. The whole atmosphere of the school should be of the highest character. Precept and example should combine to mould

their characters into right conformity to the highest attainable standards. The school itself should be an illustration of the superiority of our Christian civilization.

The plan required for a grammar school should include suitable dormitories, school buildings, and shops, and a farm with all needed appointments.

The cost of maintaining it will be approximately \$175 per capita per annum.

The final number and location of these schools can be ascertained only after a more thorough inspection of the whole field.

At present, the schools at Chilocco, in the Indian Territory, Albuquerque, N.M., Grand Junction, Col., and Genoa, Neb., might be organized as grammar schools. The completion of the buildings now in course of erection at Pierre, So. Dak., Carson, Neb., and Santa Fé, N.M., will add three more to the list. It will doubtless be possible at no distant day to organize grammar school departments in not less than twenty-five schools.

INDIAN PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

The foundation work of Indian education must be in the primary schools. They must to a large degree supply, so far as practicable, the lack of home training. Among the special points to be considered in connection with them are:—

1. Children should be taken at as early an age as possible, before camp life has made an indelible stamp upon them. The earlier they can be brought under the beneficent influence of a home school, the more certain will the current of their young lives set in the right direction.

2. This will necessitate locating these schools not too far away from the parents, so that they can occasionally visit their little children, and more frequently hear from them and know of their welfare and happiness.

3. The instruction should be largely oral and objective and in the highest degree simplified. Those who teach should be from among those who have paid special attention to kindergarten culture and primary methods of instruction. Music should have prominence, and the most tireless attention should be given to training in manners and morals. No pains should be spared to insure accuracy and fluency in the use of idiomatic English.

4. The care of the children should correspond more to that given in a children's home than to that of an ordinary school. The games and employments must be adapted to the needs of little children.

The final number and location of these schools cannot yet be fixed. Probably fifty will meet the demands of the near future. Many of the reservation boarding-schools now in operation can be converted into primary schools.

DAY SCHOOLS.

The circle of government schools will be completed by the establishment of a sufficient number of day schools to accommodate all whom it is not practicable to educate in boarding-schools.

It is believed that, by providing a home for a white family, in con-

nection with the day school, each such school would become an impressive object lesson to the Indians of the white man's mode of living. The man might give instruction in farming, gardening, etc., the woman in cooking and other domestic duties; while a regular teacher could perform the usual school-room duties. Pupils from these schools could be promoted and transferred to the higher institutions.

These day schools and reservation boarding-schools are an absolutely necessary condition of the successful work which is done in the grammar and high schools not on reservations. They will help to educate the older Indians, and will tend to so alter the environment and to improve the public sentiment that, when pupils return from boarding-schools, as many will and must, they will find sympathy and support in their civilized aspirations and efforts.

The scheme thus outlined of high, grammar, primary, and day school work is necessarily subject to such modifications and adaptations as the varying circumstances of the Indian school service demand. The main point insisted upon is the need of formulating a system and of putting it at once into operation, so that every officer and employee may have before him an ideal of endeavor, and so that there may be the most economical use of the means devoted to Indian education.

A beginning has already been made, and a few years of intelligent work will reduce to successful practice what now is presented in theory.

INDIAN SCHOOL-TEACHERS.

Teaching in Indian schools is particularly arduous. In all boarding-schools the employees are necessarily on duty for a much greater part of the time for each day and for more days than is required of teachers in the common schools of the country. The training of Indian pupils devolves almost wholly upon the teachers, whose work is not supplemented and re-enforced by the family, the church, and society. The difficulty of teaching pupils whose native language is so strange as that spoken by the major portion of Indian pupils adds largely to the work.

In reservation schools, the teacher is far removed from the comforts of home and the pleasures of society, and is largely deprived of the society of congenial companions. The furnishings of the teachers' quarters and the school buildings are primitive, and the table frugal, unless it is made expensive. The schools are often located at a great distance from the teacher's home, involving a long and expensive journey. The surroundings are not restful.

To compensate for these disadvantages, the government, in order to command good talent, ought to offer a fair compensation, never less than that paid by the surrounding communities for similar service, and should afford opportunity for promotion and offer a reasonably fixed tenure of office.

The position should be open to all applicants on equal terms, and should be awarded on the basis of merit. Special stress should be laid upon:—

1. Good health. The privations of the lonely life and the peculiar difficulties of the work will necessarily make a heavy draft upon the teacher's vital energies.

2. None but those of the most excellent moral character and of good repute should be sent as teachers to those who will be more influenced by the example of their teachers than by their instructions.

3. Faith in the Indian's capacity for education and an enthusiasm for his improvement are needful for the highest success in teaching.

4. An acquaintance with the best modern methods of instruction and familiarity with the practical workings of the best public schools will be of immense advantage in a work beset with so many difficulties.

5. A mastery of idiomatic English is particularly essential to those who have the difficult task of breaking up the use of Indian dialects, and the substitution therefor of the English language.

6. Teachers should be selected for special grades of work. Some are specially fitted to excel in primary work, while others are better adapted to the work of higher grades.

7. A quality greatly to be desired is the power of adapting one's self to new and trying surroundings, and bearing with fortitude the hardships and discouragements incident to the service.

INDIAN SCHOOL SUPERVISION.

There is at present one Superintendent of Indian Schools, charged with the duty of visiting them and reporting on their condition. A glance at any map of the United States showing the location of the Indians reveals at once the physical impossibility of any adequate supervision by one man.

The Superintendent should have at least five principal assistants, school experts, who under his direction shall give their entire time to the supervision of schools in their respective fields.

Some such plan as that herein set forth seems absolutely necessary for the preparation of the rising generation of Indian youth for absorption into our national life.

Enough has been already accomplished to show that the scheme is entirely feasible. The government has ample means at its disposal. The treaty and trust funds held for the Indians would meet no inconsiderable part of the necessary outlay.

The same care devoted to the training of young Indians for citizenship now bestowed upon educating officers for the army and the navy would accomplish results equally striking.

The same liberality and care on the part of the government for the proper education of its wards that is shown by the several States in maintaining a system of public schools would be followed by like results.

Nothing less than this is worthy of this great nation of 60,000,000 people. Such a plan successfully inaugurated would mark the beginning of a Century of Honor.

These observations on "Indian Schools and Indian Teachers," submitted by General Morgan, though not read at the Conference, form an appropriate sequel to his paper. The following computations of the cost of Indian Education answer questions raised at the Conference : —

COST OF INDIAN EDUCATION.

In attempting to carry into execution the plan already outlined for the education of all accessible Indian youth of school age, it is desirable to know, approximately at least, what the annual and the ultimate cost will be. Accordingly, in a series of tables herewith submitted, the attempt has been made in the Indian Office to reach as nearly accurate a conclusion on this matter as the present condition of Indian school statistics will admit.

As is well known, there has never been an absolutely reliable census of the Indians made, or even attempted; but it is thought that the figures given in Table 1 are sufficiently accurate to form at least a basis of calculations:—

TABLE 1. POPULATION AND SCHOOL POPULATION.

1889-89.	
Total Indian population,	250,430
Five civilized tribes,	65,200
New York Indians,	5,046
Remainder under care of government,	180,184
School population (6-16), 20 % of population,	36,000
Possible enrolment (estimated), 75 % of school population,	27,000
Average attendance, 80 % of enrolment,	21,600
Needed capacity, 90 % of enrolment,	24,300

The school period assumed—six to sixteen years—is taken simply as a standard of comparison. In some cases, it will be desirable, where school facilities can be provided, to receive Indian children into home or kindergarten schools much earlier than six years of age; and doubtless for some years to come it will also be desirable to have Indian youth who are strong in body and susceptible of culture continue in school beyond the age of sixteen years. How much the number of Indian school pupils will be modified by these considerations is simply a matter of conjecture.

Twenty per cent. has been assumed as the relative proportion of Indian youth from six to sixteen years of age, as compared with the total population. This percentage may not be exact. The proportion of youth from six to sixteen years of age to the total population of the United States is twenty-three and a half per cent., according to the United States Commissioner of Education, Hon. W. T. Harris. Whether this would be a more accurate standard of comparison for the Indians cannot now be determined.

The percentages of enrolment and average attendance are based, so far as knowledge of the past experience in Indian education will warrant, upon records in the Indian Office. They are necessarily somewhat elastic. But it is safe to assume that it is reasonable for the government to at least attempt to secure the enrolment and average indicated in Table 1. Certainly, nothing less than this should be attempted. If future experience will warrant it, it will be a very simple matter to extend the estimates to make them commensurate with the increased attendance which may be secured.

TABLE 2. PRESENT SCHOOL ACCOMMODATIONS.

Government Boarding Schools,	7,145 pupils
Government Day Schools,	3,083 "
New Boarding Schools (1890)	445 "
Total,	10,673 "

Table 2, which exhibits the present accommodations provided in government schools, shows that provision has been made for over 10,000 pupils. Regarding this, it should be said that, in many cases, if the attendance at the school should equal the capacity given, the pupils would be very uncomfortable, and, in some cases, their health would be endangered. Most of the government school buildings now in existence, in order to accommodate properly the number of pupils indicated as the capacity of the buildings, would need extensive repairs and added facilities in the way of shops, hospitals, dormitories, bath-rooms, laundries, etc.

By an arbitrary assumption, it is proposed to provide for 17,000 pupils in government boarding-school buildings, and for 7,300 pupils in government day-school buildings. How far this proportion may prove to be practicable and desirable can be determined only by experience; but, from present knowledge, it is thought to be entirely safe to assume that proportion as the basis of calculation.

In estimating the cost of the needed boarding accommodations, the cost of the buildings provided for Haskell Institute, at Lawrence, Kan., has been taken as a standard.

Owing to the very great difficulties by which the work of extending school facilities is hedged about, it is at present regarded as inexpedient to attempt to make provision during the next fiscal year for the accommodation of more than one-fourth of the Indian youth now unprovided for in government school buildings. If it shall be found practicable to advance the work more rapidly than that, a larger effort may be put forth the second year.

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED COST OF SCHOOL ACCOMMODATIONS.

Boarding accommodations needed for	17,000 pupils	
Boarding accommodations provided by government,	<u>7,590</u>	"
Boarding accommodations to be provided,		9,410
One-fourth boarding accommodations to be provided in one year,		2,352
Day accommodations needed for	7,300	"
Day accommodations provided by government,	<u>3,083</u>	"
Day accommodations to be provided by government,		4,217
One-fourth day accommodations to be provided by government in one year,		1,054
New buildings and additions to old buildings and furnishing for 2,352 boarders at \$230 per capita,		\$540,960.00
New buildings and additions to old buildings for 1,054 day pupils at \$1,500 for every 30 pupils (including teachers' residence),		52,500.00
Repairs and improvements of present buildings (est.),		<u>50,000.00</u>
Total for buildings,		\$643,460.00

According to Table 3, the government should expend next year a sum of not less than \$643,000 in adding to the accommodations of government school buildings. This is a very small sum to be expended by the United States government for such a purpose. It is only a little more than double the amount paid by the citizens of Omaha for their high school building, and scarcely more than enough to build two such grammar schools as are the boast of the city of Providence, and about one-half the sum that was spent in building the Provi-

dence City Hall. It is estimated that the government building at San Francisco will cost not less than \$1,000,000; and, with that understanding, Congress has already appropriated \$800,000 to purchase the site upon which the building will be placed. The government building at Omaha will cost, with its site, \$1,200,000; and the building and site at Milwaukee will cost the same amount. For coast defence guns of one kind there was appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, \$1,500,000.

Congress last year appropriated for new school buildings, furniture, and sites in the District of Columbia, \$311,792; and the year preceding \$315,000 was voted for new buildings.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED COST OF SUPPORT OF PUPILS, 1890-91.

<i>Government Schools.</i>	
Boarding Schools.	
Average attendance to be secured,	15,000
Present average attendance,	5,212
Difference,	9,788
Increased average to be supported next year (one-fourth above difference),	2,447
Total average which should be supported next year, . . .	7,659
Day Schools.	
Average attendance to be secured,	6,600
Present average attendance,	1,744
Difference,	4,856
Increased average to be supported next year ($\frac{1}{2}$),	1,214
Total average which should be supported next year, . .	2,958
Support of 7,659 boarders at \$175 per capita,	\$1,340,325.00
Support of 2,958 day pupils at \$62.50 per capita,	184,875.00
	<u>\$1,525,200.00</u>
<i>Contract Schools.</i>	
Allowances for 1889-90:—	
4,622 boarding pupils, {	561,950.00
895 day pupils, {	
Total,	<u>\$2,087,150.00</u>

In estimating the cost of supporting the schools for the next fiscal year, \$175, the largest sum now paid, per capita, in government training-schools, is assumed as the standard; and it is thought that this is a fair estimate of the average cost. The cost per capita for such day schools as are now contemplated is more a matter of conjecture, but it is thought that the sums assumed will be found not far out of the way. This gives a total for the cost of maintaining schools for the education of 16,134 pupils during the next year as little more than two million dollars.

TABLE 5. APPROPRIATIONS REQUIRED FOR NEXT YEAR. 1890-91.

<i>Government Schools.</i>	
Erecting and furnishing boarding-school buildings, \$540,960.00	
Erecting and furnishing day-school buildings,	52,500.00
Repairs and improvements on present buildings,	50,000.00
Additional furniture, apparatus, stock, tools, and implements,	50,000.00
Supporting 7,659 boarding scholars,	1,340,325.00
Supporting 2,958 day scholars,	184,875.00
Transportation of pupils,	40,000.00
Superintendence,	25,000.00
	<u>\$2,283,660.00</u>

Contract Schools.

Allowances for 1889-90:—

4,622 boarding pupils, }	
895 day pupils, }	\$561,950.00

The total appropriation required for the year 1890-91, as shown by Table 5, is estimated as \$2,845,610.

When comparing the cost of educating Indians by the government with the cost of common school education as carried on by the States, it should be borne in mind that, from the nature of the case, the government plan includes the very considerable items of board, clothing, and industrial training. The school expenses proper, exclusive of board, clothing, and industrial work, will probably not exceed the average cost of like work in the public schools. To offset the cost, it should be remembered that the government already provides for clothing and rations for a large number of Indians, and that it costs no more to clothe and feed the young in school than in camp, except that they are better fed and clothed in school than in camp.

It should also be remembered that the government is under positive treaty obligations with a large body of Indians to furnish them suitable education. It is still further significant that the Indians are now showing a disposition to take their lands in severalty, to dispose of the surplus lands for a fair consideration, and to invest a very considerable portion of the proceeds of the sales thereof in education. So that a very large proportion of the cost of Indian education administered by the government will be borne willingly and cheerfully by the Indians themselves, and not by the people of the United States. But, even if the people of the United States were to assume the whole burden of Indian education, it would be a burden very easily borne, and would be but a slight compensation to be returned by this vast and rich nation to the original possessors of the soil upon whose lands the nation with its untold wealth now lives.

TABLE 6.

To put and support all Indian children in government schools next year would require:—

New buildings and furnishings for 9,410 board- ers at \$230 per capita,	\$2,164,300.00	
New buildings and furnishings for 4,217 day pupils at \$1,500 for every 30 pupils,	210,000.00	
Repair and improvement of present buildings, .	50,000.00	
Additional furniture, stock, tools, and imple- ments,	50,000.00	\$2,474,300.00
Support of an average of 15,000 boarding pupils at \$175,	\$2,625,000.00	
Support of an average of 6,600 day pupils at \$62.50,	412,500.00	
Transportation of pupils,	40,000.00	
Superintendence,	25,000.00	3,102,500.00
		\$5,576,800.00
To house and support in government schools next year pupils now attending those schools, plus one-fourth of the youth not now pro- vided for in government schools, would cost (plus allowance for contract schools, 1889-90)	2,845,610.00	
Appropriations for Indian schools for fiscal year 1889-90,	1,364,568.00	
Increased appropriation required for support of schools, 1890-91,	\$1,481,042.00	

By an inspection of Table 6, the grand aggregate of expenditures which it is thought would be necessary to provide ample accommodations in government buildings for all Indian youth of school age is \$2,474,300.

Compare this sum with the cost of constructing ordinary war-ships. By special act of Congress, approved Sept. 7, 1888, the President was authorized to have constructed by contract two steel cruisers, of about 3,000 tons displacement each, at a cost (exclusive of armament and excluding any premiums that may be paid for increased speed) of not more than \$1,100,000 each; one steel cruiser, of about 5,300 tons displacement, to cost \$1,800,000; one armored cruiser, of about 7,500 tons displacement, to cost, exclusive of armament and premiums, \$3,500,000; three gun-boats or cruisers, of not to exceed 2,000 tons displacement, each to cost not more than \$700,000. The appropriation for construction and steam machinery for these vessels was \$3,500,000 additional, the armament involves \$2,000,000 more, making in all over \$15,000,000 for six naval vessels.

By further reference to Table 6, it will be seen that the estimated amount which will be required annually for the maintenance of a government system of education for all Indians will amount to \$3,102,500. Of course, in addition to this, an expenditure will have to be made each year to repair and otherwise keep in good order the various school buildings and furnishings.

In this connection, it is well to note that the sum paid for education by the city of Boston amounts to \$1,700,000; by the State of New York, more than \$16,000,000 annually; while the cost of the maintenance of the public school system of the States and Territories of this country, as a whole, according to the report of the Commissioner of Education, is more than \$115,000,000. The United States pays for the maintenance of a little army of about 25,000 men nearly \$25,000,000 annually: the appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1889, aggregated \$24,574,700.

In estimating the cost of maintaining an adequate school system for the Indians, two great economical facts should steadily be borne in mind. The first is that by this system of public education the Indian will, at no distant day, be prepared not only for self-support, but also to take his place as a productive element in our social economy. The pupils at the Carlisle Indian training-school earned last year by their labors among the Pennsylvania farmers more than \$10,000, and this year more than \$12,000. From facts like these it can easily be demonstrated that, simply as a matter of investment, the nation can afford to pay the amount required for Indian education, with a view of having it speedily returned to the aggregate of national wealth by the increased productive capacity of the youth who are to be educated.

The second great economical fact is that the lands known as Indian reservations now set apart by the government for Indian occupancy aggregate nearly 190,000 square miles. This land for the most part is uncultivated and unproductive. When the Indians shall have been properly educated, they will utilize a sufficient quantity of these lands for their own support, and will release the remainder, that it may be restored to the public domain to become the foundation for innumerable happy homes; and thus will be added to the na-

tional wealth immense tracts of farming and grazing land and vast mineral resources, which will repay the nation more than one hundred fold for the amount which it is proposed shall be expended in Indian education.

TABLE 7. GROWTH OF SCHOOL APPROPRIATIONS.

The annual appropriations made by the government for support of Indian schools since 1876 have been as follows:—

1876	\$20,000.00
1877	30,000.00
1878	60,000.00
1879	75,000.00
1880	75,000.00
1881	135,000.00
1882	487,200.00
1883	675,200.00
1884	992,800.00
1885	1,100,065.00
1886	1,211,415.00
1887	1,179,916.00
1888	1,348,015.00
1889	1,364,568.00
1890, amount required,	2,845,610.00

From an inspection of Table 7, it will be seen that from 1876, when the work of Indian education, in the modern acceptance of the term, was entered upon by the government, there has been a steady annual increase of money appropriated by the government for that purpose. What is proposed by the Indian Office now is simply in the line of the historical development of this work in the past. It will be seen that there is nothing radically new, nothing experimental or theoretical, but that it is simply an endeavor to put into more systematic and organic form the work in which the government has been earnestly engaged for the past thirteen years, and to carry forward as rapidly as possible to its final consummation that scheme of education which during these years has been gradually unfolding itself.

That the time is fully ripe for this advanced movement must be evident to every intelligent observer of the trend of events connected with the condition of the Indians. Practically, all the land in this vast region known as the United States, from ocean to ocean, has now been organized into States or Territories. The Indian populations are surrounded everywhere by white populations, and are destined inevitably, at no distant day, either to be overpowered or to be assimilated into the national life. The most feasible, and, indeed, it seems not too strong to say the only, means by which they can be prepared for American citizenship and assimilation into the national life is through the agency of some such scheme of public education as that which has been outlined, and upon which the government, through the Indian Office, is busily at work. The welfare of the Indians, the peace and prosperity of the white people, and the honor of the nation are all at stake, and ought to constrain every lover of justice, every patriot, and every philanthropist to join in promoting any worthy plan that will reach the desired end.

This great nation, strong, wealthy, aggressive, can signalize its spirit of fairness, justice, and philanthropy in no better way, perhaps, than by making ample provision for the complete education and absorption into the national life of those who for more than one hundred years have been among us, but not of us. Where in human history has there been a brighter example of the humane and just spirit which ought to characterize the actions of a Christian nation, superior in numbers, intelligence, riches, and power, in dealing with those whom it might easily crush, but whom it is far nobler to adopt as a part of its great family?

DISCUSSION ON INDIAN EDUCATION.

The discussion on General Morgan's paper was opened by General S. C. Armstrong, of Hampton, Va.

Gen. S. C. ARMSTRONG.—To follow General Morgan is to be in the position of expressing the policy and conviction of the Christian and philanthropic sentiment of the country; and I hardly feel that I am equal to that.

The points as they have been stated commend themselves very generally and very strongly to all. Nothing is more clear than that the Indians should be educated universally and by compulsion. This is justified in their case, if in any. Nothing is more sure than that they ought to be compelled, whenever possible, to speak the English language, and that they ought to have a chance to be educated on higher lines, where they are fit for it. Nothing is wiser and sounder than the proposition that the Indian should, after receiving his education, choose his home anywhere in the United States. The Indian, like you and me, should be taught—and that is what I teach him—to go where he can make his life count for the most. If he can go out to any agency, and do most good there as a light and influence among his people, I advise him to go. If he can stay in the East, and do most good among the whites, I advise him to stay here. Let him do as he likes, let him follow his best light, and he will not go wrong. The Indians who have been educated show that they are doing about the right thing. Ask any intelligent one how he can make the best use of the light God has given him, and he will give you a good answer.

General Morgan said, justly, that this work should be done by the government. I should say more broadly, and I think quite as justly, that this work should be done by the people. When Bishop Whipple went to Secretary Stanton to complain in regard to Indian wrongs, he said, "Go to the people, and they will make the government do right." I believe, if we go to the people anywhere, it is here at Mohonk.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has set before him a high and noble ideal: to make every Indian school as good as it can be; to eliminate political influence; to have a right to the fullest inspection of any school with which the government has relations. We of the Mohonk Conference ought to rally to his support with the utmost enthusiasm and devotion. The "spoils system" is in his way. Can General Morgan overcome it? You know what a power it is. Those

who go in for civil service reform are having a hard fight. General Morgan thinks that it can all be done in the next four years. I hope it can. Let us pray and work for it; but I am not so sure of the end. Let us stand by General Morgan, even if he is "knocked out." We believe in him as a man, and that he will do the work before him as well as, or better than, any other one. But, when these four years are over, what next? Four years are a small period in the development of a race. If General Morgan can stay there right along, all right. But it is idle to assume it: there is no certain term of his office, no matter how well the work is done.

All at Washington are well disposed to work for the Indian. The President, Secretary of the Interior, and Indian Commissioner are most earnestly and heartily encouraging every measure for the red man's benefit. The difficulty is with the committees, especially in the House, because they often change; and the new men, always familiar with the question on all its sides, have to be "educated," so to speak. All is well when they are fully informed. My experience is that, the more I see and deal with them, the more satisfactory it is. Overloaded with work as they are and we are, we cannot always get all our points before them; but they are all right in disposition to do justice to the Indians,—more and more so, I believe, judging from increasing liberality in appropriations. Getting good legislation is, however, one of the battle-fields of workers for the red man.

I think I am speaking for the philanthropic sentiment of the country when I say that we feel that there needs to be a factor or force in Indian educational work that shall be permanent. Is there any? There is in what is called "the Contract School" system, in which government and the churches combine. Its teachers have always been free from political influence, which in the past has been terrible and almost fatal in running down the government schools. There are seventy-one contract schools at the agencies (alongside of one hundred and fifty-nine government schools) which have this great advantage. No matter what happens four years from now, their teachers are sure to continue in office during good behavior. This is the only permanent force in Indian education at present: make the most of it.

Then we come to General Morgan's point about the white and the Indian child needing the same thing,—the common school system, or the system of day schools. Is the day school system the thing for the Indian? Read Miss Goodale's article in the *Chautauqua Magazine*, which is a splendid vindication of it; but the point of it all is Miss Goodale herself. She and others like her can make these schools admirable. The white day school has been a success; but the Indian day schools have been generally a failure. Could they have permanent and competent teachers, all would be well. Can that be done? I do not feel sure of it. General Morgan may do it. It has been said that "what is good enough for the white is good enough for the Indian child." The day school is good enough for the white: it is not as yet good enough for the Indian. The average white child has his home. The home is everything to human life: it forms character; and character is the end of all education. Homeless and half a vagrant, the great factors of heredity and environment tell

against the Indian so largely as to make a tremendous difference between him and the white child. When one race has an unspeakable advantage over the other, we see that the disadvantage must, if possible, be made up. It is the boarding-school that is needed. The government school gives much excellent training ; but does it go far enough ? It is Christian in its general spirit, going in for good education and morality ; but something more is needed, that the white child gets at home and the Indian child does not. I think I speak for the majority of the Christian and philanthropic sentiment of the country, as represented here, when I say that careful religious training is a vital need of the Indian child,— a wild, semi-barbarous, homeless creature of a race that is a thousand years behind us in the line of development. The Christian faith is the greatest thing in life : give it to the Indian. We feel earnestly about this thing, and therefore believe in a system that gives it its true place, whether the schools are Protestant or Roman Catholic. Catholics are Christians ; and, when the fact is stated that there are sixteen thousand young Indians enrolled in the schools and thirty-five thousand out of them, general Christian sentiment says that it would rather have them Roman Catholics than heathen. So the Rev. Dr. Strieby and the Rev. Dr. Ellinwood and many such men believe.

Another point. The government is a trustee for the Indians. The funds for their education come from the sale of their lands. Is the giving of money by the government to Protestant and Roman Catholic for their education like giving money in Boston or New York to sectarian schools ? I think not. On this point there is a letter of General Francis A. Walker in the *Southern Workman*, as follows :—

It seems clear to me that, so far as the funds applied to the education of Indians under the care of the government are to be considered as trust-funds held by the government for their benefit, or as moneys due the Indians in consideration of lands ceded or rights relinquished, the government is bound, as a trustee, to use these funds to the very best advantage for the objects stipulated, without any ulterior purposes, and without reference to any other consideration whatsoever.

If the use of these funds to support Indian children at the so-called contract schools will yield the Indians a better educational result than can be otherwise obtained, the government is false to its duties as trustee if it fails to take that course. No political considerations, independent of the best good of the Indians themselves, can properly be allowed to enter into the treatment of the subject. No matter what objections might exist to the support of sectarian schools by funds derived from taxation, these cannot apply to the present case.

Even were the funds applied to the education of Indians obtained wholly by taxation, I should not be disposed to think that the objections which exist to the use of public moneys for the support of sectarian schools, in communities like ours, held here.

The test I should apply would be this : Does the government send Indian children to be educated at these schools for the benefit of the denominations maintaining them or for the good of the Indian children ?

If the latter is the case, it seems to me that no objection in the nature of a principle applies. The only remaining question, then, would be, Is the education thus given the children distinctly better than that which they would obtain in agency schools, subject, as these are, to political control and to frequent changes of teachers ?

On this point, I am not qualified to speak. I think you hold that such is the case. If so, the duty of the government is clear.

To appropriate public moneys for establishing and maintaining sectarian schools, for the sake of having sectarian schools, would, according to my way of thinking, be altogether wrong.

To make use of good schools already existing, and partly maintained by private contributions, even under sectarian control, involves no departure from sound principles, if the sole object in doing so is the good of the Indians themselves. Of course, I assume that the apportionment of the funds so allotted can be effected without a religious quarrel, which might, of itself, be an evil more than counterbalancing the advantages to be anticipated from this system.

I am, dear General Armstrong,

Truly yours,

(Signed)

FRANCIS A. WALKER.

Government should adjust its work to the Indian as he is ; do the thing to be done, level the gun at the bull's-eye. If Indian civilization is not up to where ours was a thousand years ago, he is not like us, and needs methods adapted to his condition. Until he gets them, he has not had a fair chance. He is an American at a disadvantage, and the country wishes his disadvantage to be made good. The way to do it is to put him in contact with the best people, so far as possible with our industrial class. The government provides religious instruction for its own wards, soldiers and sailors ; and States do the same for their asylums and hospitals. Americans who are unfortunate are the care of all Americans. It is an American instinct to love fair play.

Now, it seems to me that our work is to back the Commissioner in the terrible struggle of fighting mere political influence, in putting good men and women in government schools ; and then, when these schools have been lifted up and are what they should be, there will be no conflict over contract schools,—they will take their place. When the result is shown, there will be no argument, and the whole thing will settle itself. If the Commissioner can carry out his idea, he will be a "bigger man than old Grant." Let us back him up.

Gen. O. O. HOWARD.—I have enjoyed exceedingly General Morgan's paper—

Gen. MORGAN (pleasantly interrupting).—I want to say that whatever of courage I have I learned from serving on the staff of General Howard, and especially that a man ought not to fear in the discharge of duty.

Gen. HOWARD.—There are two things necessary in dealing with the Indians: one is not to fear them ; the other, not to hate them. So that, if a man goes into the Indian service, he needs to be free from fear to start with, and then to be full of love.

I enjoyed General Morgan's paper, it is so clear and so good. I enjoyed, also, what General Armstrong has said. Looking back to General Whittlesey's letter that he read from Miss Fletcher, reference was made to Miss McBeth, a crippled lady who was the adopted daughter of one of our distinguished army officers. She thought it was her duty to go out as missionary, and so took a remote station on that Nez Percé reservation across which I have ridden perhaps a hundred times. She selected five or six scholars ; she did not have at any time more than ten. Her idea was to train these young men thoroughly. It was always in, or in connection with, the Scriptures. It was a Christian education, a Christian drill. And you noticed the outcrop immediately in the new homes. I visited some of these homes, and saw there the change, the difference between their homes

and others. I do not wonder that her pupils so ably aided Miss Fletcher.

Down in Arizona, when I first went there, I came in contact with Mr. John Cook the German name translated, who had an agency among the Pimas. Mr. Cook told me that he tried in vain to start the Pima children until he had learned the Pima language, and had taught the children in their own tongue.

Mr. Duncan is at the head of the Metlakatlah Indians, and has accomplished, I believe, with Indians more than any man living. He has raised more than a thousand of them up from degradation to the plane of our civilization. He said to a man in my presence, to show how he had accomplished it, "I learned their language, then I planted the word of God in their minds, and, according to the Scripture promise, you see the result." It is absolutely necessary, in starting these poor people from the depths of degradation in which they are found, somehow or other to get the divine word into their minds.

Gen. JOHN EATON.—I rise not to read a paper, but to call especial attention to a point in the very excellent paper which we have heard. "Ample provision should be made at an early day for the accommodation of the entire mass of Indian school children and youth." When we apply that, do we consider how many million dollars it would cost? Are we prepared to go to Congress and ask for this money? Do we not need to put our minds to that single point? Do we believe in it, will we carry it out in detail, and bring all these children under this idea of competent and adequate education?

Mr. MOSES PIERCE.—Is there any one who can tell how much money the government holds that belongs to the Indian and ought to be appropriated to his best good, and whether it is not five times what it would cost to establish these schools, and if there is any reason why the people should not ask the government to do its duty and apply it to the Indians?

Mr. SMILEY.—There are about 45,000 Indian children—call it 50,000—that can be sent to school. Two hundred dollars a year will educate any Indian thoroughly: that makes ten millions a year. We give five millions now. A good deal of it goes for food, tobacco, and such nonsense. Suppose we get half of these children in one year. We could not get them all in one year. We give five millions now a year for education. I would withdraw rations and put by the funds obtained by selling these lands, to create an educational fund. That is the way to do it.

Gen. EATON.—This plan means so much money. What else does it mean? It means the relation of these Indian children in the family, in the community where they are to the white surroundings, or any other surroundings they may have. Now, can we so exert the power of this nation that every Indian child shall be brought within educating influences this year? Give Secretary Noble, General Morgan, President Harrison, four years' work of that kind. Perhaps the army would have some police work, and perhaps there would have to be some more legislation in regard to Indians with reference to the enforcement of law by the usual processes of police, juries, and courts. Perhaps we should find ourselves, through this initiative movement, going forward with every other instrumentality for the

Indian. General Armstrong has enforced the idea that so much must depend upon the family. We do not stop to think what we are born into,—the atmosphere of the home, the difference between the pots and kettles of the civilized home and the pots and kettles of the savage home. And so you might go on through all that pertains to what we call civilization. We are born into it: they are born out of it. How shall we get them into it? The school we begin with as an initiative. General Armstrong fitly emphasizes the idea that something more is required, and so General Morgan has in his scheme of boarding-schools. But these do not begin where the home does in infancy, to train the child from its first breath in habit and ideas.

This will take time: it cannot all be done at once. And yet what I have tried to direct attention to, under General Armstrong's suggestion, can be done. It is within the possibilities, within the reach of this country. Do we hesitate to expend ten millions in military movements? Ask General Howard. I remember once that, in connection with certain computations, we went to the treasury to get the history of the vouchers for Indian expenses, and there was a very faithful clerk in charge of the work. We worked away with him; but some were unwilling that the work should be finished and given to the public, and the man is dead. I suppose the public will never know what the expenditure has been. We have estimates: they are terrific. How they have swallowed up million after million! Every year that we delay this complete movement we are providing for these military expenses. Shall we arrest them by beginning at this natural point, the children?

Let me allude to another fact which should be brought out in this connection,—the lack of attention on the part of all our Indian movements so far to the Indian family. Now, I want to know, from those of you who have been most intimate with the Indian, In how many cases can you find the history of the family? In how many cases can you, when getting the land in severalty, state the relation of those who are to inherit that land from the first patent? I believe, among the persons who have been at work for some time in carrying on this work of location in severalty, only one — Miss Alice Fletcher — has comprehended this idea, and begun to make a record of the children, and the relation of the uncles, aunts, and cousins to the parties benefited. It seems to me that there needs to be an emphatic movement on the part of this Conference, seconding this proposition of universal education reaching the family of the Indian, that that fundamental agency appointed by the Almighty may be properly used in the great transformation which we seek. When we began, under the orders of General Grant, to deal with the negro, one of the first things we ordered for every post was a book of record. Every one who had not had a legal marriage before, every husband and wife, was obliged to be legally married and have it recorded. Now, when I visit those regions, I find the effect of this movement. I believe that a vast power may be brought in to aid that has not yet been used in behalf of the Indian.

How all this can be done, and done most effectively, and ignore at the same time the first and best book we have among us, I do not know. I do not see how we are going to lay the Bible out into the cold and begin to bring the Indian up into any manhood that will

answer to our idea as Christian men and women. One difficulty with us in this country, in all these matters, lies in this direction. We are a select people. We have been selected out of the nations across the water and planted here under peculiar circumstances. Now we, while enjoying these elevated opportunities, are not fitted by our experience to undertake in our own wisdom the elevation of a degraded race. We have not dealt with these questions: we are just beginning to deal with them. But it is to my mind the grandeur of this Conference that it has been getting down to this work. I believe that here, at the first proposition of the Commissioner, we can make a start. The English government has done much in dealing with degraded races.

You will recollect that the Sepoy rebellion was the most terrible catastrophe that ever occurred in India up to that time. The British government had been so exceedingly careful of the religious preferences of the natives that it had not allowed itself to employ in the government schools a Christian teacher or to have in those government schools a Christian text-book. But after that Sepoy rebellion, the horrors of which have never been fully depicted, the British government began to gather up its lessons, and to look over these facts. It found that those leaders who brought on this rebellion had been educated in their own schools, in which they had such respect for the pagan conscience that they would not introduce the Bible; that they had trained these men in intellectual sharpness and power, by which they rose up and created that terrible massacre. But, looking more closely among the results of the rebellion, they found only a few—three or four or so—who had in any way any connection with the Christian schools established by the missionaries from the Christian nations of the earth. When Great Britain, that hard-headed nation, saw these facts, it was enough to awaken those in authority. They saw that they had only given half-way play to conscience; that there must be room for the Christian conscience, room for the Bible, or freedom of conscience is not complete. It seems to me that that one fact is enough to emphasize to us the absolute necessity of the presence of the Bible in any work in universal education for the Indian. Some time early in the organization of free schools in Virginia, at the head of which was the Horace Mann of education in the South, one of the county superintendents, catching in the flurry the declaration of some great man that the Bible must be withdrawn, received from the head of the system a word of this character: "I noticed your circular. Have you considered how our civilization has grown out of the Bible? Do you not with me believe that the Bible is the first and best book we have?" Why should we begin by displacing the first and best book in our possession?

Gen. HOWARD.—The answer often to what our friend General Eaton has said is that we come in unfavorable contact or collision always with our Roman Catholic friends, by putting in what they claim to be wrong editions of the Scripture. Now, I want to say that I have visited a great many Catholic schools. There was one kept by Father Cherouse on the Puget Sound; and there it was the truths drawn from the Bible, and often in the Bible language, which segregated more than half the people from a low degraded tribe and made them well-behaved and very industrious. Upon the Cœur d'Alène

reservation, I visited a good school kept by the Sisters. They are teaching there, also, the Scriptures; and on the Colville reservation they have constant reading of the Scriptures, especially selections from the Old Testament about Moses, Samuel, David, and other marked men. The degree of civilization they obtained among the Indians is largely due to such teaching.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Board of Indian Commissioners in their last report made the following recommendation: "There is needed an annual expenditure of \$4,000,000. The call for such an amount need not frighten us. We have abundant means to meet it. Were the demand twice as large, we ought not to hesitate. We ought not to make it a mere question of cost. It is a question of saving or destroying a race within our own borders; and, even on economical grounds, it is cheaper to educate and train to self-support than to feed and clothe and guard the Indian in perpetual pauperism."

Dr. WARD.—Having made that request, will you be good enough to tell us how much Congress actually did give of increase?

The CHAIRMAN.—About \$1,000.

Gen. EATON.—There is where this Conference is needed. Let us get a million of increase.

Gen. MORGAN.—I want to say that somebody ought to advocate the cause of Congress and the politicians. I have had no quarrel with them. I do not think I need to have. I am surprised at the limited pressure that has been brought to bear upon me, excepting in one or two specific cases, in the great matter of appointment of teachers. Now, I want to say that, although they did not give all that was asked, Congress gave more than was used. There has gone back something like \$40,000 that was not used. I believe that Congress is ready, whenever we can show that we are using money in a wise way, to give all that may be needed.

Justice STRONG.—I do not propose to engage in this discussion, certainly not at present; but I wish to call attention to one phase of the subject of Indian education that has not been noticed, so far as I have heard. The government is allotting to the various tribes of Indians the land in severalty. Under those allotments they become citizens of the United States. They therefore become, by virtue of the Constitution of the United States, citizens of the States in which they reside. They become subject to State jurisdiction. Whatever schools are established in those neighborhoods where lands are thus allotted will become State schools, and necessarily under the control of the States. The Indians will be no longer wards of the nation, but wards of the States in which they reside. The nation may be trustee of the funds belonging to them; but it will not be guardian any longer. Now, what is to become of the education of those children on these allotted reservations? I wish that subject might be considered as this discussion proceeds. These allotments are of lands which belong to one large body; and they are all allotted to the Indians, not any portion to white men. These neighborhoods, therefore, in which these children of Indians will reside, will be Indian neighborhoods, and the schools for these children will be composed of Indian children entirely; but they will be, as I have said, under State control. How far are we as a Conference to consider the question of their education after these allotments are made? What are we to do, if anything, in regard to it?

General Whittlesey asked that Mrs. O. J. Hiles have an opportunity to make a statement in regard to the Oneida Indians.

THE ONEIDA INDIANS.

Mrs. O. J. HILES, Milwaukee, Wis.—I take it that General Whittlesey wishes me simply to speak with regard to the bill which was presented last year in Congress, touching upon the Oneida allotments. A bill was presented in Congress to the effect that the land should be allotted to the Oneidas of Wisconsin, who are, as you know, a remnant of the old Oneidas of New York, having been removed some years ago to that State. This bill was proposed, in order that a clause in the Dawes Bill might be done away with, and a clause permitting the sale of the lands five years after allotment inserted in its place. The Wisconsin Indian Association, having ascertained this fact, at once went to work to do what they could to supplement the labors of one or two representatives from Wisconsin who had taken a decided stand in opposition to the bill on account of this clause. The Association also asked the friends in the East who are influential in this kind of work to assist in defeating the bill.

The first thing that called my especial attention to the bill, and aroused me to an intense comprehension of an impending danger which demanded immediate action, was an item of news from Washington, published in the papers, to the effect that the constituents of a certain Congressman from Wisconsin had been plying him with letters urging that this bill, known as the "Hudd Bill," should pass. Thinking that there must have been some reason for such earnest desire other than friendliness for the Indians, we went to work, as stated; and I am very happy to be able to say that the bill was defeated. The allotment under the general bill has been ordered by the President, and the work has been begun by a special agent, Dana C. Lamb, appointed, as I understand, by a recommendation of Senator Sawyer, who stands in very good favor with the Indians.

I visited the Oneidas on the Fourth of July this year. They asked me to speak to them on the subject of allotment as related to themselves. The best educated among the Oneidas are afraid of allotment. The "fringers" of the reservation, the outside element, were in favor of it, had been in favor of the Hudd Bill; but the conservative element were afraid that their lands might, even with allotment, be lost through additional legislation. Their great fear was that in the coming winter, or even later, some new legislation might allow the sale of their allotted lands; and they expressed great anxiety for the weaker Indians, and even for themselves, lest they might not be able to stand against the machinations of the whites, who were so interested in the five years' clause. I urged them to accept allotment without delay, and to work for its successful accomplishment by the appointment of a committee to confer with the agent, and by that means to put it out of the power of the whites to introduce another bill, with another prejudicial clause; and I think that, under the advisement of their friends, aided by the advice of the missionaries, they will submit to the allotment, hoping and trusting that the watch-

fulness of their friends will prevent any legislation unfriendly to their interests in the future.

I wish you could see them. I have sat here to-day thinking about them as I saw them, while this question of civilizing the Indian has been discussed. Without knowing it, the Oneidas have settled the question. It was a large gathering which I met in July; and it was characterized by perfect order and decorum. Except for their faces and their unusually grave and dignified bearing, I should not have known them from a similar assemblage of whites. Every woman was well dressed; every little child was dressed as neatly as a white child would be dressed at such a gathering; every infant was clothed in a long white dress, trimmed and embroidered, and spotlessly white. Men and women alike listened to the words that were said to them with evident comprehension. I was greatly impressed with the perfect atmosphere among them of the white man's manner.

They have many good farms located on a beautiful ridge of land; and, naturally, they are very desirous to keep them. They have good buildings. I am speaking now of the sober, industrious Indians. The meeting which I addressed was held in a two-story frame house belonging to an Indian. A few years ago, they had saved and deposited in a bank \$2,500 with which to build a church. The bank failed, and every dollar was lost. But they rose from their almost discouragement, and have built, and nearly paid for, a beautiful stone house of worship. I trust that they will not, through any future legislation or order, lose their well-earned farms, and with them their highly prized church.

Rev. C. W. SHELTON.—In a trip recently made, starting one hundred and fifty miles north of Bismarck, and going down through almost all of the Dakota country, I met personally and talked with nearly all of the Indian agents. Two questions they have asked me to put to the Mohonk Conference. The first is, "Can you not give us a system of education whereby school attendance shall be made compulsory?" One agent said, "While we do insist upon school attendance, we have no authority for doing so; and any intelligent half-breed could knock us out in a few minutes, thereby destroying our influence on the reservation forever." The other question concerns the marriage relation. Give us a law enforcing legal marriages on our reservations.

Now, as this is the hour for general business, I would suggest these two points which I hope may come up during these sessions,—compulsory education and the regulation of marriages on the reservations. A short time ago, a young man and a young woman were married after the manner of Indians. The agent sent word to them that they must be legally married. The young man said he would not be; there was no law to compel him. The agent locked him up for two days, and the young man said then that he would be legally married. The missionary had some scruples about it, and he asked the girl. She answered: "I have no objection to going to your church and being married; but there is one clause in your marriage ceremony which I do not like. It makes me promise to live with one man the rest of my life." We want a law to put that clause in, and insist on it every time.

The chairman then introduced ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes.

Hon. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.—*Ladies and Gentlemen*,—The circumstances are such that I cannot attempt to speak to you at any length. In judgment, in heart, and in conscience, I am with you in your work. It has been fitly said that this great nation cannot afford to do the smallest injustice to the humblest of its people. To prevent this, to prevent the continuance of the injustice that has been from the beginning, in the dealing of ourselves and of our fathers, with those who owned this vast territory that has made of us a nation so fortunate, so rich, and so powerful; any attempt to change the current of injustice that began with the first white man on this continent and has lasted till to-day; any attempt to change that current and to deal, not merely in the spirit of the Golden Rule, but in the spirit of simple justice with these people,—must command the sympathy and the aid of all reflecting and of all good people. I will not attempt to say more; but so gratified am I with what I have seen of the methods and of the spirit of this Mohonk Conference that I cannot but hope that the day may soon come when that other weaker race, not of a quarter of a million, but of six millions, shall have some such annual assembly as this to consider its condition and to aid it to rise to the full stature of true American citizenship.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am sure that I would not trespass upon the tender emotions of the heart of ex-President Hayes; but I believe that, since Lincoln went to his grave and Garfield to his, sixty million people have not uncovered their heads in greater sorrow than when earth to earth and dust to dust was said at the grave of Mrs. Lucy Webb Hayes, one of the truest and best of the world.

Mr. SMILEY.—I understand that the day Mrs. Hayes was buried some good ladies happened to be at Pike's Peak, and on the top of it they began piling up a monument in her memory. That monument has grown to be a large one; and I hope to have the privilege of piling up a stone.

Second Session.

INDIAN EDUCATION (*continued*).

Wednesday Evening, Oct. 2, 1889.

The Conference met at eight o'clock P.M. General Fiske in the chair. Rev. J. M. Buckley, D.D., editor of the *Christian Advocate*, New York, was the first speaker.

Rev. J. M. BUCKLEY, D.D.—*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—The last book that I read before coming to this place was read under the influence of the Scriptural statement that “a merry heart doeth good like a medicine.” It was Marshall P. Wilder’s book, “People that I have Smiled with.” It was very interesting and stimulating, and it is an appropriate title for this occasion. I rejoice to smile here with you, amid so much that is restful, helpful, and beautiful.

Twenty years ago, General Grant selected a dozen gentlemen to consider and report upon a plan whereby the treatment of the Indian question might be more Christian than it had been. These gentlemen were mostly ministers of different denominations. I had the honor to be one; and from the report of that committee came the so-called “peace policy.” From that day till this I have had a special interest in Indian work. It is true that I have never been here before,—not for want of invitation or inclination, but from engagements that made it impossible. I rejoice to be here now. It is an atmosphere of unity, patriotism, and philanthropy.

I believe it is a higher proof of a philosophical mind to doubt than to dogmatize. There are some things commonly affirmed about Indians which to me seem doubtful. I do not believe that our fathers committed an unpardonable sin when they assumed that the Indians did not own this whole continent. Their very names show that they conquered and drove out other nations, and that their titles had no inherent rights that anybody was bound to respect. They extended over the whole continent. I therefore do not feel that those who discovered this country, and found it inhabited by savages, and took possession of it to introduce civilization, committed the unpardonable sin. They did what the world had been doing from the beginning of history till then, and what it has been doing ever since. Neither do I blame the Indians for some features of their treatment of their women. I think Mr. Catlin has defended them well on this point. Their mode of living required the braves to be exceedingly alert and vigilant, ready for war, and to do nothing that would prevent them from defending their tribe according to their stealthy and subtle methods. The women, therefore, had to do the hard domestic work.

Those, however, who seized the country, assumed moral obligations: they were bound to take care of the persons whom they found

wandering about here. They undertook to do it. But, of course, the policy of the people who came here was a compound of greed and hatred, necessity and conscience; and from the beginning till now all these elements have been at work, sometimes one in the ascendency, sometimes another.

I cannot feel that this country, as a whole, is entitled to be cursed among the nations of the earth. Under divine authority, when the Israelites went into Canaan, they slew right and left, and in the most horrible manner, as it seems to us; but, according to the record, they were rebuked for not destroying enough. We gave the Indians land in some part, and did not utterly dispossess them. War was inevitable, and it grew out of these methods.

The Indian problem is one of the old problems of humanity in its upward march from the prehistoric ages of degradation, barbarism, and animalism. Of course, I am not in the line of theology in these remarks. That is another subject entirely. I do not mix my theology and my science: I run them on two parallel tracks. They never can collide while the world stands, even if they go very fast, though there are careless engineers.

The Indian can be educated. It seems to me this can be proved by the old orthodox theory or by the Darwinian theory. Take the orthodox theory. God made all the nations of the earth of one blood to dwell upon the face of the earth. If they were made of one blood, they were originally similar. If they have been changed, it has been under the operation of those three great forces,—climate, food, and manners. Now, if the old theory is not true, and the Darwinian theory is, then everything has been under the operation of those laws. So we take our choice, and come to the same conclusion. When I entered upon public life, the great thing was to prove that man could have descended from a common pair. We have no need for that question now. But that they have been educated is certain, and that they have deteriorated is equally certain; and humanity requires that we should educate them. It must, of course, take ages to transform the Indians into beings resembling us.

If we lived in the open air, as they have always done, if we lived on the kind of food that they have had, and if we had the manners that they have had, in the course of a thousand years we should suffer a great change of complexion and a great change in spirit. There is no power that will *rapidly* change the Indians into Americans of our type, unless amalgamation is practised, which, as a matter of course, will not be of any great extent.

What can make the change? Environment, occupation, and religion,—nothing else. The United States government must change the environment of the Indians. It has already done it, but greatly at a disadvantage. They are in one of the worst states of transition seen in the world. Their experience has qualified them to hunt and fight, speaking generally. They are prevented from that at the present time. Their experience has not qualified them for the arts of peace and a civilized life. We are bound to give them an environment that will gradually change them. It is as true of men as it is of dogs, that, in the sere and yellow leaf, you cannot teach them new tricks. And, therefore, it is important to feel that the whole thing turns upon the children and the keeping of the adults in order and

comparative comfort as their lives hasten to an end. Occupation, of course, is absolutely necessary to prevent deterioration and to prevent deprivation. The want of occupation would ruin us and our children in a generation.

There is this peculiarity about religion: it is an antidote to every feeling that makes an Indian, in a disagreeable sense. The Indian is not to blame at all for being blood-thirsty, cruel, and remorseless in his nature. How could he live through ages, as he has done, and prevent that? You might as well blame a wolf for being a wolf instead of a lamb. Religion is the only thing that can antidote his malicious tendencies. He has that form of our common depravity. This is not so with the negro. He has not the malicious form of our common depravity. I will not specify what his form is. It is very peculiar; but it is not, generally speaking, malicious.

With respect to this matter, I hold it to be the duty of the government to give to the Indian a new environment, plenty of occupation, and a religion of some sort. You say that it is contrary to our principles and to public policy to deal with religion at all. Well, you can secularize the country by logic; but this is a very dangerous thing to do. A man may be round-shouldered. By proper exercise, you can straighten him in ten years; but you cannot do it by putting him in a vise. The public schools, you say, are bad; and parochial schools must be introduced, and therefore the people must have money to support them. You can take the chaplains out of the army and out of all the government hospitals. You can carry your logic out to this last extent, and you can refuse to teach in the House of Refuge and in the Elmira Reformatory. That is the last logic of it,—an absolutely unreligious state. I believe, if you can show logically that that is the final outcome, there is no reason why it should be done *now*. I am a slow and sure reformer, on the theory that the slow and sure reformer can take advantage of the rapid changes when they come.

All reform must proceed on the basis of existing things. As a minister said at a temperance meeting at which I was present: "I, myself, personally, think" that the present system ought to continue for a long time to come. I make no distinction between Catholics and Protestants. I think the government should recognize all sects whose influence does not tend to immorality. I am in favor at present of the contract system. I agree with the logic of those who do not abstractly oppose it; but I believe it is one of the cases where we are to proceed to the last results, but gradually, till the last results are the next step, and then they will take care of themselves. I believe, further, it is very important to remember that, while the atmosphere of this Conference does not say that the only good Indian is a dead one, the atmosphere all around says that. I have visited Indians in almost every part of the territory included in our government, with the exception of Alaska. I have seen them in their wigwams. I have visited General Armstrong's school, and seen them there. I have seen them at Captain Pratt's. I have seen them in their tepees, and have eaten succotash in five courses. I know that all around them the settlers sympathize with this doctrine that the best Indian is a dead one.

Notwithstanding the fact that we have a Catholic population of

nine millions and a Protestant population of three times that number, the great majority of the people are cold toward the Indian; and, if he were left to the exercise of the forces outside of religion, he would be ground to powder, and the process would go on continually. Hence, I solemnly warn those who love the Indian best to resist to the last the divorcement of religion from this work. I thank General Howard for the remarkably clear statement he made on the work religion will do.

Personally, I have great hope of the Indian. I know some who are good poets, some who are excellent preachers, some acute mathematicians. They are not so rhetorical as the negroes, who run to display and adjectives; but I have seen two Indians before whose logic I stood abashed, and both of them spoke on the chairman's favorite theme,—the liquor traffic. I have great hope of the Indian, if we, and those of like precious faith with us, are true to the cause.

Capt. R. H. PRATT, of Carlisle.—I am sorry and I am glad to follow Dr. Buckley. I am sorry, because I have not had the mental training that he has. I am glad, because he has given me a text. I must antagonize him a little. I do not believe in all his theories. Experience does not carry them out. I say, and have said the same in effect many times before, that, if we take a dozen young Indians, and place one in Dr. Buckley's family, and another in the chairman's family, and so on, taking those so young they have not learned to talk, and will train them up as the children of those families, I defy you to find any Indian in them when they are grown. We are not born with ideas. God did not make us that way. The ideas come afterwards. They come as we grow up. They come through environment. I believe that, if Dr. Buckley would take one of those Indians he has seen in the West—a little pappoose from his mother's back, always "looking backward"—into his family, face it the other way, and keep it under his care and training until grown, it would then be Anglo-Saxon in spirit and American in all its qualities. Color amounts to nothing. The fact that they are born Indians does not amount to anything. The assertion that they are a thousand years behind us is not true. They are right here with us. The trouble is that we will not take them into our American family. We will not give them a chance. That is the whole obstruction. I have been working with and for the Indians many years. I have been in their lodges, and talked with them around their own camp-fires, have fought them and with them, under the direction of our generals. General Howard has used them as soldiers. They are brave, and in their way stand up for their rights.

To-day we have had outlined for us a policy. It is a good one in part, but it does not reach the end; and I believe in getting to the end at once. We have been told that there are thirty-five thousand or forty thousand children to look after. If we can place these children in our American lines, we shall break up all the Indian there is in them in a very short time. The bother is in the making use of our American facilities, not only before, but after. We must get them into America and keep them in. The Master looked after individuals: we look after tribes. By our acts we say, If the tribes can take hold of themselves by their own boot-straps, and lift themselves as tribes bodily into our civilization, we are ready to let them in as a body,

but will not let them in unless they can come in this way. It is a very peculiar situation that in this country and at this time we have no individual Indians here and there in our communities,—none that live with us. The idea is segregation and Indian reservation everywhere. At Carlisle I cannot work the Indians *en masse*. If I send them in numbers to Sunday-school, at once a class of Indians is formed. They do not take them into the other classes. If I send them out into the country into public schools, in numbers sufficient in any one school, forthwith there is segregated a class of Indians. To overcome this hindrance, which is our own act, we must by thorough distribution make it impossible to create a class of Indians. Forty thousand Indian children! I do not remember the number of our schools exactly; but, as I do remember, there would be only about one Indian boy or girl to every five or six schools in the United States. Such distribution would not burden our public schools. The end is in this direction. We must work it out on this line some way, in order to succeed. I believe we shall have the Indian problem on our hands to the end of time if we continue to rely on purely Indian schools. We may have our Contract Indian Schools, our Church Indian Schools, and our Government Indian Schools till Gabriel blows his horn; and we shall always have Indians and be struggling with the Indian problem.

What we need in America in this nineteenth century of the Christian era is to brush away this spectre that race schools are a necessity. We should rise right up into our own pure American air of freedom for all men: then the Indian will become a very short problem. The idea that we cannot teach the Indians our civilization and to join us in it and compete with us is all nonsense. It is a little hard to bring ourselves to do it in the right way,—that is all. The old ones are not irredeemable, as is alleged. It is harder to bend the tree than the bush; but force enough will bend anything. Take an individual Indian,—an old one, off by himself, away from the public Indian sentiment of his tribe. Immerse him in civilization, and he becomes willing in a very short time to cut off his hair and adopt civilized dress. He will quit painting himself, quit his other peculiar Indian ways, and strive to be one with those about him.

Considering the case of the Indian youth, we must of necessity take some preliminary care of them in Indian schools; but at the very earliest moment we ought to have them in our own schools and dispense with purely Indian schools. Carlisle has over two hundred Indian youth out in families and in the public schools of Pennsylvania. More than sixty of these are the hated Geronimo Apaches, reaching this condition in two years of Carlisle training. We ought to save them as individuals, invite and urge them out of their savagery and into our civilization one by one, the whole of them. How long would it take to assimilate them if we went about it with all our forces? Not more than three to five years. We have plenty of room. It would only make nine Indians to a county throughout the United States. I admit, we cannot well be so radical at once; but we can and ought to work this way. One trouble is we run against the Indian's land all the time. That bothers us. We drop caring for the man to care for his land, as though that were the only and all-important thing.

I was glad Judge Strong spoke as he did this morning. He was at the real heart of the case. We are going to give them lands in severalty on their reservations, and so leave them still Indian communities. By this we do not invite them out. We say: Stay there! Be Indians! Be tribes! I do not think it would be such a bad thing if they were to lose their land, if they gained the vastly greater boon of becoming free men and American citizens. Poverty is not an unmitigated evil. It has made more strong men than wealth. But they need not lose any ownership of land. These rights can be guarded. The point Judge Strong made will have to be met. It bothers us now in Michigan. The Indians there are citizens, and entitled to the public school privileges; but they are non-tax-paying and in communities largely by themselves, making the white population bear a heavy load because their Indian fellow-citizens are not taxed. Of course, the whites will try to get rid of the load. It is an unnatural condition. If the government excuses the Indian from paying taxes when it makes the Indian a citizen, then the government ought itself to pay his taxes. That would help to make him acceptable to his white fellow-citizen. But why excuse them from any obligation? If we distribute the Indian youth, one here and another there, in our schools, the white youth will cease to be afraid of them, and they will become friendly with each other. The Indian, like other youth, needs to contend with other brawn and brain to make himself respected and to learn self-respect.

I have been most successfully following the course here outlined for ten years. Mr. Schurz, when Secretary of the Interior, grasped the idea at once. Not long after Carlisle school was started he said: "I will have ten schools like Carlisle. We will distribute them. We will send them into American life." I have been very hopeful that some time there would come along a William Pitt, with the power and will to do it all quickly. If we adopted for the other races that emigrate to us the same treatment we enforce for the Indians, our America would be torn asunder in a very few years. Send all the Germans to Wisconsin, and we shall soon have there a Germany. Send the Frenchmen off to some other locality, and we shall have a France, and so on. But we distribute them. They pass in and become a part of us. They get into our public schools, and by this course we secure English-speaking and American citizens the first generation. So, too, shall we have acceptable citizens in the first generation of Indians if we adopt the same methods with them.

Mr. HERBERT WELSH.—Before proceeding to discuss for a few minutes the question which is before us to-night, I want to take just one moment to give my personal confirmation to the very profound and important truth uttered by Captain Pratt,—the fact that the Indian is not born savage and cruel, so that these elements remain a taint in his blood forever. The actual proofs to the contrary are clear and convincing. The Santee Indians of Nebraska, who were foremost in the Minnesota massacre of 1862, are to-day among the most peaceful and civilized Indians in this country. War and violence have completely passed out of their minds and their nature. They have become citizens of the United States: they own their lands in severalty, they have come into close contact with the American people, their surplus lands have been opened to white settle-

ment, they send their children to school. They represent the last stage when the Indian has gone all the way from barbarism till he emerges into the white man's civilization.

Now, to take up the question of this evening. I think it is one of very great importance,—in my judgment, in many respects, the most important question that has been brought before this Conference in the seven years of its life. I must confess that there are clearly two sides to the question; and that, till a recent moment, I doubted where the truth actually lay. I have, however, at this time convictions founded upon reasons which I will endeavor briefly to lay before you.

Great uncertainty rests with the experiment of doing the work of Indian education, as General Morgan has expressed it, "by the power of the government alone." I will point out one or two elements of this uncertainty. As things exist at present, the Indian Commissioner has not unlimited power in relation to Indian affairs. If he had, the question would present itself in some different form. Practically, the selection of Indian agents rests in the hands of authority superior to the commissioner. That fact brings in the element of uncertainty in relation to this question just here. As you know, these Indian reservations are far off from Washington. They are scattered through the heart of the country; they have passed over even to the shores of the Pacific. A principle has been adopted in the appointment of Indian agents, which is known as the "Home-Rule" policy; that is, that local political influences largely control the appointment of agents. The term seems to me a misnomer, because I cannot conceive, from what I know, of those Territories and States in which Indian reservations lie being in very truth the home of the Indian, or of an authority over the Indians vested in them, being properly called "Home Rule." It seems to me that the interests of an Indian reservation within a Territory are frequently opposed to those of the Territory itself. Therefore, the term "Home Rule" is here misapplied. But suppose an agent is appointed in obedience to this policy: that agent owes his appointment largely to certain influences in the Territory. He finds upon the reservation certain positions to be filled, such as those of farmer, blacksmith, etc. It would naturally be for his interest to gain control over appointments to these places, and even to those in the government school, and to use them for the benefit of those to whom he owed his position. If he chooses to claim these appointments, he can exercise his influence in such a way that the very best Indian commissioner in the world would find it hard to hold out against him. The Home Rule party will claim that, while it has the appointment of agent, it can claim other things. This is the element of uncertainty, that the Indian Commissioner may hold only a partial authority over government schools. It throws doubt upon the proposition to rest all our hopes for Indian education upon such education as the government gives them.

Let me put in a point here. I am looking, not only to the time of the present commissioner alone, but beyond that. I wish to be understood as saying that I hailed General Morgan's advent to this office with joy. I presume that there are few persons who have had the means of being in so close personal contact with him as I. He

has at every point manifested the utmost desire to conduct his office upon the civil service reform platform; that is, upon the system of getting the best possible man for the place. But we are now considering something which must extend beyond his time. It does not seem to me that we have clear assurance that any commissioner will have the power to so work this system that these elements of uncertainty would be thrown out.

Let me point to another fact: it is that Congressmen claim the right to dictate appointments in their Congressional districts, not excluding those in government Indian schools. It is not a right which the Constitution of the United States gives them; but they usurp it. In some cases, a Congressman will say, "I desire such a man appointed as superintendent of a given Indian school" (naming a political backer). If the commissioner resists this dictation, he puts himself in conflict with the Congressman. But suppose the commissioner stands out against the Congressman, the latter will certainly endeavor to make his claim good. When the commissioner's estimates for the school service come before Congress, the member whom the commissioner offended will make his power felt in using his influence to defeat the appropriation or to cripple it. So, no matter how earnest the commissioner may be, he has a power confronting him, which I will not say is impregnable, but it is a very serious element in the contest.

Now, up to this time, how have we educated the Indian? For seven years, I have travelled over Indian reservations: I have seen all kinds of schools, and, in the main, the government school has been a poor thing. As a usual thing, the man who has been in charge of it has not been inspired by any pure desire: he has been appointed from political motives. When the power that appointed him has passed away, he has passed away with it. On the contrary, the contract schools, those of the Roman Catholics, the Presbyterians, and other religious bodies, had a spirit of continuance in them. They gave to the Indian child a clear, positive faith: they gave him the element of conscience. I think I shall be borne out in the statement that, in the long run, the contract school presented a better phase of instruction than did the government school. There are some exceptions. Captain Pratt's school is a tremendous exception, and there are others; but it is exceptions that prove the rule. His school has been untouched by the hand of the spoilsman, because no one has dared to touch him. The public sentiment back of his school was so strong that no effort could be made against it with success.

Now, what is the part of wisdom for us in such a matter as this? Had we better hazard the experiment and throw aside the religious element in the contract school, trusting to the government's becoming better in its work, or else ask that the government shall first prove its work and show that its schools are as good as the contract schools? It seems to me that the latter is the best way. The element that has done the work has been belief in God and, through that, belief in humanity. I believe myself that it is the love for One who came upon this earth to show men how they should live that has touched the Indian, and has made our own people feel that those for whom Christ died deserve our sympathy and help. I think, if any re-

ligious body goes forward in faith and love and with the evidences of practical wisdom, and asks the government to give it the power to carry on this work, showing this willingness by providing teachers and buildings, that it is right in the line of the government's policy of civilization to grant the request. In Philadelphia, the question came up many years ago as to whether the Christian religion should be taught in Girard College. Stephen Girard had desired that the highest and purest morality should be taught there; but his will forbade a clergyman to enter the college doors. The judges decided that the highest and purest morality that could be given to these children was that expressed in the gospel of Jesus Christ, and for that reason it was necessary to teach Christianity in the college. The government asks for something that shall teach the hearts of the Indians to aspire to something better than they have known before, which will give them the purest morality. The churches come forward and ask to be allowed to do this work. If we turn them away and chill their enthusiasm, if we point to some instrument which has not yet been proved adequate, are we following the light of practical wisdom? It seems to me that the best way is to say to the government: "Do your very best, and let the churches do their very best. We wish them God-speed. We stand back of both. But do not discard the churches' aid till your own work is adequate. By God's help we will give them what power, what strength, we can." I ask the question whether it is not the wisest policy for us to pursue.

Rev. LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D.—It is of advantage, after a debate has taken, as this one wisely and well has taken, a wide range,—it is of advantage to go back again to see specifically and exactly what is the question presented. In the paper which has been read by General Morgan, it is not questioned whether the contract system shall be abolished. Under the government system, the government and the churches enter into a *quasi* partnership for the work of education, the one furnishing buildings and the other teachers, or in some other way one supplementing the other's work. General Morgan's paper does not suggest, even remotely, that these contract schools shall be discontinued or that this contract system shall be abolished. I believe that I am within bounds when I say that, on the contrary, he has recommended increased appropriations for the contract schools that are now in existence, and that he appreciates as thoroughly and heartily as any one on this floor the good work they have done and are doing. Nor is the question whether religion shall be taken out from the schools in which the Indians are taught. It might, indeed, be contended that in government schools it cannot be taught; but this is a matter of assumption. It cannot be taken for granted that there can be no religious instruction whatever in schools directed by the government. We have, however, in round numbers, 50,000 Indian children of school age in the country, of whom 15,000 or 16,000 are enrolled in the present schools, with, General Armstrong tells me, an average attendance of about 12,000. We have, then, in round numbers, 35,000 to 38,000 children who are growing up in absolute ignorance and barbarism. The question is not, What shall we do for the 12,000? They are being provided for by missionary schools, by schools partly missionary, partly governmental, and partly by a combination of the two. Nor does any one suggest that this work of edu-

cation shall be disturbed. The question is, What can be done for the 35,000 that are now in absolute barbarism? That is the question that confronts us; and it is the one important, practical, and direct question which requires an answer. Now, it so happens that Lake Mohonk has at last partially answered that question. I beg to read from the platform of last year what Lake Mohonk Conference, after long debate, said upon this subject: —

It is the duty of the Federal Government to undertake at once the entire task of furnishing primary and secular education for all Indian children of school age on the reservations under Federal control. It has no right to thrust this burden on the pioneer populations in the midst of which the Indians happen to be located. It has no right to leave this burden to be carried by the churches and private philanthropic societies which have taken it up only because the necessity was great and the neglect absolute. The cost of education is immeasurably less than the cost of war; the expense of educating the Indian for self-support less than one-tenth the cost of keeping him in pauperism. We call upon the Department of the Interior to inaugurate at once a thorough and comprehensive system, providing at national expense, on principles analogous to those which experience has incorporated in our public school system, for the education of all Indian children in its ward and care, in all the elements of education essential to civilized life and good citizenship, — the use of the English language, the common industrial arts and sciences, the habits and proprieties of domestic life, and the ethical laws which underlie American civilization. We call upon Congress to provide at once, and by wholly adequate appropriation, the necessary funds for such a system, for buildings, teachers, inspectors, superintendents. And, in the name of the Christian and philanthropic people of the United States, and of the people of those Western States and Territories who rightly demand that the charge and burden of a pagan and pauper population shall no longer be thrown upon them, we pledge their cordial co-operation in such an effort to remove at once the national dishonor of supporting ignorant and barbaric peoples in the heart of a Christian civilization, with only feeble and wholly inadequate endeavors to bring them into harmony with a free and Christian civilization.

We have *asked* the Department of the Interior to inaugurate such a system. We have by our own voice urged the national government to inaugurate a system sufficiently comprehensive, and with sufficiently generous appropriations, to provide for the school education in the arts of civilized life of all Indian children of school age. The Interior Department has responded to our request. General Morgan has come here in answer to our invitation. The President of the United States and the Secretary of the Interior and the head of the Indian Bureau combined come to us and say, in effect: "Gentlemen, we have heard your request: we understand you wish to inaugurate a system of education that shall provide for 35,000 children, unprovided for and we are ready to do it." Shall we now say to them, "Gentlemen, we thank you for the readiness and promptness with which you have answered our invitation; we shake hands with you, and we will join with you in an effort to carry out this policy"? Or shall we say: "Gentlemen, we have reconsidered this matter, and have changed our minds. We think, on the whole, the government ought not to introduce such a system; that it is incompetent to carry it out; that the people will not warrant the necessary expenditure; that we had better go on as we have been going"?

I say, then, it is not a question whether we shall abolish the system of education already organized: no one has proposed that. It is not a question whether we shall eliminate religious instruction from the education of the Indian race: no one has proposed or

suggested that. It is not proposed to chill the ardor and enthusiasm of the missionary organizations that are carrying on the work of education among the Indian races: no one has suggested that. The question is, What shall we do with the 35,000 Indian children that are growing up in absolute ignorance and barbarism? Are the missionary societies ready to multiply their Indian work by the figure three? Will the American Missionary Association multiply its appropriations and the missionary organization of the Presbyterian Church multiply its appropriations? Our churches are working with all the energy they can command. We cannot undertake to educate 35,000 Indian children in the civilized arts and industries. There never has been a time in the history of the world when the Church has furnished adequate secular education. The work of preaching the gospel is the work of the Christian Church. It has taken the work of education as a supplement only when that work was indispensable to this work of the gospel ministry. Is there anything in the proposition which General Morgan has laid before us, is there anything in the action which the Lake Mohonk Conference has already taken, inconsistent with the largest, most earnest, and most progressive religious work among the Indian population of our country? If some man of fabulous wealth were to say to the churches of America, "I will establish a public school system that shall provide civilized education for the whole population of China," would the missionaries and the churches say: "No, no! You will chill our religious enthusiasm if you do this"? When the Peabody Fund and the Slater Fund were founded to provide secular education for the South, did the churches say: "Hands off, gentlemen! You will chill our enthusiasm if you give this money to this cause"? When the successive States of the South said to the missionary societies of the North, "Take the work of theological and normal education, we will take off from your shoulders the work of primary and secular education," did we say, "Gentlemen of the Southern States, you are chilling our ardor and enthusiasm by the proposition"? No, ladies and gentlemen, if there be anywhere a power that will take the work of education in art and industry and literary culture from the overburdened churches of America, the overburdened churches of America will have reduplicated ardor, reduplicated energy, for the work of the gospel ministry which belongs to them. How these two works are to be combined and adjusted is, indeed, a difficult problem. But that they cannot be combined and adjusted is too much for any one to say.

The real question, then, that concerns us to-night is this: Shall we be content to go on as we have been going on by the methods of the past, gathering out of the 50,000 Indian children only one-fourth for education, and leave three-fourths for barbarism? or shall we demand of the federal government, which has the money of the Indians in its hands, and which represents the combined public interest of the whole country,—shall we demand of that federal government that it provide at federal expense for the secular education of the Indian? Rather, when that government comes to us with the voice of the President, with the voice of the Secretary of the Interior, with the voice of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,—three Christian men as much interested in the education of the Indian as any of us here to-night,—and says, "Gentlemen, if you wish, we will do what

we can to get through Congress a sufficient appropriation to provide for the secular education of the Indians, leaving you to work with us in your religious work," shall we not say, "Thank God, for the dawning of a public sentiment that makes the government do righteousness to a long-neglected and oppressed people"?

Capt. PRATT.—I want to say something in answer to Mr. Welsh regarding government schools. My experience and observation have covered a little more than twenty-two years. The slurs that have been cast upon government school teachers and superintendents are not deserved. No conscientious man or woman that I have known in my twenty-two years' experience and observation in the Indian school service but has been brought to his or her knees before God for help, none who have not relied upon the Almighty arm. It is a false charge that government schools are not religious. The quality of teaching, in my experience, is not one whit behind the contract schools or mission schools.

Mr. J. W. DAVIS, of Boston.—I am no speaker; but, certainly, there are some simple things to be said with reference to the last assertion, that all the government teachers are praying teachers. I think the statement itself carries its own contradiction. I am equally surprised at the assertion that what has been said in regard to the government plan does not even remotely suggest the withdrawal of help from the contract schools. I think that this assertion finds an equal contradiction in your minds. The facts are plain. The whole discussion has been in view of an underlying expectation of ultimate withdrawal of help in the contract form. The fact is not that, having received an offer of the government to provide for the 35,000 children, it has been proposed to reject it. That carries a contradiction on its face. There has not been a word said about the rejection of this offer. Who has even spoken of the Church undertaking the education of this 35,000? Has any one proposed it in any form? Has it looked toward that? The proposition is whether the Church shall be allowed to carry in the moral element while the government undertakes its plain duty to provide for the 35,000. The churches stand ready to provide that moral element which does not come in in sufficient strength otherwise. Shall we reject the experience that was adduced by General Eaton this morning,—the experience of a nation that has tried every plan, until now its *politicians* say, "We welcome even individuals, committees and private bodies as well as societies, in order to bring in more strongly and more speedily the moral element"? Lord Dufferin says the mission schools have furnished the conscience of their East Indian educational work. Think of the meaning of education without conscience. What a vital lack that implies! Not only Lord Dufferin, but Sir William Hunter, Sir William Muir, Sir Bartle Frere, all testify to the same thing,—that we must welcome all the offers that missionary associations bring in to do this work. I wish that I were able to unfold this matter as it deserves.

Capt. PRATT.—Teachers who are not Christian have been found in the Indian school service, but they have not remained long. Such people do not stay a great while in such work. I know from observation and experience that we can throw stones from the government side with just as good cause as they can be thrown from the other side. The government is a Christian government in its Indian work. The

government has been laboring with the question for all these years, under the greatest criticism, and has been abused without good cause in many cases.

Rev. DR. STRIEBY.—If Brother Abbott imagines that anybody has gone back on the record of last year, I have not heard of that person. Who believes that we have abandoned the proposition that the government should educate every Indian child in the nation? President Cleveland said it would have been the glory of his administration if he could see every Indian child provided with a school. He has not done so much: he has gone out of office. I am very much afraid that the present administration will go out of office without doing it. It is not an easy thing to do. My good friend, General Morgan, who has the matter at heart as much as any one in the world, will find difficulties in the way he may not have thought of. It is one thing to get school-teachers in Rhode Island. It is a different thing to get teachers to go among the wild Indians. I do not know any one who represents the contract schools that thinks that this work of the government ought not to go on. I have signed contracts this year for our three schools in Dakota. Is there any desire to cut down these schools? If not, then nobody will dispute this plan of General Morgan; but we had supposed there was a latent purpose to drop out these contract schools. If a religious society of any denomination goes to the government and says, "We will put down so many dollars in planting a school, and we will do so much to support its teachers," I think it is right for the government to say, "We will give you a proportionate amount."

Now, in regard to the Roman Catholics, I do not see any difficulty: if they and the Protestants make similar offers, the government should make a similar response, treating all on precisely the same basis. That is a simple thing.

I do not believe that our Protestant societies are prepared to multiply by three our work among the Indians. But when any denomination of Christians, no matter what their name or order, comes to the government in good faith and says, "We are ready to expend so much money to enlarge our work in a given locality," then I think government should encourage it by giving to it the usual and proportional amount of government aid. I do not want the government to do anything less than it is doing in providing common schools for all Indian children. I want it to say, "We will aid you in the establishment of contract schools, in all wisely selected locations."

Rev. SIMON GILBERT, D.D.—*Mr. President*,—When Matthew Arnold came over to this country and then went back to enlighten the world as to America, he made one remark which was a very good one about our institutions. He said that American institutions seemed to fit Americans like a suit of clothes; and the reason of it was because they had a habit of seeing clear and thinking straight. That is what we want here. It is very beautiful to study the evolution of clear seeing and straight thinking. Now, I think it is clear seeing and straight thinking to say that the national government ought to go ahead in this work. It is an awful shame that it has not been done. We all rejoice that we have a Christian President and a Christian Secretary of State, an enlightened Christian man in the Indian department and another as the Superintendent of Indian

schools ; but I think there never was a more untimely thing than to say or do anything that should now discourage the churches from doing their part. The government should do everything that the government can do better than can be done in any other way ; and it ought to do it in this case. There are some things that the government can do better in Indian education ; but there are some things that government cannot do and never will do. It never will take the Indian out of his barbarism and lift him up into Christian civilization. But nothing can be done while the churches stand aloof in this work. Now, I say that the government ought to go ahead with its system of schools, systematized as they have never been systematized before, and multiply them. But, on the other hand, the government ought to furnish opportunity, incentive, and invitation to all the Christian churches to rally to this work. Bring the burning heart of the Christian sentiment of the country, as represented by the churches, to bear upon this work. These two things ought to be done ; and we ought all of us to rally to the support of General Morgan in carrying forward his part, his great part, in this work.

Gen. HOWARD.— Sometimes it is a good idea to put things into the concrete. In 1875, I had an opportunity to visit Alaska. On the way up, we stopped at Fort Simpson ; and we found there that, through the influence of some four children who had been converted to Christianity in Victoria, one of whom had grown up to womanhood and had become a very influential woman, a school had been established and a church. A clergyman had been called from Victoria, and that clergyman brought with him his wife and a teacher. The result of it was that nearly all of that population had been changed completely in its character. The men were industrious, the women well dressed, and the children well cared for. We went on up to Alaska ; and we found at Wrangel that all the people were begging for a teacher. They had seen the results at Simpson, and had heard of them at Metlakatlah. We found the same solicitation at Sitka. They all wanted teachers. When I came back to Portland, Ore., I tried very hard to get some of the representative Christian bodies to take up the work. I tried the American Missionary Association, also some of our Methodist and Presbyterian brethren ; but nobody seemed ready. They could not undertake the mission work. Finally, the Presbyterian brethren took it up ; and they sent a good lady, Mrs. McFarland, and afterward Mr. Jackson followed. They have since done a magnificent work in that country.

Well, that is primary. Now, the time has come when General Morgan with his machinery can go right up to Alaska and take the whole business and send all the children to school. Let him go right up and make it complete. Now, he has made a proposition to carry out the desire you expressed last year in your platform. He wants the moral force of the people behind and sympathizing with this conference to sustain him in these attempts.

Now, with reference to the other point, there is no discouragement to it at all. On the contrary, enlarge the contract schools just as far as you can. Get as many children in and encourage our friend Captain Pratt as much as you can, because he has a special line of work to do, which is to break down prejudices, break up hostilities, and show that the Indians are as much God's children as are the white

men. We want such feeling in every man's heart ; and it ought to be there.

Gen. EATON.—The first Indian school that ever I visited was on the north shore of Lake Superior. There was a school-house and a teacher. This teacher could not set a copy ; he could barely read. I did not visit further this class of schools. But I was credibly informed that there were such schools in the Indian country, and that there appeared at Washington, in the accounts, vouchers which were allowed for school-houses which could not be found, and vouchers for teachers who could not be found. Now, if I see the course of events, it has been this. The honest, patriotic, and religious thought and the conscience of the country have risen up and taken account of this question, and have pressed its solution forward to a point where these facts do not and cannot exist in government administration. Now, does this debate, in any of its forms or suggestions, tend to chill this sympathy and interest which have directed this salutary course of events ? My opinion was against the Indian Bureau's ever going into Alaska. I sought to prevent that body of people from ever being taken up and treated as the Indians have been within the old limits of the United States. I am happy to say that the course of Providence has so issued that they are not likely to be treated so ; that the Indian Bureau has withdrawn from that region of the country. We do not want the pauperizing idea of support and feeding to be extended.

How did the present order of things come about in Alaska ? General Howard had a good deal to do with it. He went up there and observed with Christian eyes. He gave these facts to others. The first workers were a half-educated soldier and an Indian who had been taught to read. Then this good Mrs. McFarland, whose school has just been burned, volunteered to go ; and Dr. Jackson, the agent of the Presbyterian Board, went there and put her to work. Now, what took place ? To-day there is a system of public schools in Alaska. There is a law organizing in that country. You can make a will there ; you can make a road there. You could not have these things before. Now, the government, of its own motion, did not come forward and bring this about. But the course of events started in the way I have described. The Presbyterian Church became interested more widely. Dr. Jackson travelled everywhere, and talked to everybody that would hear him ; and the Bureau of Education gave the information to the public. Eighty thousand copies of a single circular on the condition of things in Alaska were issued. The government did so much ; but the religious conscience of the country kept pressing and pressing. There was a commercial element interested in having no law on the coast of that country. When Dr. Jackson went from member of Congress to member, and from committee to committee, urging legislation, another man was following to the same member and the same committee, trying to prevent legislation. But the legislation came. There can now be some law enforced in Alaska. The point is this : Had not the Church moved, had not the conscience of the country moved, had they been cold and indifferent, or been warned off with the declaration that the government was going to do this whole thing, where would the initiative have been taken ? It seems to me that, when we take up the proposition of the

Indian Commissioner, so definitely stated this morning, when we begin to figure how we can carry it out, we need every Christian man and every force that can be brought to bear upon the end in view. Mr. Justice Strong, with a long foresight, suggested what is coming about, out of our own policy. If we succeed in carrying the Indian forward, he will soon be on land of his own, he will soon be a citizen. They will soon form communities of their own. They will soon constitute school districts; and these school districts will no longer be under national administration. The Commissioner of Education at Washington cannot control them any more than he could control the schools in New York or any other State. How, then, are these schools to go forward? What is to guide them? You may know that the town of —, in the State of —, was settled by Mormons. When the State constitution was formed, those who adhered to polygamy went to Utah. Those remained who were willing to give up plural wives. Here was a community, made up of a mixture of Spaniards, Indians, and Mormons, none of them fond of the public school. I went to see how the law had succeeded. It is a mandatory law: every step must be taken, or there is a penalty prescribed. Now, only a few in that community desired schools. But they could go to the court if there was any omission of duty, and secure from the judge a mandatory writ. This people were forced, at first against the will of the community, to build an adobe school-house, first for one school, then for four schools; then they erected a brick house for four schools. The school soon changed local sentiment from opposition and indifference to favor; and one of its pupils early became the efficient Superintendent of Schools for the county.

Now, should these States where the Indians are to have laws of this character, the work can go forward; but, if not, what then? What is the condition of the Indian policy of the State of New York, in the midst of the highest civilization of the country?

Let me call to mind another fact. Had not the Freedman's Bureau, when operated in the South under the direction of General Howard, through such commissioners as General Fiske, General Thomas, and General Sprague, planted Christian schools by the aid of the churches, and had not these schools remained till this day, how different would have been the condition of the negroes of the South!

Now, here is a body of people more unfavorably situated than the negro was in many respects, and more literally, if possible, your ward, sometimes with funds of his own placed in your hands for this purpose, coming under circumstances where he needs the best of influences,—all the best of influences. Are you ready to hinder him by omitting any salutary agency which may be put in operation?

Rev. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, D.D.—I was much impressed by the confession of one who has given as much time and study to this matter as Mr. Welsh, that he had found it difficult to reach conclusions on some important questions. Others of us may well make that confession.

I would like to ask some questions. In the first place, I would like to ask if it is wise for us incidentally to condemn the government because, perhaps, at the end of the year there may be ten or twenty-five thousand dollars' unexpended balance in an amount of three or four millions. That does not seem an unreasonably large amount.

Dr. GILBERT.— But not with 35,000 children not reached at all ?

Dr. WARD.— Certainly. There may have been abundance of reasons why that amount should not have been expended. I do not think that that was an unreasonable balance to be left there.

Now, another question. What is the ideal school for the Indian ? I suppose that properly the ideal school is a government school ; and an ideal school is also one that gives both intellectual and religious instruction. This is not an ideal for the public school in the States, in the civilized and religious community. It is and must be for the Indian. I ask no question about that. I assert it. I dogmatize on it. It is a kind of school that should be provided, whether by a religious body or the government. Now, the government stands in the place of the parent : there is no civilized parentage for the Indian. If a reformatory can have a religious management under a State government, an Indian school should always be a religious school under the national government. I do not think that the parallel holds at all between the public school in the civilized community and the Indian school.

Now, we have here a proposition that has been brought to us under the most favorable conditions. We have here a commissioner than whom one could hardly have been selected more wisely, both as one who has experience of the most thorough kind in practical education and one who has as much interest in the religious condition of the Indian as any one of us. He comes with a scheme which contains — not expressed as plainly, perhaps, as some of us would have expressed it — the plan and intention of what is really as truly a religious school, as I understand it, as Captain Pratt's school ; and that is as good religiously as any of our contract schools. To be sure, that may be an exception : I believe it is. But such is the commissioner's plan. He thinks it is something that he can aim for, something finally to be achieved, to give us such schools through the Indian service.

Now, the question comes, Is that simply ideal, or is it practicable ? Are we to be pessimists in this matter ? or are we to be optimists ? I propose, just as far as I can, to be an optimist. I propose to believe what he says and accept his hopefulness just as far as I possibly can. I believe that, if he is confirmed and keeps his officers under him whom he chooses, he will go a great way in carrying out that which he has proposed. We have not had it in the past, but it is among the things to be hoped for in the future. But — and here is where the *but* comes in — we have not had it in the past, notwithstanding what Captain Pratt has said. I think the evidence is conclusive that we have not had it in the past ; and the evidence is pretty conclusive that the contract schools have had permanency of tenure for the teachers and high religious character. They have given a training which is more healthful by far than that given by the government schools. I remember that I was told once in Bulgaria that the students educated in French and Russian schools at the expense of the government had been of precious little use to the country, while the students educated at our Roberts College, under religious influences, had been those they had depended upon for the advancement of the nation. Now, can we hope for that same result to be secured through government schools ? I think in the long run, if we will

wait and be patient, the thing will be done. I think the public sentiment can be aroused to that extent. But, by that time, the Indian problem will be finished: they will be absorbed in the community. I think it will be safer to maintain the contract system without much enlargement. But let the government put this extra force on its own government schools. In time, the contract schools must be reduced; but now we are trying an experiment. The commissioner has made a proposition. The question is, Can he carry that on three years and twelve months? Can it be carried on five years? Can it be carried on to a new administration, assuming that he will be kept in office? If Captain Pratt were gone, I do not know what would become of that school. If General Morgan were gone, I do not know what would become of his plan. Now, can we not agree that, without any special enlargement of the contract school,—I personally will not ask for any enlargement,—we may keep these contract schools as an example, as a norm in the eye of the government schools, with their permanency of teachers' tenure and with their religious character, and that we shall attempt to bring all the government schools up to the level and plan of the best contract schools? that we will wait before we make any reduction? we will wait and see what is the success of this most admirable, this most beautiful plan, which is a credit to the heart which proposed it, and which can be carried out under the energy of this man and those associated with him, strengthened and supported by the conscience and Christian sentiment of the United States.

Miss ALICE M. ROBERTSON, Indian Territory.—Some of us in the West hailed with delight the appointment of General Morgan as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in spite of the many in that section, cattle men, "boomers," etc., who said with disgust, "They have put in an Eastern crank." There were some who, when they heard that I was coming to this conference, said: "Those people do not know anything about the Indians. They killed theirs all off long ago, and now they want to tell how ours should be managed." I like the Mohonk tribe better than such people.

Let me give you two pictures in connection with this subject of Indian schools. I had occasion to go into the office of the Superintendent of Indian schools some time back, during the incumbency of a former Superintendent. The Superintendent was busily engaged in conversation with a gentleman, but stopped long enough to introduce me to a lady who was waiting to finish her interrupted interview with him, saying to her, "Miss Robertson can tell you all about it, for she is in Indian school work herself." And so I sat down beside her to talk it over with her while we both waited to see the Superintendent. She told me that she was going out as matron in an Indian boarding-school, and that she was looking forward to it with great dread. Her whole appearance indicated that she was one who had seen better days, and her sweet Southern accent told where those better days had been spent. I began speaking encouragingly to her, and said: "The first thing you must do is to love them: they will soon understand you if you do, and will be easily controlled." "What! love *Indian children*!" She was sure that was impossible. She was only going into the work as her only means of obtaining a livelihood. She had come to Washington hoping to secure an appointment in one

of the departments, but, the quota of her State being already more than full, the two Senators had recommended her for this position, to which she was going with so much reluctance. She said she knew nothing of the work, and that her only object in going was to secure the salary. Of course she was unfitted for the position, and the Superintendent could not but acknowledge that fact, although he had appointed her under the pressure of the recommendation of two Senators. But what sort of work do you suppose that she would do in that Indian school?

Another picture. Somebody spoke about the ideal Indian school, earnestly desiring to know its location. I think I could inform him, did not modesty forbid. Near this school there had been held a grand council of Indians; and, on their return to their homes, some of the chiefs were invited to take dinner at the school. About forty accepted the invitation to which half a dozen had been expected to respond, and there was only an hour's time in which to prepare the repast. It may be imagined there was some very hurried preparation. This school is on the home plan, the girls living in cottage homes, under the care of "house mothers," who train them in all the womanly arts that help to make the home. In due time the guests sat down to dinner in the dining-rooms of the two cottages. In spite of their Indian reserve, they expressed their surprise and pleasure at all they saw, first at the dinner, with its to them unaccustomed table-cloths, napkins, etc., and its abundant, well-cooked food served by the Indian pupils; and then, as they were taken through the prettily furnished rooms, it was hard to make them believe that they were not all teachers' rooms. They could not understand it all. In the parlor one of the pupils, who had helped prepare and serve the dinner, sat down to the piano and played and sang for them. After all this they signified a desire for "a talk." One of the old chiefs, whom I know that Captain Pratt knows, said: "We like your Christian school, we are pleased with all that we have seen here, we want you to come out and start a school among us; for we see that you love the Indian children and treat them as if they were your own children. We want teachers among us who do not come just for the money that the government pays them." And, after their return to their reservation, they wrote letters back, asking to place children in the school.

The CHAIRMAN.—There does not seem to be such a difference of opinion here, after all. I am reminded of an incident that occurred in a colored church in St. Louis. A good colored preacher was preaching on the subject of Christian charity. There had been some little disturbance in the church. White churches have not a monopoly of this sort of thing. He said: "Remember, there are two sides to every question. It has been so from the beginning of the world. It was emphatically so in the time of Noah. Now, my brethren," he said, "remember that here in Missouri, a little time ago, we had the Bentonites and the anti-Bentonites; and then we had the Slaveryites and the anti-Slaveryites, and one believed in slavery, and the other didn't. It was so in the time of Noah and the flood. There were two great parties, the Diluvians and the anti-Diluvians. The Diluvians believed in the flood, and the anti-Diluvians did not believe in it." I believe, after the discussion to-night, we are all Diluvians.

We believe in a flood that shall wash away all the wrongs in the whole Indian school system. I have no doubt that, if our friend General Morgan can be permitted to carry out his policy and secure appropriations large enough, the government will enter upon a career that will pass beyond our highest expectations. Nobody thinks of stopping the present schools. I will do my utmost to improve them; but I believe that this scheme of General Morgan's should receive our hearty support.

Gen. MORGAN.—I have never been more embarrassed than I am just now; but I think that, before we close, there ought to be one or two things said. In the first place, I have been in various ways connected both with Christian schools and with public schools. I have been a teacher for seven years in a theological seminary; and I have been associated for many years with Christian colleges. I think, therefore, that I know a public school, and I know a Christian school. The discussion here to-night has proceeded on the assumption that the public school is not what it really is. I believe that the American nation is what it is to-day because of the American public school more than because of any one thing, except it may be the Christian family. I stood in Chicago three years ago in the presence of the largest assembly of American teachers ever gathered on this continent; and at every mention of the Bible in the schools, and at every mention of moral instruction in the schools, there was such a response from that audience that the spirit of God seemed to be there. We to-day are the fruit of the public schools of America, and there ought to be no word against them. If the heterogeneous masses that are coming to us from all parts of the world are to be melted and moulded into a homogeneous mass, if the children that come here with all their inherited prejudices from Germany and France, Italy, and all over the world, are to be blended into a great nationality, it will be because of the work done by the public schools. They seem to be God's machinery of assimilation. You say that they cannot do this for the Indians? Miss Robertson, with wonderful power, has painted a true picture. I want to draw another picture. Dr. Ward has said that Carlisle is an exception. Yes, perhaps. Mr. Welsh has told you that the politicians cripple every effort we can make. Is it so? There is an Indian training-school away out on the Pacific Coast. There was a change of administration, and there was a demand for a change of administration in that school. The politicians said, We want an Oregonian at the head of it. Now, who was that dreadful politician? A Christian Senator, coming to me in the interest of the school. Whom did he recommend for the head of that school? A Methodist clergyman, a man of the highest character. I appointed him, "Home Rule" and all; and now we have another Carlisle on the Pacific Coast, with a Christian minister at the head of it. A letter came to me yesterday, stating what he wanted to make of that school, and asking me that I might surround him with those in sympathy and harmony with him. That is one picture.

We have in Kansas a school that is capable of being made one of the great institutions of this land for the doing of this work. I have recently had the pleasure of appointing as the head of that school Mr. C. F. Meserve, a Christian man, a college graduate, an experienced

teacher, a man of irreproachable character, a man of affairs, who enters upon his task saying, "I believe that God calls me to this work." I have put into the school as matron Mrs. Haskell, widow of the man for whom the school was named, a woman of experience and great ability, who takes upon her heart these children. She is surrounded with Christian women who are doing that work because it is God's work. Instead of denouncing the government schools, and taking pessimistic views of them, we should say, In the Providence of God, the time has come for the Christian men and women of America to say to Congress, "We demand that these schools for the Indian boys and girls shall be equal to the high schools and the grammar and primary schools, that have done so much for white boys and girls." To such an appeal I am sure there would be a response. I believe the time has come when we must recognize that the work done by Captain Pratt is God's work, is Christian work; that these seven hundred boys and girls are being lifted up to Christian manhood and womanhood,—all that Mr. Welsh in that most glowing address has asked for. Give the government your confidence and your support and help to make them all that they should be.

Now, about the contract schools. Practically, I have been brought to deal with a difficult question. I gave every dollar that I could spare, and have weakened my hands. There are many government schools that need our support; but I have not the money. It has been given to the contract schools. We have impoverished government schools in our effort to help contract schools. I have not in the paper I read uttered a solitary word as to what I would do with contract schools in the future. I am looking for light. I am prepared to strike hands with anybody on that question, and do that which is wisest. But the difficulties of administration, when you come to distribute money among the contract schools, are great and perplexing. I am not prepared to say that I will not continue every contract school that is in existence. I have uttered no word about withdrawing the support from those schools that already exist. The question is an open one. Justice Strong touched a very tender point that lies at the basis of this matter; and that is that we ought to devise such a system of schools for these Indians that in the transition period, when they pass from the condition they are now in, they shall carry with them a system of public schools that they can operate for themselves, especially that we develop the day schools in such a way that the Indians can manage them. Then, when they pass out into citizenship, they are not at the mercy of any change of administration, or at the mercy of any varying contribution of Christian benevolence.

Pardon me for just one word more. Twenty-five years ago, as a young man, with faith in God that he would break the bonds of slavery, I entered the army as a private soldier. The war overturned slavery, and wrought the greatest social revolution that the history of the world has ever seen. The marvellous progress made now by the Southern negro has largely been brought about by two great factors,—by a common school system devised for them, such as I believe ought to be devised for the Indian by the government, supplemented by Christian schools, maintained by Christian philanthropy. All over the South are Christian schools, planted and supported by Christian benevolence. The Baptist denomination has

planted them everywhere. So far as I know, they have never asked for a dollar from the government. They have paid it out of their own pockets, because they believe in God and Christian education. Now, I say that the same thing will do for the Indian. Give them through the government a system of secular training. That will reach all of them, and then let you and I and all Christian men of all sects and creeds in the land put our hands in our pockets and establish Christian schools, churches, and all other Christian agencies. I believe that is what we are coming to.

Miss MINNIE J. WHITTAKER.—I want to speak a word for the women. I have been working for five years, with Christian hearts and hands behind me. It is hard for me to hear this talk about overburdened churches. Now, gentlemen, if you can be chilled that way, very well; but the women are not going to be. If the time comes, the women will show that our missionary work can go on just as grandly as ever.

Dr. BUCKLEY.—Caution often resembles pessimism, but it is distinguished from it by the fact that the pessimist is weak in the heart. While the cautious man may be strong in the heart, he uses his head in order to understand where he is going. John the Baptist was so cautious that, under embarrassed circumstances, he was not quite certain that the day he had predicted had come; and we may be pardoned a little hesitation. So far as I can ascertain, by private intercourse with the members of the Conference, no document has ever made a more enthusiastic impression than General Morgan's paper to-day. The questions that have arisen have had respect to matters which he has efficiently disposed of, as to the immediate future of the work in which the churches are engaged. So far as I understand, he has not expressed himself with reference to this problem. If that be true, there is no reason why the entire convention cannot most heartily indorse his plan.

Gen. MORGAN.—I have said that, with the light I had, I was opposed to extending the contract system; but I have not said that I would remove or interfere with the contract schools that now exist. That question is many-sided and far-reaching, and must have careful consideration before a definite conclusion can be reached and a final policy adopted.

Third Session.

SPECIAL INDIAN TRIBES.

Thursday, Oct. 3, 1889.

The Conference met at ten o'clock, General Fisk in the chair. Mr. J. W. Davis read the report of the Mohonk Committee for Legal Assistance to the Mission Indians.

THE MISSION INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA.

Every thorough redemptive work includes much patient, hidden labor, scarcely less important than the open struggles which attract public attention. Your committee has had the past year a term of inconspicuous but not unfruitful duty, following the more prominent victory in the Saboba suit, reported at the last Conference.

Just as we wend hither, we receive word that, in a case of aggression on Indian land that has been contested for years, the decision of the Local Land Office has now been confirmed by the General Land Office at Washington, to which appeal has been made. The case has fully illustrated the proverbial obstacles and delays of the law, but the result compensates for the labor and watchfulness so long bestowed upon it.

Another case, bequeathed to our care from Mrs. Jackson, of similarly old seizure of land with bloodshed, has been redeemed from a very unpromising condition in a court five hundred miles distant, and suit received and carried into the neighboring United States Court for Southern California, with fresh hope of success.

Again, a reservation has been secured from government of one township within which two Indian villages were located, but unprotected by any legal rights, which steps will temporarily preserve their homes till government can reach the work of allotment in severalty.

Government work is not without liability to mistakes; and Mr. Lewis, known to many of you as our field agent, has in two cases secured correction of errors of many years' standing, in government surveys and records, affecting Indian interests.

The Interior Department has recognized the urgent need of surveys at points over the whole Indian field, but, with limited appropriations, could respond only in part to the various calls. To a very limited extent, therefore, where the legal work of your committee has required immediate survey, this has been made at our expense. The settling on regular homesteads under the severalty law is delayed among the Mission Indians, as well as elsewhere, for this pre-

liminary work of surveys; and it is to be hoped that Congress will early make liberal provision for the Executive to proceed with vigor with both survey and allotment through the whole field, in which case some progress could soon be made among these scattered California bands. But in no other section is the work complicated with so numerous and difficult questions of water supply and insufficient land.

For the solution of these questions by special commissioners, provision was made in the proposed Mission Indian Bill which passed the Senate in the last Congress, but was crowded aside in the House. Your committee, therefore, still believe that the interests of both whites and Indians could be most speedily and justly served by the passage of a bill of the same general tenor and purpose. The work should not, however, be delayed for any uncertain action of Congress, but meanwhile be pressed under the severalty act; for in Southern California, as elsewhere, the local press spends much of its energy in urging the breaking up of the reservations and the removal of the Indians, giving an exaggerated impression of the size and value of the reserves, the number and condition of the Indians, and their injurious effect upon the welfare of the country. Such attacks are supposed to emanate from the whole body of settlers in the vicinity of the different Indian settlements; but, to the close observer, it is evident that, while they influence to some degree the feeling of whole communities, they are chiefly inspired by a few seeking private gain.

In California there is less ground for jealousy of the breadth of Indian reserves than in some other sections; for, including the most barren and elevated mountain lands, which constitute a large proportion, there is not enough to give each Indian the quota to which he is entitled under the severalty law. Many of the bands into which these Indians are divided are so far prepared for immediate allotment as to make this eminently desirable, to terminate these attacks upon the reservations and the discouraging uncertainty with which the Indians view the tenure of their homes.

The appointment of Mr. Lewis to an important office in the Indian service has terminated his connection with us, but not, it is hoped, with the work for the Mission Indians, it being understood to be the purpose of the honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs to avail himself of his experience in the California field, as it may be needed, in connection with other wider service. Otherwise, we should part with Mr. Lewis with even deeper regret than we now do. Of his work, we are glad to testify, from the letters of earnest, watchful residents of California as well as from our own oversight, that it has been with deep, conscientious interest on his part, securing the confidence alike of the Indians and of disinterested white residents. An extract from a letter from Mr. Jacob Bergman, a resident of twenty-seven years, thoroughly acquainted with the two counties, San Diego and San Bernardino, will suffice:—

In regard to the benefits derived from the work of Mr. Lewis among the Mission Indians, words cannot express it. He has benefited them more in his two years' service, and accomplished more, than the Indian Agency has in twelve years. This young man, Mr. Lewis, when he came out here, from first to last, went at his

work in earnest, to accomplish what he was sent for. There was not a night too dark or a day too hot for him to attend to his duty. He made a complete success of it. If he could have been retained here, I think it would have been much better for the Indians as well as for the whites. First, he had corporations and capital to contend against; and, second, the rough element of the country. He worked hard, and many times did without the necessities of life. The Indians placed explicit confidence in him, and do so to this day. They are frequently here inquiring for him. Mr. Lewis completely checked illegal doings, and many feared to come in contact with him.

And just at this point we touch some of the vital results of his service. Through the union of judicial moderation and firmness, he has not only commanded the respect of those he has antagonized, but abated to some degree the bitterness of the prejudice against our work as that of impractical sentimentalists,—itself no slight gain. Some of the local press may continue to fulminate against Eastern interference; but such representatives of California thought as the *Overland Monthly*, the *Argonaut*, and others, more truly present the increasing spirit of fairness and philanthropy toward the Indians there.

Another result set forth in our previous reports as a special purpose in view from the first has, to a very encouraging extent, been realized. The Indians have not only had a great regard for "the Abogado [the lawyer] who was working for them without pay" (as they described Mr. Lewis), but, because of his work, have acquired new courage, and raised greatly increased crops, and some are building new houses. This moral as well as material result is easily underestimated.

Such confidence and a proper degree of manly self-assertion may be of slow growth and of slow extension to all; but, with the faithful administration which can be relied upon by the highly esteemed new agent, Mr. H. N. Rust, carrying forward and extending the good work of his predecessor, Colonel Preston, and with the continuance of the government legal work by its experienced special attorney, Shirley C. Ward, Esq., these results may prove to be the initial steps toward a much fuller redemption of character and condition.

The new attitude of the Indians under government instructions in the matter of straying cattle illustrates the progress in courage and self-assertion, and the consequent more nearly equal relations between the whites and the Indians. Heretofore, it has been a frequent experience with the Indians to have their cattle seized and held for a fine on charges of straying off the Indian land, while white settlers' cattle have strayed upon and often been regularly pastured on Indian land with impunity. The late agent, Colonel Preston, gave explicit directions to the captain of one band to corral all such cattle on their lands, and hold them until twenty-five cents per day damages was paid them. But, until their courage had been revived by the legal work done among them, even a government order would not have emboldened them to take such a stand.

Your committee would respectfully suggest their continuance for one more year. The work demanding their care is happily lessening with the lessening of the funds in hand; and, without discussing here

the method of action for another year, we shall endeavor to place the work in such condition that a final report may be made at the next Conference.

The Treasurer's report is herewith submitted.

On behalf of the Committee,

PHILIP C. GARRETT.

MOSES PIERCE.

JOSHUA W. DAVIS.

RECEIPTS.

Balance from previous account, Sept. 26, 1888,	\$1,171.07
Collected on the subscriptions for \$1,800, remaining subject to call at that date, leaving \$360 still unpaid,	1,440.00
Interest received,	10.87
Total credit,	<u>\$2,621.94</u>

DISBURSEMENTS.

Salary of Mr. F. D. Lewis, Sept. 1, 1888, to Aug. 13, 1889, the close of his service, 11 mos., 12 dys., at \$1,000 per year,	\$948.95
Expenses, including his travelling expenses and those of witnesses not recoverable in court, cost of a survey, and journey to Washington for work in Land Office and Department records,	1,126.00
Total salary and expenses,	<u>\$2,074.95</u>
Less advanced and charged in last year's account,	213.06
Making net payment this year,	<u>\$1,861.89</u>
To which add witness fees advanced, but recoverable from the United States,	74.60
Total disbursements,	<u>1,936.49</u>
Leaving cash in bank, with subscriptions \$360 not yet paid,	<u>\$685.45</u>

J. W. DAVIS, *Treasurer.*

The undersigned have examined the accounts of Joshua W. Davis, Treasurer of the Committee on Legal Assistance to the Mission Indians of the Mohonk Lake Indian Conference, and find them correct, by comparison of his payments with the vouchers, there being a balance in his hands due the committee at this date of six hundred and eighty-five dollars and forty-five cents (\$685.45).

Sept. 15, 1889.

PHILIP C. GARRETT.

MOSES PIERCE.

On motion of Mr. Herbert Welsh, a vote of thanks was extended to the committee for their valuable work, with the recommendation that the committee be continued, as suggested in this report.

Gen. MORGAN.—I asked the secretary to appoint Mr. Lewis as special agent, because I believed that he more fully than any available person represented the work of this Conference; and I have assigned him to Southern Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and Southern California, and directed him to give special attention to education. He will go soon to the Mission Indians, to finish up the work with reference to their lands.

Mr. PHILIP C. GARRETT.—I think the Conference may congratulate itself upon this deviation from its usual course in dealing with

generalities only. Considering the small amount of money at the command of the committee, I think the amount of good accomplished among the Mission Indians has been very great. They have been singularly fortunate in having Mr. Lewis among them; for the influence he has left behind him, as well as the work he has bestowed while there, has been considerable, and in the future will bear fruit, especially through the appointment given to him now. In regard to the bill referred to in the report, the committee think it desirable, and hope that General Whittlesey and Mr. Painter will urge its passage substantially as it now stands. It may be expedient to introduce a clause providing that the division of the lands in severalty shall be made in accordance with the provisions of the Dawes Bill; but essentially the Mission Indians Bill, as it has been introduced, I think ought to be passed.

The treasurer, Mr. Augustus Taber, then read his report for the last year, which was approved.

By invitation of the chairman, General Morgan made a few suggestions as to how members of the Conference might help the Indian Commissioner.

The next subject assigned for the morning was "The Indian Problem in New York State." It was introduced by the following paper prepared by request by Rev. F. F. Ellinwood, D.D., of New York:—

THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN NEW YORK.

BY REV. F. F. ELLINWOOD, D.D.

It is an acknowledged fact that to the Indian League of the Iroquois we are indebted for an influence which greatly affected our possession of this country. This fact has been strongly asserted by such statesmen as DeWitt Clinton and Horatio Seymour. It is also recognized in the recent report of the Legislative Commission, who were appointed to examine the condition and relation of the New York Indians. "We fairly owe it to the League of the Iroquois," says the report, "to give credit not only for their actual efforts on the field of battle, not only for their brave and successful defence of our north-western boundary against French assaults, but as well for having conquered and held for Anglo-Saxon civilization the larger and fairer portion of our country beyond the Alleghanies."

This friendship with the English as against the French was due partly to an early and unfortunate attack made upon the Mohawks by the French General Champlain and a band of Hurons, and partly to the influence of that able and sagacious British statesman, Sir William Johnson.

It becomes us, even at this late day, to remember how much our title to this great heritage cost the Indians; and to remember the trying position in which they were placed, first as between the French and the English in the earlier wars, and finally between the English and the Colonists in the struggle for independence. They fought through many campaigns with the gloomy consciousness that, whichever party should win, they, the original possessors of the soil, must come to naught; and there is no more plaintive eloquence of despair to be found in human records than in the speeches of Logan, Hendrick, Red Jacket, and others, in relation to their wrongs.

It is true that most of the tribes of the Iroquois took sides against us in our Revolutionary struggle, but we must at least honor the stability of their plighted faith to their British allies. That the Oneidas took the part of the Colonists was unquestionably due to the influence of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who, as a mere youth of twenty-two years, had found his way through the unbroken forests of the Mohawk Valley, in the depth of winter, as a missionary of the cross. Few histories more clearly demonstrate the value of missionary effort among the Indians, even in its political aspect, than that of this noble apostle to the Iroquois. His relation to the early religious history of Central New York affords one of many instances in which missionary agencies, at first designed for the red man, proved even more beneficial to the new settlements of the whites. Hamilton College grew out of the germ of Kirkland's Indian boarding-school, as the labors of Edwards in a similar school became a permanent legacy of blessing to the people of Stockbridge.

But I must select from many interesting facts a few which have a special bearing and importance.

I believe it may be said that, from the beginning, the most permanent influences for good which have been exerted upon the Indians of New York have been the result of missionary instruction, as distinguished from all measures of the State. This was eminently true of the Oneidas, who still show traces of the influence of Samuel Kirkland. The loyalty in which he held them in our great struggle for liberty raised a barrier between the fierce Mohawks and Onondagas, and crippled the League of the Iroquois as an otherwise powerful force against us. They have always been faithful. They have never been paupers. For Indians, they have been thrifty and, in the main, religious. When they left New York State, they numbered 785: there are now 1,700.

Another illustration of the influence of religious training is found in the history of the Mohawks. They were the most uncompromising in their hostility to the Colonies, and the most savage in their warfare of all the Six Nations. At the close of the Revolution, they were removed from the State, and were rewarded for their loyalty to the British Crown by grants of land near Brantford, Canada. Almost from the first, a missionary organization in England began operations among them, establishing industrial boarding-schools for both sexes as their main reliance. These institutions are still maintained, and their fruits are seen in the successive generations who have grown up in the use of the English language, and with a fair degree of industry. No paganism remains, and there is probably as large a per cent. of Christian people as among the white populations around them.

It is little to our credit that the tribe which most bitterly opposed us and fled from us has fared better in a foreign land than those who have remained among us, faithful to their treaties of peace. And, if we desire a significant contrast between the influence of the Christian boarding-school and that of government day schools, we can hardly do better than to place the Mohawks beside the Onondagas, whose low moral condition has been so graphically described by Judge Draper and Bishop Huntington.

A third instance is found among the St. Regis Indians. They are

probably the only tribe of any size now in the State of whom none are pagans. And they are chiefly Roman Catholics.* It would be a very hasty conclusion, however, to infer that the Catholic *cultus* has proved superior to Protestant influence in an even contest. To make the case clear, it is necessary to go back to a very early period of their history. During the first half of the eighteenth century, strenuous efforts were made by the French Jesuits of Canada to draw the Six Nations into a religious and political alliance with France. When at length they failed, they withdrew their converts, chiefly Mohawks, to the banks of the St. Lawrence. The St. Regis Indians, therefore, were not an original tribe, but a Roman Catholic colony. By subsequent migration, they had increased to over a thousand souls when the boundary established on the 54th parallel left something less than three hundred in New York.

In all candor be it said that the religious care of the St. Regis Indians has been most faithful. Their French priest, Father Mauville, has now over two thousand Indians under his care; and his large flock are regular in their church attendance, many of them crossing the river, and some of them travelling many miles. The schools on the reservation are supported by the government, but are under the priest's instruction, and are in a sense religious schools. They are by no means models, however; and only an average of one-fifth of the children of school age are in attendance.

We come next to the Tuscaroras and the Senecas. The Tuscaroras, who after their adoption by the Iroquois occupied a part of the lands of the Oneidas until the sale of their reserve, shared the religious privileges of that tribe; and the recent report of the Legislative Commission speaks of them as more enlightened and better educated than any other tribe now in the State. There is scarcely a trace of paganism among them, and more than one-half are members of the church. Of what other community could this be said?

As to the Senecas on the Cattaraugus and Alleghany Reservations, they show clear traces of the missionary labors put forth by the veterans Asher Wright, William Hall, and others. Christian people are numbered by hundreds. That these tribes have not been more completely moulded is partly due to peculiar obstacles. The Cattaraugus Reservation has always been the asylum for straggling fragments from all the other tribes, and it has all along been hampered by the tribal supremacy of the persistently heathen Onondagas.

The Alleghany Reservation, being forty miles in length and one mile wide, has suffered greatly from the white settlements. Our civilization has smitten it on both cheeks, so to speak, and at short range. Even on the reservation six flourishing villages have been established, and three or four railroads have been built. On every hand, whiskey is convenient, if not of first quality; and the vices of low-lived whites have been aggressive and baneful. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the commissioner's report speaks in praise of the success of the missionary effort now put forth. During the last year, two churches have been dedicated on the Alleghany Reservation, for which the Indians themselves have paid nearly one-half the cost.

* There are some earnest Methodists and Episcopalians.

As compared with the Tonawandas and the Onondagas, among whom much less missionary work has been done, the Senecas on both reservations show a fair record.

But I should fail to present the full case in behalf of religious education among the Six Nations, were I to omit the noble work of the Society of Friends. They especially have illustrated the value of Christian Industrial boarding-schools as compared with the day-school system adopted by the State. It is a remarkable fact that New York has never inaugurated a boarding-school among the Indians; and I believe that the chief reason why heathenism still exists is to be found in the strange neglect to supplement the missionary work with liberal measures of this kind.

The brightest spot discovered by the Legislative Commission was the Thomas Orphan Asylum, founded by the Society of Friends, but more recently adopted and supported by the State. There children and youth who are so fortunate as to be orphans are blessed with a prolonged and exclusive religious training. The commissioner's report speaks of this institution as a model, and from repeated visits I can indorse the report.

Another boarding-school established and still supported by the Friends is situated in South Valley, near the Alleghany Reservation. This has been in existence over ninety years. Amid all the dark shadows of what Helen Hunt Jackson has called "a century of dishonor," this school has stood as a protest and as a real exemplification of the Christ-like spirit. Among the many things which it has demonstrated is this,—that the Indians may be trained to prize Christian education for their children. There are always more applications at South Valley than can be met. If the aid of the State could have been given, so that the accommodations could have been quadrupled, it certainly would have been a wise outlay.

As to the common schools among the Senecas, they have been greatly improved under Superintendent Draper's administration; and yet he says in his report:—

After considerable personal investigation, I have formed the opinion that to prepare Indian children for citizenship something more than day schools is necessary. That they have natural qualities and characteristics which are capable of being trained, the results which I have witnessed at the Thomas Asylum for orphan Indian children abundantly prove. The work there is successful, however, because the children are so fortunate as to be orphans and remain in the institution continually. It is necessary to have entire control over them, to wash and comb and dress and discipline and teach them, before lasting good will follow. Parents are commonly indifferent and frequently opposed to their going to school, for the reason that, the more they get of the white man's education, the more danger there is of the disappearance of the last vestige of the Indian tribes. Under such circumstances, the wretched home influences more than counterbalance the work of the day schools.

If it be asked, What are some of the obstacles which invest the Indian problem in our State? I reply that the first difficulty lies just here in this matter of education. As to moral elevation, the day school among New York Indians must be considered well-nigh a failure. Fifty years of the system, almost within sound of the church bells of Syracuse, have left paganism still dominant and defiant. Yet the State is committed to that system, and seems little likely to adopt any other.

As to opening missionary boarding-schools, the following facts will illustrate the difficulty. In February last, the council of the Tona-wandas offered to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions a large building, with an eighty-acre farm, for an industrial boarding-school. It had been built a dozen years ago, chiefly by the State, for that very purpose, but had never been opened. The Board seemed very favorably disposed toward the enterprise, and I went on to the ground and inspected the property. The Indians promised to fill the school from the start.

But, on corresponding with Superintendent Draper, I learned two things; namely, that, in his opinion, the State would not contribute anything toward the expense of such a school, which would be too heavy for the Board alone, and, second, that there might be some friction between this school and the day schools in the vicinity. And, indeed, it seemed very probable that, without some mutual understanding regulating the age and the grade of admission to the high school, the more shiftless Indians would simply remove their children thither for the sake of having them boarded and clothed.

The Board, therefore, felt compelled to relinquish the project. And yet I am convinced that a vigorous co-operation between the State and some missionary organization might overcome all obstacles and gain a noble success.

A second complication in the problem of the New York Indians is the peculiar status of the land titles and the difficulty of securing a division thereof in severalty. When the French and English were contending for the supremacy here, the French based their claim upon the right of discovery; but the English derived their title from an informal treaty with the Iroquois. Whatever may have been our inconsistencies, the binding and supreme force of Indian treaties was the ground on which we then took our stand. The plea which the British government presented to the French Council in 1755, concerning what was known as the "Ohio country," ran as follows: "What the Court of Great Britain asserts and insists upon is this: that the five Iroquois nations are either originally or by conquest the lawful proprietors of the territory of Ohio in question." And it was upon this principle that the State of New York has from time to time purchased what were regarded as real titles to Indian lands.

But the land tenures existing among these tribes rest also on other grounds. Of the tract owned by the Tuscaroras, 1,280 acres were deeded to them by the Seneca chiefs. This grant was overlooked in their subsequent sale to the Holland Land Company; but that company, of its own accord, ratified the deed. And it is easy to see that, if that company had a recognizable title, then the title which they gave to the Tuscaroras must have had an equal validity, except the company's reserved right of purchase.

Another larger tract of 4,320 acres was purchased for the Tuscaroras with money paid them by the general government for lands previously held in North Carolina. That purchase the State cannot well ignore. The title to the Cattaraugus and Alleghany Reservations was the result of a compromise treaty formed at Buffalo Creek in 1842, in the presence of a United States Commissioner, by which the Ogden Company released to the Senecas the whole of those two reservations, on condition that they should surrender the reserva-

tions of Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda, the Ogden Company retaining a pre-emption right to purchase.

The Tonawandas hold their land on the basis of a treaty ratified and proclaimed March, 1859, by which they actually purchased from the Ogden Company 7,547 acres of their own reservation, paying at the rate of \$20 an acre, or a total of \$165,000. This was drawn from a fund given them by the United States government, in settlement of claims to certain Western lands.

That division of land in severalty is desirable, if made in the interest of the Indians, cannot be doubted; but how can these titles be disposed of in such an arrangement? My own belief is that the best way to reach personal ownership and citizenship will be to first gain the confidence of the Indians by an assurance that citizenship shall be just as sacred with them as with the white man, and that legislation is not a device to alienate their lands, and meanwhile to carry forward that true and moral elevation in which the religious element must always prevail.

A third difficulty in the case is that of the marriage problem. Just how much can the State accomplish in such a reform? We have laws regulating marriage, but none to regulate the *want* of marriage, which is the difficulty complained of. We have laws which regulate divorce; but can there be laws to prevent heartless desertion among either Indians or white men? Whatever may be done by legislation, *the great remedy* must be found in moral elevation, and that can never be accomplished by learning to "read, write, and cipher" in a common day school, while the corrupt family influence of which Judge Draper speaks is still in full force. Nor will the result be gained by placing white men on alternate farms. The history of such contact is all against the theory. Nor will this end be brought about by public sentiment. The Indians care nothing for the white man's social ideas: they prefer their own. They are suspicious, and have reason to be. They cannot forget the history of greed which has driven them to bay; and they look upon our civilization as only the pathway to their doom.

What, then, ought to be done for the New York Indians? I can only give, with some hesitancy, a personal opinion.

1. The laws of the State should supplant all tribal laws and the tyranny of chiefs and councils, and apply with full force to Indians as well as to white men. So far and no farther should the tribal organizations be broken up. We have no more right to interfere with them as guilds than we have to break up the Saint Patrick societies or the order of Masons. They have as good a right to their head sachem as Tammany Hall. If our New England societies claim the privilege of perpetuating their traditions, why not the Indians? And the less we say and write about a violent breaking up of their tribal organizations, the less harmful antagonism will be produced. There is a more excellent way.

2. There should be, if possible, compulsory attendance upon the day schools, though even that will only partially avail, so long as there is no order, no note of time, no promptness, no desire for education, and no correct moral influence in the family.

3. The State should make generous provision for the higher education of boarding-school pupils, selected from the day schools. In

my opinion, the best method of effecting this would be just that which the government of India adopts; namely, to offer *pro rata* grants in aid to all religious bodies who will undertake the work.

Finally, the one great aim to be borne in mind is to radically change and elevate the tone of sentiment within the tribe. This cannot be done from without. Hostile criticism and coercive legislation will only provoke resistance. We have seen also why the day school cannot accomplish it. It can only be done by a prolonged and exclusive training of the best young men and women till they, inspired by the ethics of the gospel, shall raise their brothers and sisters, their friends and neighbors, to a higher and purer life. As to the legal aspects of the land problem, the complex claims of land companies, the effect of *bona fide* but tribal purchases, on the question of ownership in severalty, I have nothing to offer.

Rev. WILLIAM S. HUBBELL, D.D., of Buffalo, opened the discussion which followed, and expressed himself as indorsing most heartily the statements and recommendations with which Dr. Ellinwood closed his paper. Dr. Hubbell then proceeded to examine in detail the condition of the Indians of New York State. He pointed out what he regarded as errors of fact in the reports of Judge Draper, Superintendent of Public Instruction in New York, concerning the Indian reservations in that State. Judge Draper replied at length, and explained and defended the statements of his reports. Both speakers eventually found a point of cordial agreement in the resolution in the platform relating to the condition of Indians in the State of New York.

Mr. MOSES PIERCE suggested that there is but one course to be pursued, and that is to take from twenty to fifty grown boys from this reservation in New York and send them to Carlisle or to Hampton, and they will come back and fully regenerate the Indians on these reservations. To confirm this view, Mr. Pierce read an extract from a letter from Miss Alice C. Fletcher, who, he said, ought to be appointed prime minister of common sense on the Indian question.

The CHAIRMAN.—The discussion of the morning simply confirms us in the view that the Indians in the reservation have made all the progress they can under the existing conditions. In a talk last night with Miss Robertson, one of the most intelligent members of this Conference, I learned that the Indian Territory is very much in the same condition. The educated men of the civilized tribes are setting the country right about it. We have had a hundred years of the reservation in New York; and what slow growth there has been! It suggests a little incident. A man was talking to me, not long ago, about the slow growth of a certain political party, which I will not name. He said there was an old colored man who, if he could get a job for whiskey, always preferred it to cash. He was asked to dig a post-hole; and the man who engaged him said, "I will give you the best drink you ever had." After the work was accomplished, he took him into his pantry, and said, "That whiskey is seven years old." He poured out a thimbleful in a glass, and gave it to him. The old colored gentleman held it up to the light. "Boss," he said, "did not you say that this was seven years old?" "Yes." "Don't

you think it is monstrous small of its age?" That illustrates the small growth of progress on Indian reservations. We must develop the manhood of this people as we develop our own. We must protect and punish them with the same laws that protect and punish us. We must adopt the rule of that eminent philosopher and poet of Massachusetts, Hosea Biglow, when speaking of the great Southern problem and discussing the franchise for the black man. He said,—

"This is the great American idee,
To make a man a man, and then to let him be."

Rev. Mr. HARDING.—I should like to know if any one in this Conference can give us an account of the remnant of the Stockbridge Indians. I am pretty well acquainted with their history in Stockbridge; but they drifted and drifted, and now I would like to know their condition. I understand that they have never lost the power and influence of the civilization that surrounded them in Stockbridge.

Prof. PAINTER stated in reply that the Stockbridge Indians are now living in Wisconsin. In place of the verbal report called forth by the question, we print a copy of an official report prepared and submitted by Professor Painter:—

THE STOCKBRIDGE INDIANS OF WISCONSIN.

STATEMENT OF THEIR CASE BY PROF. C. C. PAINTER.

For the sake of clearness, it should be premised that in this contention the terms "Citizens' Party" and "Indian Party" have no appropriateness and are misleading.

The terms "Ousted Party" and "Ousting Party" would be more accurate. Both parties belong to the Indians as designated on the enrolling lists provided for by the act of 1871.

It should also be premised that, so far as the equities of the case are concerned, there is no necessity for going back of the treaty of 1856, because all differences and difficulties existing in the tribe up to the date of that treaty became by it *res adjudicata*, and rightfully have no standing in this controversy, but for the sake of historical clearness may pertinently be briefly mentioned.

In response to requests made by a part of the tribe, then living on the east side of Lake Winnebago, Wisconsin, Congress, by an act passed March 3, 1843, declared the whole tribe, Stockbridges and Munsees, citizens of the United States, and authorized their lands to be patented to them. This did not lessen, but rather increased, the dissensions which had grown up among them. All were made citizens by act of Congress, regardless of their wishes. By act passed Aug. 6, 1846, Congress undid this wholesale act by one equally wholesale in its character, and restored all the tribe back to the tribal relation as Indians, regardless of their wishes, just as if the act of March 3, 1843, had never been passed. (Vol. ix. p. 55, Statutes.)

This act provided that those who wished might enroll themselves as citizens; but, as it was provided that those doing so "shall forfeit all rights to receive any portion of the annuity which may be or may become due the nation," none enrolled under this provision. (Ex

Doc. No. 1, 1st Sess. 30th Cong. Also "Report Indian Commissioner" for 1854, p. 39.)

As it was found impossible to carry out the provisions of the act of 1846, and difficulties rather increased, a new treaty was made Nov. 20, 1848. This was made with the Indian party. The former article required that patents should be issued to those who had become citizens; but none had so enrolled themselves, and by their own act become citizens. The act of 1843 had made citizens of all, the act of 1846 had restored all to their status as Indians; and none had seen fit to cut themselves off from their share in the funds of the tribe by signing the roll provided for in the last-named act, but by this treaty of 1848 a minority of the tribe put the majority on the roll of citizens, and so cut them off from their share of the tribal funds so long as the government attempted to carry out its provisions. Their affairs grew from bad to worse; and, in 1855, Commissioner Manypenny, after a personal investigation, recommended a new treaty and the purchase of a new reservation. Provision was made in the Indian Appropriation Bill of March 3, 1855, for a commission; and a treaty was negotiated June 1, 1855, which was not approved, because it made no provision for the rights of whites who had in good faith purchased land from Indians who had been made citizens by the act of 1843.

Under instructions of Jan. 7, 1856, another treaty was made Feb. 5, 1856, with the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians (vol. xi. p. 63, Statutes), "for the purpose of relieving those Indians from their complicated difficulties by which they are surrounded, and to establish comfortably together all such of the Stockbridges and Munsees, wherever they may be located, in Wisconsin, in the State of New York, or west of the Mississippi." By this treaty, these Indians ceded what lands they had at Stockbridge, Wis., acquired under the treaty of 1831, the lands given them in Minnesota by the treaty of 1848, and the funds set apart for them by that treaty, and for this acquired the lands purchased for them at Shawano from the Menomonees by treaty of Feb. 11, 1856, and certain funds.

This new treaty provided, in Article 3, for patented allotments in severalty for all actual members of the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians, their heirs and legal representatives, and required that such must go to this new reservation within two years from the time the treaty was signed. Article 17 provides that "so much of the treaty of 1839 (September 3) and of Nov. 4, 1848, as are in contravention of this treaty or in conflict with the stipulations of this treaty, is hereby abrogated and annulled."

The allotments provided for were made immediately after the purchase of the new reservation, under the direction of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs; and the record is on file at the agent's office at Keshena, Green Bay Agency. The government failed to issue patents to the allottees, as it had covenanted to do.

A part of the Indians failed, according to their own admission, to remove to the new reservation within the two years, not removing until 1859, but were allowed to have allotments. These are the ones who chiefly compose what I have designated the "Ousting Party" in the present contention. Some of them are not of Stockbridge or Munsee blood, are not signers of the treaty of 1856 under which



these lands were procured, and were not on the reservation within the prescribed time in order to have a home on it. There was dissatisfaction on the part of many because of the quality of the land; but, on the whole, there seemed to be a settlement of the old difficulties until they were stirred up again by the legislation enacted Feb. 6, 1871, "for the relief of the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians." This, it has been charged, and apparently truthfully, was procured jointly by the old Indian party—or the "ousters"—and a "lumber ring," without the knowledge or consent of the Indians at large. This act provided for an appraisal of their lands at not less than \$1.25 per acre (excepting eighteen sections, which were to be appraised at 60 cents, and withheld from sale for the settlement of the Indians), and including the pine timber at not less than \$1.00 per thousand and for the improvements which had been made, which were to be credited to the parties who had made them. The manner of advertising and sale of their land, timber, and improvements was prescribed. The expenses of appraisal and sale and the debts of the tribe were first to be paid out of the proceeds. Then individuals were to be paid for the improvements they had made. Two rolls were to be presented; and those wishing to become citizens were to be paid their *pro rata* share of the property, and withdraw from the tribe, and all their interest in the reservation to cease. Those wishing to remain Indians were to take their lands on the eighteen sections reserved from sale. Those who signed the citizens' roll were so paid, and withdrew, and are not parties to this present contention. All who remained either choose to remain as Indians or were refused permission to sign either roll.

The present difficulties grew out of the enrolment provided for in Section 6 and the manner in which it was carried out. This article provided . . . "that no person of full age shall be entered upon said citizen roll without his or her full and free consent, personally given to the persons superintending such enrolment. Nor shall any person, or his or her descendants, be entered upon either of said rolls who may have heretofore separated from said tribes and received allotment of lands under act of Congress for relief of the Stockbridge Indians of March 3, 1843, and amendment Aug. 6, 1846, or under treaty of Feb. 5, 1856."

Now, it will be remembered that all were made citizens by the act of 1843. No one could separate from his tribe by taking an allotment under it, for the tribe as such was destroyed. The act of 1846 restored the tribe, and undid all that the act of 1843 had done, and put affairs just where they would have been, had that act never passed. No one ever signed the citizens' roll provided for in that act, or ever became a citizen under it. If any one should be disqualified from signing either roll provided for in this section (6, act 1871) because he became a citizen under the act of 1843, manifestly no one could sign it. No one should have been excluded under the act of 1846, for no one became a citizen under it.

It was an outrage and a violation of all the purposes of the treaty of 1856 to go back of it and open up again all the difficulties it had attempted to heal; but it was still worse when this act proposed to exclude from enrolment on either roll all who under that treaty had taken allotments of land to which they were entitled to patents,

which the government failed to give them. But, if this had been followed, the men who managed to get this act passed, and whom I have called the "Ousting Party," would have been unable to enroll; for they had taken allotments under that treaty of 1856. The fact is this legislation was fraudulently procured and absurd in its provisions, and, if carried out, would have left the lands and the funds of these Indians almost without a claimant.

It is susceptible of proof that the enrolment was made with closed doors, under the dictation of those who had procured the passage of the act; and those only were enrolled who were permitted to do so by them, or who purchased the privilege from the clerk in charge, the commissioner himself being intoxicated most of the time. There is on file proof of the statement that the clerk accepted and demanded money from men as a condition of getting their names on the rolls. The fact is no one of these Indians could, under the provisions of the act, be enrolled; and, if they were put on, it must be by grace, free or purchased, of the commissioner.

The agent, in his report for 1871, expresses the hope that the recent legislation (act of 1871) may settle these difficulties. The agent, in his report for 1872, says: "The past year has been one of excitement and commotion; that the bill passed for their relief is considered by the many to be for the few; that they knew nothing of its provisions until after its passage and approval by the officers of the tribe, who seem to have managed the business very much in their own interests and that of their friends."

The Bureau suspended action under the bill, so manifestly was it an injustice, hoping Congress would take some action in the matter. Congress gave no relief; but agents were made and unmade at the dictation of Congressmen who had procured the passage of the act of 1871, and the new agent for 1873 says in his report: "Owing to conflicting views and wishes, these rolls made under this act have not received the signature of the superintendent of the allotment, or the approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The funds have not been divided; and the hope is expressed that the report of the Special Inspector might be accepted and matters settled. Now, we hope that neither the social standing nor the political influence of certain parties who have purchased the pine on a certain part of the unsold portion of the reservation will shield them from deserved punishment."

In 1874, he says: "Most of their business [of the Stockbridges and Munsees] has been transacted by Congressmen and Commissioner Wells of New York. I have not been able to shut my eyes to what have seemed to me great wrongs practised upon a portion of this tribe, but have felt that it would be useless to raise my voice in their behalf." He suggests that an agent ought to be informed of the business done with a tribe under his care, whether it be done through members of Congress or special agents or whomsoever.

There is evidence to show that the same interests (pine on the part of white men, and power and pelf on the part of the favored Indians) which secured the act of 1871 have been able to suppress, or turn aside, the recommendations of special agents who have examined into and reported the facts and asked that the wrongs inflicted by an allotment under this act should be righted.

For nearly twenty years, the best and largest part of this tribe have been defrauded of their rights, and progress by the tribe at large has been made impossible, because, for selfish purposes, white men, high in political and social life, have been able to use this factious minority of the tribe for their own purposes, were able to procure the legislation from which they reaped a large pecuniary profit, and, in faithfulness to their Indian allies, have prevented any corrective legislation.

Aside from the references given to treaties and acts of Congress as cited above, attention is asked to the report of Special Inspector Kemble, made Nov. 12, 1877; to the report of Special Agent Parsons, on file in Indian Office; also to the report made by Commissioner Atkins, citing all the facts of these several reports, and asking for an act of Congress requiring a new enrolment for the correction of the wrongs done under the enrolment of 1871-74.

Rev. CHARLES W. SHELTON.—An appeal came from the Stockbridge Indians to the American Missionary Association for missionary help two years ago. I went up and spent a little while in looking over the reservation. In approaching their reservation, after coming from the Menomonee people, the change was wonderful. The Menomonee Indians are in their blankets. We found that the Stockbridge Indians spoke English; that their homes were constructed on the principle of our New England homes; that most of the houses were better than those of the average Western pioneer. Nearly every Indian who met me wanted to know if I was the new missionary, and the next question was, "Will you stay long enough to preach for us?" They asked me to wait long enough to gather the people together and have a little conference. That conference was opened by a prayer; and all through it the thought of what God would do for them and help them to do was in the mind of that people. They told me that of the original residents of that reservation four-fifths of those over twelve years of age were members of the Christian Church. They told me something of the wrongs they had suffered from the time their fathers left the Berkshire Hills of Massachusetts. Then they were taken up in their Western pilgrimage by the Presbyterian Board, after the American Board had withdrawn its missionary aid. For seventeen years there had been no white missionary among them. They told me their church had never lost its missionary organization, never lost its church history, never passed a single Sabbath without devotional service, and never passed a single week without a gathering for a devotional service. They said, "Send us a missionary, and we will build him a house better than any on this reservation." They said they would pay out of their poverty \$500 toward his support. I asked them whether they wanted a young man or an old man. They said: "We are living here alone. Occasionally we hear something of the discussions which are going on in the religious world beyond us. If you send us a young man, we do not know but he will tell us things we have not believed before, and we may not be inclined to accept them now; but, if you will send us a middle-aged or an older man, we will trust him." I asked them how they conducted their Sabbath service. They showed me a book

of sermons that they had read through seven times for want of another one. If we can do anything for them, I hope we shall do it.

Mr. JAMES WOOD.—The Stockbridges are the sole survivors of the great Mohican nation. They were among the grandest of all the Indian tribes. You have heard something about Christianity among them. I want to tell you when it began. The Moravians sent Christian missionaries to them from Bethlehem in Pennsylvania. This was among the first efforts of the kind made in this country. Some of the Indians were converted to Christ, and the lamp has burned among them to this day. After their removal to Michigan, two of their chiefs were educated in my grandfather's family in Westchester County. Twenty-three years ago, I visited the old graveyard of the Moravians in Bethlehem. I found a stone with this inscription: "In memory of Tschoop, a Mohican Indian, who in holy baptism received the name of John. One of the first-fruits of the mission at Shekomeko, and a remarkable instance of the power of divine grace, by which he became a distinguished teacher among his people. He died, in the full assurance of faith, at Bethlehem, March 17. 'There shall be one fold and one shepherd.'"

Fourth Session.

THE INDIAN AND HIS PROPERTY.

Thursday Evening, Oct. 3, 1889.

The Conference was opened at eight o'clock P.M., General Fisk in the chair. The chairman read the following telegram from Senator Dawes, which was received with applause:—

ANN ARBOR DEPOT, MICH.

To Hon. A. K. SMILEY:

We send greeting to Conference and sincere regrets that we must be absent. May its latest work be its best; and may the Mohonk Reservation never be divided in severalty. We suggest contract with Mr. Smiley for all Indian schools.

H. L. DAWES.

Professor C. C. Painter then read the following paper on "The Indian and his Property":—

Most of the legislation affecting Indian interests during the past session has had reference to his landed property and a cession of large and valuable tracts to the United States government.

The passage of the severalty bill, which substitutes a personal title evidenced by a patent protected by law for a tribal right of occupancy during the good pleasure of Congress or of the Executive, if the reservation is one by executive order, has awakened the frontiersman to the fact that he must secure such concessions, adjustments, and cessions as he desires at once, before allotments are made, since it will be more difficult to set aside the provisions of this law than to procure the abrogation of a treaty made with a people too feeble to enforce it. Hence this great activity and increasing facility in Indian legislation. Constant vigilance on the part of the friends of the Indian is now demanded, and a persistent insistence that further cessions of land shall be postponed until after allotments have been made, and that the lands disposed of shall be the refuse and surplus lands left after these have been completed.

Paul said to the Corinthians, "I seek not yours, but you." This, neither as Christians nor as citizens, can we say with truth to the Indian; for we have relentlessly sought his rather than him. Even as his friends, and the champions of his cause, it may be said that we have been more concerned about his property than to secure for him that elevation in character and intelligence which would enable him to take care of it for himself, and that in seeking the lesser we have lost both the greater and the lesser interests.

It is of infinitely greater importance that he shall know how to protect and use to advantage a small farm, or even, having none, to pro-

cure it, than that he shall be guaranteed the right to roam over a vast domain, made secure to him indeed, which he knows not how to use, and the holding of which perpetuates conditions destructive of all efforts to civilize him. The commissioners who have made a treaty with the Southern Utes may congratulate themselves and the people of Colorado that they have secured to the whites a valuable tract of land adapted to the needs of civilized men, and at the same time have procured for the Utes a tract three times as large, better adapted to the habits and needs of savages, lying aside from the path the whites are following, and but little adapted to their needs. If we seek to perpetuate the savagery of these people, the commissioners are to be commended; for they secure exactly the conditions which favor at least, if they do not necessitate, this result.

We may rejoice that everything, excepting always such a movement as this, seems at present to conspire to this end,—the speedy destruction of conditions favorable to a savage life, and the creation of those in which we shall *perforce* seek no longer *his*, but *him*,—the Indian rather than his property; and thus we shall develop a man capable of creating and protecting values rather than prolong a fruitless effort to save to him useless possessions which stand in the way of his progress.

But, while we insist that the reservation as the roaming ground of tribal savages shall give way, under the operation of the severalty law, to allotted farms on which homes for civilized men can be erected, and that this shall be done before the land-grabber shall have a chance at the Indian's possessions, that the reservation and not the Indian must go, we need now to face the fact, and deal with it, that the surplus of the reservation after allotment is a danger that threatens much, and a dead weight that hangs heavily about the newly made citizen's neck. The wise disposal and conversion of this value, if rightly used,—crushing burden, if not so disposed of,—is the next most difficult problem and pressing duty before us.

One who knows, even partially, the facts, is forced to the conclusion that the most obstinate difficulties in the path of those to whom allotments have been made grow out of the measures which the Indian Department deems necessary for the protection of the Indian's property, tribal and personal, the protection of what he cannot use. Let a few illustrations make this statement clear.

An Indian to whom land had been allotted came into a market town near his home, and, noticing that white farmers were marketing cord wood, made inquiries, and found that he could get the same price for what he would bring to market. He saw an opportunity to get ready money for the purchase of such implements and supplies as he needed and must have, if his land was to be of any use to him. But, when the department learned from the agent in charge of this citizen what he purposed doing, he was promptly informed that he could not do it. In reference to another case, referred to the Attorney-General, he gave it as his opinion that, inasmuch as the United States held his land in trust for twenty-five years, he has only the rights of a tenant, and is restrained from using any of the timber, whether alive or dead and down, excepting so much as is required for his use in fencing, building, and domestic uses.

Another Indian who found himself the happy owner, as he supposed, of several hundred acres of rich agricultural land, the allotted portion of himself and minor children, after taking inventory of possessions and prospects, found that he had indeed a vast but unusable possession: a large land estate, but without teams, implements, money, houses, or experience, and consequently without power to utilize a foot of it. A landless white man proposed to make a contract, strong as it could be made, with ample security that he would fulfil it, in which it was agreed that he would build two comfortable houses, one for himself and one for the Indian, with wells and needed outhouses, would the first year break sixty acres of land, ten of which the Indian should have for such crops as he chose to cultivate, and that he would pay him usual wages for what time he would work for the lessee. The second year he would break as much more land, and set apart an additional ten acres of ploughed land for the Indian; and so on for five years, when the lease would expire, and the white man would retire, and the Indian would have full possession. The agents and the friends of the Indians all agreed that it was a fair and honorable arrangement; but, when the proposal came to the knowledge of the department, it was forbidden, and the Indian thrust back helpless and hopeless to solve his problem of life under conditions which would insure starvation to a large majority of white men.

How utterly valueless — nay, rather, what a dead weight and utter curse — even valuable land may be to one situated as an Indian is, on allotted lands surrounded by a body of tribal lands, can be seen among the Winnebago Indians of Nebraska.

A number, who last year made a brave effort to open up their farms had their crops destroyed by cattle herded under contracts made with one or two who would not undertake to raise crops for themselves. The farmers were unable to fence against the herders; and it was impossible to secure the removal of the herds, though a company of military were sent to remove all who had no right to the land.

General Crook required, very properly, that the department should designate the parties to be removed; but this the Bureau and its agent persistently failed to do. The result was, the most of those who made this attempt suffered the loss of their labor with that of their crops. Nor was the result of an effort to lease a part of their unallotted lands attended with better success. Because, as it seemed to those in position to form an intelligent opinion, of collusion between the officials in charge and the cattle men, whose interests were looked after by influential politicians, more than fifteen thousand cattle were grazed on the lands allotted and unallotted, for which the Indians should have received at least \$7,500, but for which they did not receive more, it is believed, than \$300, most of which was paid as bribes rather than as rental. Both among them and their neighbors, the Omahas, these surplus lands have proved to be, what we know must be the case everywhere else proportionally, a source of demoralization and loss. The vast amount of grass on them will necessarily attract cattle men, who will stir up strife among the Indians in order that they may secure it for their herds.

The promise of money for its use, delusive in the end, will deter

the Indian from the labor he otherwise would do; the presence of the cattle is a constant menace to the crops of those who would attempt to raise them; the margin created by these lands about the Indian home serves, as did the old reservation, to shut out the industrious settler from a contact with the Indian which would help his education; while at the same time it invites and shelters lawlessness, and will lie as a dead weight upon the development of the country, which fact will justly cause an outcry on the part of the whites, and engender animosities in relations that need to be pleasant, if they are to be helpful.

Chief Gabriel Renville, and the principal men of the Sisseton Sioux, among whom allotments have been completed, and who have nearly 800,000 acres of most valuable surplus land, at a conference held with them last autumn, after asking if it was true that by the operation of the severalty law they are now citizens of the United States, put the frequent and far-reaching question, "What is the relation of an Indian agent to a citizen of the United States and to his property?"

They complained that a man claiming to be their agent, without authority from them, assumed to exercise such control over them and their property as was exercised when they were Indian wards of the government; that he did not offer the friendly advice of a wise counsellor and friend, but issued mandates and prohibitions, forbidding them, without a pass from him, to go off their lands, or without his permission to sell the products of their farms; that, since as citizens they had no chief, he had arrogated to himself the right once exercised by the chief of selling the grass from their common lands, from which they created a fund for the support of their old people and orphans; and had covered the results of such sales into the treasury of the United States.

The suggestion was made to them that, as long as they held this valuable property by a tribal treaty title, the Indian Bureau would, doubtless, assume to control it as being tribal, and its owners also as being a tribe, albeit they were individually citizens with all the rights, privileges, immunities of such; that, if they wished to escape from Bureau interference and control, they must get rid of tribal property, and have no interest which was not purely that of an individual and citizen.

Whatever lawyers may say of a citizen's right to hold and control property joining with others, it is clear to one who studies the situation that the most urgent necessity of the Indian to-day is that he shall cease to be an Indian; shall strip himself of everything that suggests, either to himself or the government, the old relation in which, as such, he has stood; that by allotment he shall get, at the earliest possible moment, a sufficiency of his best land for the support of his family, then strip himself of the residue which would otherwise surround him as an excluding wall, shutting out his civilized neighbors; convert this value, which would otherwise be a dead weight, into facilities for opening up and cultivating his farm, and put himself at once, free of all burdensome and entangling wrappings, in fullest and freest contact with the civilization he must embrace and absorb, or perish. Not until this has been done can he exercise, or find opportunity to exercise, the manhood of which we believe him

possessed. Not until this is done can we, who would help him, get at him. Hitherto, his conditions have thwarted our best efforts, which have expended their strength largely in an impossible attempt to save his property, but have failed either to reach him or save his property.

His condition under the severalty law is no better than under the old reservation system, unless it go so far as to destroy utterly the old conditions imposed by that system. A step is taken, it is true, in the right direction, but not long enough to take him out of his difficulties.

With a title to his property, inalienable though it be, but hampered by restrictions which render him powerless to use it; with a tribal interest remaining which overshadows the fact of citizenship and gives pretext and occasion for the Bureau to retain its despotic grip upon him, and maintain regulations which will effectually throttle every effort at independence; with a margin of tribal lands about him breeding strife among its owners, inviting the cupidity of his white neighbors to such efforts as they can make for its possession, and excluding the civil authorities under whose protection he lies, so far as protection to life and property are concerned, or admitting them only where their coming will beget a sense of invasion and outrage,—there can be but little hope of progress under such conditions.

Gabriel Renville's question, "What is the relation of an Indian agent to a citizen of the United States and his property?" ought to awaken the friends of the Indian to an earnest and profound consideration of its far-reaching meaning and importance. It suggests and presents the fact that severalty law as it stands is only a partial measure, which puts the Indian in a most anomalous position, absurd in the extreme, and full of peril to himself.

That a citizen of the United States can be under the agent of a bureau, with power lawful or assumed to enforce regulations which contravene the guaranteed rights of a citizen, is a monstrous absurdity; and yet it is a fact, and will continue to be a fact until every vestige of tribal organization and interest shall be destroyed. And, so long as this continues, the Indian will be handicapped in the race we have set before him, manacled as to the liberty to which we have called him, and shut out by the barriers we have put in his way from the goodly inheritance to which we invite him. It would contradict all the lessons of human experience if, after fruitless and hopeless efforts, he does not fall back into apathy and sullen doggedness, from which he will emerge only as an applicant for admission to our almshouses and jails. In Heaven's name, let us at once and forever get over the notion that an Indian is an abnormal monstrosity, who can never be reached by motives common to man, who can never be dealt with except under conditions which would blight home, and cripple effort for all others. Let us forget once and forever the word "Indian" and all that it has signified in the past, and remember only that we are dealing with so many of the children of a common Father, having "hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions, fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer," as we Chris-

tians, and therefore seek for them the same and no other condition than those found necessary for our own development and growth.

DISCUSSION OF THE PAPER.

Mr. JAMES WOOD.—Professor Painter's statements stagger us. We ask at once, Can they be true? We are forced to admit that they are undeniably correct. We have fondly supposed that the passage of the allotment bill would be a panacea for almost every ill in this Indian problem; and, lo! Professor Painter tells us, and a little examination for ourselves will show us, that the last state of this man is likely to be worse than the first. Can it be true that we have put the cup of Tantalus to the Indian's lips? Have we invited him to give up his reservation only to die upon the land that has become his own? Professor Painter, what can the Indian do according to your showing but wrap his blanket around him and lie down and say, "This is my land"? You have shown to us that there is no way in the world that he can obtain the means to till it, that there is nothing in the near future that he can sell from it. What can he do but lie down and die upon it? But there is one thing more he can do: he can say *Civis Americanus sum*.

The CHAIRMAN.—*Some*.

Mr. WOOD.—The apostle Paul appreciated his Roman citizenship; but the Indian would rather have his dinner, and so would I. How can he get it? I must say, friends, it makes me dizzy to think of it. We have been looking forward to this thing. We have prayed for it, and we have got it; and we ask ourselves now, What have we done? Have we done him a service or an injury in providing for him this distribution of his land? Yet this enactment law has been a wise thing. Only it shows to us that, having opened the door for the Indian's advancement, we must now pilot him through all the reefs, rocks, and dangers before him, so that he may as speedily as possible arrive at that blessed haven we desire him to enter.

Let us consider for a moment some facts in regard to his position under this Dawes Bill. Professor Painter has shown us that the lawyers say that under this Dawes Bill, during these twenty-five years at any rate, the Indian is only a sort of tenant that can't do anything.

Prof. PAINTER.—I don't know but my presentation of that point may have been a little confused. The opinion of the Attorney-General was sought with reference to the cutting of dead and down timber on the reservation. It was a treaty reservation, and bought by money, for which they had sold another reservation. The Attorney-General decided that they could not use, cut, and sell their dead and down timber, because they were simply tenants for life, and they could not impair the realty of this possession. The inference by the Bureau from this decision was that the same principle extended to the allotted lands held in trust for twenty-five years, because the government put itself under obligation to deliver that property to the Indian at the end of that period unimpaired.

Mr. WOOD.—Let us consider what the Indian is going to be when

he receives this land. He is to become a citizen. As soon as he becomes a citizen of the United States, he becomes a citizen of the State or Territory in which he and his land are. Becoming a citizen of the State, he and his property are under the control of the laws of that State. What will be the case when this Indian dies? We naturally suppose that, when he dies, his children will inherit his land. So they will, if the laws of the State recognize that his children are heirs-at-law, are legitimate children. It *may be* that these States will enact laws recognizing the children of Indians as legitimate and heirs-at-law, but it is more likely they will do nothing of the kind. If they are not legitimate and cannot inherit this property, the State receives it in the absence of lawful heirs. It may be that the State law recognizes that an Indian marriage is legal or that it is not. Where there is no marriage that is recognizable, the children cannot, without special provision, inherit the estate. It is the interest of the State, and there is a constant bribe before it, not to recognize his children as legitimate heirs. We know that some of the States are none too friendly to the Indian, and here is an opportunity for them to get the Indian's coveted land. They can declare his issue unlawful. What have we done? It amounts to simply this. We have given him a life lease that, in many cases at least, is worthless and of no more value to him than a quit-claim deed on the northern lights, or a section of the tail of a comet.

It seems to be necessary for Congress to pass a bill to supplement this allotment act, by which provision shall be made so that the Indian's children shall inherit the property, and not be in danger of disinheritance on account of the laws of the State of which in future he may be a citizen. Congress can direct that at the time of the allotment a record of children shall be made, and that, for the purpose of this act, the children shall be declared legitimate. It seems to be of the very first importance that this shall be done.

Now, another point. It is provided that the land of the Indians shall not be taxed, and the income of the sale of surplus lands shall be used for the civilization and education of Indians; but, while the national government will be the trustee of this fund for the benefit of the Indians, the State of which he is a citizen must be the guardian which expends the money for his benefit. But there comes another difficulty: that the State that has this money may make such use of it as was not intended. It may, on the other hand, put an unjust burden on the people of the State in not being allowed to lay a tax upon this large portion of the country. It would seem that Congress must so hedge about this educational fund that it shall be alike just to the Indian and to his fellow-citizen.

Now, these are grave matters that are to be met; and what do they teach us? Simply this. No friend of the Indian can excuse himself or herself from further effort for his care and benefit. No true friend of the Indian can shirk the responsibility that is now before us, but must vigilantly shield him from the dangers that threaten him on every hand.

Judge STRONG.—It is with hesitation that I speak at all upon the subject which is now before the Conference. It is a subject upon which I desire to reflect before I give my own fixed conviction to

anybody, and especially to such an assembly as this. I have had no opportunity since I have been here, though I have desired it, to see the legislation of Congress in regard to these allotments. I am very desirous to see that before I give opinions upon some subjects which are here discussed, but there are certain things in regard to which I have no doubt. One of them is that, before those allotments were made to the Indians, the reservations did not belong to the State, were no part of the State in which they were located. Although within a State's geographical limits, they were no more a part of the State, politically, than France was a part of any one of the United States. That should be kept in mind. When these allotments were made, the property belonged to the Indians; and the United States had nothing more than a reversionary right. The Indians were not at liberty to sell the property to any one but the United States; and, when the Indian's property should be extinguished, it was to belong to the United States. That was the relation before the allotment bill was passed. When these allotments are made, the United States gives up its reversionary right, and gives patents to those Indians in severalty. In addition, the act of Congress declares that these Indians (who had belonged to tribes with which the government had made treaties, and which, though very infantile and feeble nations, still were nations capable of making treaties) should be citizens of the United States; and of course, being citizens of the United States, they become citizens of the State of which this property becomes a part, when it is once taken out of tribal ownership and allotted to the individual Indian. Then, when the Indian has become the owner by a patent of the United States,—limited, it is true, so that he cannot sell it to anybody but the United States except at the expiration of twenty-five years,—the property becomes a part of the State in which he resides, and the Indian becomes a citizen of the State; and, being a resident of the State of which he is a citizen, he is subject to all its laws. He and his land are within the State's jurisdiction.

Well, what does this mean? It means that the State can say: "We will establish a school in this neighborhood, and any children therein shall have the benefit of it. We will direct with regard to the teachers of those schools. We shall say how they shall be appointed. We shall control the location of the school-houses and determine how long the schools shall be kept up during the year." The State may declare what studies shall be pursued. All this is plainly inconsistent with the existence of any other authority. I say, therefore, that in my judgment the United States has not the shadow of authority to interfere with the schools in the States where allotments have been made to the Indians.

How is it in regard to property? The United States has no right to interfere in regard to the use of the property by the individual to whom the allotment has been made. It has no other relation to the Indian than a reversionary right at the end of twenty-five years, merely to prevent the sale to anybody except to the United States. The present ownership is all in the Indian, and the United States has no more right to interfere with his usage of his property than it has to interfere with my house in Washington. It would be a usurpation on the part of the United States to say what he should do with his

crops, or how he should plant his lands, or what use he shall make of them, or where he shall send his children to school. I think this Conference ought to protest against the interference of the United States with the management of the property of those Indians to whom allotments have been made.

Now, with regard to the other matters referred to by Mr. Wood. He alluded to the fact that these allotted portions of the reservation are handed over and conveyed to the Indian free from State taxation for twenty-five years. That was intended, no doubt, as a benefit to the Indian, because this land, when given to him in severalty, requires improvement, and, very likely, the erection of houses and the purchase of farm furniture, of cattle, horses, and agricultural implements; and the Indian will be found hardly in a condition to raise money to pay taxes. He will be land poor. But it is expected that, when the Indian becomes a citizen of the State, and the land-owner of a portion of the State, he will need schools for his children. At present, the general government is looking after Indian schools; but this Indian will be no longer on a reservation. Now, how are these schools to be supported for these individual Indians? Will the State build school-houses on those allotted lands? If it does, it must raise money from taxes paid by others; for the Indians are not subject to taxation. And will the State establish cheerfully a sufficient number of good schools in those places where only the Indian resides? Because allotments will be adjacent to each other. There will be nobody there but Indians. Whatever schools there are there will be Indian schools. The States, and the States alone, can be looked to for the supply of schools. Will the States raise money to build school-houses, hire teachers, and furnish books for the children? They may; but, if they do it, it will be very grudgingly. It will create a strong prejudice on the part of the whites against the Indians themselves. There is sufficient prejudice on the part of the whites now, without encouraging more. Something must be done to provide for these schools without imposing the entire burden of them upon the State.

How is that to be done? I think that this Conference should recommend that Congress provide for the establishment of these schools by agreeing to pay to the State an equivalent to what would be raised out of these allotted lands by taxation, if they were liable to taxation. Congress has, and will have, large funds from the sale of the reserved part of the reservation,—that which is not allotted. The price of it is to be for the benefit of the Indians. Now, if the United States would agree to pay — say, to the State of Nebraska — a sum equivalent to what would be paid if those lands were taxable, and pay it to that State definitely and expressly for the purpose of establishing and maintaining schools for the children of those Indians for whom allotments are made, it would be just, and it would remove very largely the feeling of prejudice which is likely to be awakened by the law as it now stands. I think it would be wise for the Conference to urge these considerations upon Congress. Something has been said about it in a former report; but I think this recommendation should be urgently renewed.

Then, in regard to marriage: The general rule of law is that a marriage which is good in the country where the man and woman

live at the time of marriage is good everywhere. If two persons are married in France, and come to this country to live, their marriage in France, though not by the same form or ceremonies, is good in any State of this nation, or in England, or anywhere else. Now, the marriage laws of our several States are very different. In some States, the mere consent of the two parties made in the presence of witnesses, or where it can be proved that they have consented to be husband and wife, and in pursuance thereof have lived together as such, constitutes a marriage without any public ceremony whatever. In most of the States there are statutory regulations with regard to marriage, requiring it to be performed either by a clergyman or a magistrate, and to be performed in the presence of witnesses. The requirements differ very much. So far as I know, it has never been decided in this country that the marriage of an Indian, if it can be proved that he was married according to the law or custom of the country where he lived,—married on a reservation, for instance,—is, being a good marriage there, a good marriage everywhere. But Mr. Wood says the State may not hold it so. That is undoubtedly true. The State may say that what takes place on the reservation is not marriage: therefore, we will not hold it to be marriage, or hold the offspring of such marriage to be legitimate. It seems to me that it would be wise for Congress to make provision for such a case as that.

But here comes a difficulty. Allotments have already been made. These persons have come within the jurisdiction of the State in which allotments have been made. I doubt whether Congress can make legal the marriage of such persons. But, as regards the future, before any further allotments are made, I think it would be wise for Congress to declare marriages which were recognized by the Indians as a sufficient marriage, and the offspring thereof legitimate. That bears on this question of illegitimacy and inheritability of the children of the allottees. It is clear to me that provision should be made for the heritable character of the children of these Indians,—certainly of all those who have been married. I have my doubts how far Congress can say that children of Indians born on the reservation illegitimately shall be legitimized. It might be well to have a declaratory act on that point, whatever it might be worth. But they certainly can declare that the children of the Indians before the allotments are made are children of lawful marriage, if the marriage has been understood by the Indians to be lawful marriage, and that such children shall take by descent. I think it would be wise to have a committee of the Conference take these subjects again under consideration, and counsel and report. They cannot do it while here. It will take time. The questions are very difficult ones. They are likely to embarrass us.

Prof. PAINTER.—Suppose that an allotment has been made to an Indian, and there are unallotted lands left which still belong to the tribe. The Indian dies. He has no heir at all. To whom does that allotted land go?

Judge STRONG.—It is escheatable. I think at present it would go to the State,—not to the general government, because he has become a citizen of the State, and the State is therefore the government or power to which all escheatable property tends.

Mr. EATON.—Will it be so before twenty-five years?

Judge STRONG.—Yes: I think so. I think the full title is given when the patent is granted. I do not think that the fact that a second patent has to be given at the end of twenty-five years amounts to anything more than to release the restriction of the right to sell. I speak with much hesitation upon these subjects. I am not as well settled upon them as I desire to be. But on one subject I am perfectly convinced,—namely, that the government has not the shadow of a right to interfere with an Indian having an allotment, either with the use of his property or with the manner in which he shall educate his children, or where he shall send them to school, if at all.

Mr. FRANK WOOD.—I would like to call the attention of the Conference to the fact that a bill was presented to the last Congress drawn with reference to many of the difficulties spoken of to-night. Some of the friends of the Dawes Bill two years ago foresaw these difficulties with many others, and a bill was prepared to meet them. This bill is known as the Thayer, or Mohonk Conference, Bill. Professor Painter has not painted the condition of the Indian in colors too intense. He is a citizen of the United States, an owner of land; but what can he do with it? Is he in any condition to use the lands appropriated to him, without training and industrial pursuit? He has no money, he has no means of getting any. If he wants seed for his land or agricultural implements, he cannot buy, as he has no money. He has a great quantity of land, but he is deprived by this very bill of the privilege of leasing any part of it. In the bill I have spoken of, there is a provision which allows him to lease part of the land, thus getting means to use the rest. It gives him a preparation for civil life. It gives him courts. It makes provision for schools. I think that every difficulty we have seen has been provided for. It is our duty to press that bill as much as possible. This Mohonk Conference Bill was prepared by the best legal talent that could be found. The Indian is a man with an immortal future before him; and I believe that, with the common school and with the Christian Church, his future is just as fully assured as the future of any intelligent Christian man in this country, and that it is our duty to give him that future. I hope that every member of this Conference will exert every influence that he can until the Mohonk Conference Bill is taken from its pigeon-hole or some bill embodying the same principles is passed, protecting the Indian in his rights.

Professor Wayland, of Yale College, was then called for.

Prof. FRANCIS WAYLAND.—This is my first appearance in a Mohonk Indian Conference. I came here as a learner, knowing that I should find many experts and should gain much valuable information on everything that relates to what has been called "The Indian Problem." To call upon me for an opinion on the perplexing questions which confront us at this stage of the Conference is like asking a boy who has hardly mastered the alphabet to read an essay on Milton's "Paradise Lost."

An ex-justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, with faculties fitted by abundant study and trained by long experience to deal with such questions, has just told us that he prefers to postpone an expression of opinion; that the points raised by the bill under consideration require careful reflection; that he had rather not commit

himself at this stage of the discussion. The case presented certainly involves issues of paramount importance and of much difficulty in properly adjusting the law to the actual facts. What is the situation, the *status* of our Indians, as they are left by this bill? We have made them citizens on certain conditions. What is their citizenship worth to them? As citizens, they seem to me very much in the condition of the Irishman's volunteers. He informed the recruiting officer that he had brought some "volunteers." "Where are they?" "They are tied up in the stable." Are our citizen Indians in any better condition?

I think the graphic picture drawn by Professor Painter presents the prominent points for our study in a very earnest and forcible manner. Let us give it careful and conscientious study. Probably the bill needs amendment in material aspects. We can certainly give heed to the advice once given in a similar case by a man well versed in Washington affairs,—“Stand over your Congressional Committee with a club”; and the only club we can wield is the power of enlightened public opinion. A great fault of the American people is the belief that their legislators can be relied on for thorough, impartial, intelligent work,—work that needs no revision. The sooner they are disabused of this notion, the better. The Indian has not been the only sufferer by this erroneous belief. Those who have been behind the scenes know how carelessly what is called legislation is conducted, how much selfishness, greed, ignorance, and incapacity are embodied in Congressional bills or matters of prime importance. Let us see to it in the future that Indian legislation does not have more than its fair share of legislative blunders.

Mr. WILLIAM H. LYON, Chairman of the Purchasing Committee of the Board of Indian Commissioners, was introduced as one who could tell about the amount of provisions and goods furnished to the Indians. He had heard a good deal said about educating the young Indians, which was important; but he thought it was equally important to educate the old Indians in agricultural pursuits, if we expect them to ever become self-supporting. He thought the difficulties which had been referred to in the Dawes Bill, providing land in severalty for the Indians, could be corrected by the law-making power of the country. If they could be taught to be self-supporting, then it would not be necessary to buy so much for them as in years past. Referring to some of the supplies sent to the Indians this year, Mr. Lyon mentioned the following, 35,457,550 pounds of beef. If the Indians had land in severalty and could pasture this cattle, they could raise beef just as well as ponies or dogs. In addition to the above, the government furnished them 901,000 pounds of bacon, 30,000 pounds of barley, 278,910 pounds of beans, 476,500 pounds of coffee, 517,000 pounds of corn, 405,000 pounds of oats, 45,000 pounds of corn-meal, 8,639,100 pounds of flour, 155,600 pounds hard bread, 65,800 pounds of hominy, 920,915 pounds of sugar. If we are to continue sending these things to the Indians, I think they will become actual paupers. I shall be greatly disappointed if, after the passage of this Dawes Bill, Congress cannot go further, and remedy the evils of which Mr. Painter has spoken.

Gen. HOWARD.—I want to say just another word with reference to this subject of allotments of land. It will not remedy all evils

connected with our Indian problem, even when it is carried out fully and faithfully with all the aids that have been suggested. One reason is because on many of the reservations it is impossible to make allotments of land. Take the *Pyramid Lake* Reservations in Nevada, for an example. In the valleys upon it you can make allotments, but the land in the valleys will not cover all the tribe. Now, the other large portion, people say, is good land; and eventually, when you have artesian wells, it will be redeemed, but nothing but the highest skill of the white man will be able to manage it. A vast proportion of that reservation is not allottable, now almost a barren desert,—a place that a man might go upon, die, and be buried. On the Skokomish Reservation, in Puget Sound, there are immense trees, thickly set. The Indians could not clear it off. They have not been taught to live by agriculture. The young Indians on Puget Sound, generally, becoming civilized, have gone out and worked in the large saw-mills. At the Neah Bay Reservation there is no proper land for allotments. It would be allotting rocks and stones and trees. And this is true of a good many other reservations that I can think of,—in fact, of almost all on and near the Puget Sound. It would be simply a travesty to undertake to make an allotment. I remember once, out in the northern part of Washington Territory, some of the Spokanes had moved off by themselves, under a chief by the name of Lot, a very fine man, a Christian belonging to the Presbyterian Mission. He had a large number of Indians under his control. That land was discovered somehow by enterprising frontier citizens; and they wanted it especially, I believe, because the Indians had it. Lot did not know what to do, and appealed to me. About that time President Hayes, who was then President of the United States, and General Sherman made a visit to the Territory. I begged the President to set apart that portion up in the mountains as a reservation. The Indians managed to raise crops there. He did set it apart. General Sherman, who was at the head of the army, being present, joined in my recommendation. I said to Lot, soon after this action, "Why not set your men to work, allot this land and get it in severalty, just as the white man does?" He said: "For two or three of my Indians it could be done, but the rest of this people would not know how to carry it on. I can work them together, and we can raise enough for our support through the year; but, so far as getting stakes down in the right place, and getting it in severalty, we do not know what to do. It would require from thirteen to eighteen dollars for the Land Office before each man could have his lot secured." I saw at once that they must have money and experience. Much has been said in regard to the probable condition of the Indians after they have gone into the State. I have confidence in the States. I do not believe that they are going to become depredators. The trouble has always been with what you have called "the fringers," those people close around the borders. But the whole State is not going into that operation. The trouble is the helplessness of the Indian. These old children are harder to teach than younger ones. If the United States agent is a good man and a true one, he can still be a friend of the Indian, even after he has become a citizen of the State. The United States must for some time exercise benevolent functions toward the Indians.

H. L. WAYLAND, D.D.—In the course of this interesting debate, I have heard a good deal about “the Indian problem.” I have observed, in the course of my life, that, when there is anything that we don’t exactly want to do, we always call it a “problem.” We are pretty apt, when we are asked to correct a wrong, to think that there is some problem about it.

On one occasion, a gentleman was travelling from Jerusalem to Jericho; and he had the misfortune to fall in with some highwaymen. As they were going through his pockets, one of them said to another, “This seems to me a problem”: then they left him there. By and by there came along another gentleman,—a clergyman. He saw this man lying by the roadside. He said: “This is, indeed, a problem. I should like to stay and solve it, but I have got to go down to Jericho to attend a meeting in regard to sending the gospel to the masses.” Then there came down another gentleman,—a layman of wealth. He saw this man, who lay in a very discouraged condition by the side of the road; and he looked at him. “Well, this is certainly a problem. I must go and draw up some resolutions and a platform in reference to the rights of wayfarers on the road between Jerusalem and Jericho.” Presently there came along a plain man,—possibly an editor. He saw this man; and, being an unlettered man, he did not know anything about “problems.” All he could do was to get his shoulder under the man, and get him up on his beast. I should have said that he had some oil and wine with him, which he had purchased for medicinal and mechanical purposes, General. It was a prohibition town.

The CHAIRMAN.—He got it at a drug store.

Dr. WAYLAND.—Yes: on a physician’s prescription.

The CHAIRMAN.—Editors always know where to find it.

Dr. WAYLAND.—Now, we have been for a great many generations going through this man,—the Indian. We have stolen his land, often his cattle and his ponies. Now and then we have paused for a moment to shake our head and to talk about the Indian problem. We have now given him land in severalty; but, when he says, “I have nothing to live on: I would like to cut down some of the wood on my own land, so that I may sell it and get some bread,” we say, “No: you may not.” When he desires to lease a part of his land, so that with the rent he may till the remainder, we tell him, “No.” And then we sit down to discuss the problem. We seem to think that there is something filling and nourishing for him in this word; but, perchance, he can think only of the words, “wherewith thou fillest thy belly as with the east wind.” We have been talking much about a system of “Indian education.” Is there, then, a system of Indian arithmetic? For the white men there are ten commandments. Are there less for the Indian? I am reminded of the paraphrase of the fourth commandment which Arthur Hugh Clough proposes (I presume for the benefit of physicians):—

“Thou shalt not kill, but needst not strive
Officiously to keep alive.”

It seems to me that we should forget the word “Indian.” Let us spell Indian M-A-N: then we shall get over a good deal of the way in “solving the Indian problem.”

INDIAN SPEECHES.

Rev. Sherman Coolidge, an Arapahoe Indian, a preacher in the Protestant Episcopal Church, was then introduced by Rev. S. J. Barrows. In introducing him, Mr. Barrows said that more than twenty years ago he and his wife had received from General Howard a little Arapahoe Indian boy. They had acted as his guardian and taken him into their home. He had grown into their hearts. They had hoped to give him a good education, but he died when about ten years old. Greatly to his surprise, the speaker had discovered, in talking with Mr. Coolidge, that he was the brother of that boy, and carried his picture close to his heart.

Rev. SHERMAN COOLIDGE.—I appreciate the kindness to me, personally as well as for my race, of the friends who are here, and what they have been doing and are doing for this helpless and perishing people. When I was about eleven years old, I was just beginning my alphabet. I have sat by Mrs. Coolidge's knee; and, in the effort to learn my alphabet, the tears have rolled down my cheeks. But she made me learn that alphabet. Now the Indian children to-day are crying for education. As far as the Indian can show his ability, his humanity, his capability of mental culture, it will help to solve the Indian problem. It will help to solve the legal problem, but on the social side you must aid him in his advancement. The questions which have been brought up to-day show the intelligence as well as the civilization of the Mohonk tribe around the council-fire. It is the best pow-wow that I have ever attended. I am glad of this opportunity to express the gratitude that I feel, for myself and my race, in your friendship. I might express it in the way that an Indian expressed it once. A kindness had been shown to a chief of the reservation where I had been staying; and he said to the person that conveyed that kindness: "Tell that person who sent me this gift that, when a Frenchman receives a kindness, he is thankful in his head. The head has a tongue: it can talk. But, when an Indian receives a kindness, he is thankful in his heart. His heart has no tongue: it cannot talk." So it is with me to-night. But I have learned by education that there is a communication between the heart and the brain, and what the heart feels the brain can express through the tongue.

Mr. Henry H. Lyman, an Indian student in Yale College, was then introduced.

Mr. HENRY H. LYMAN.—I am now at Yale University, and intending to take a full course in law. If I succeed, I shall go out among my people. I shall hang out my shingle, and advertise my business, and do all I can for the Indians. I have learned in these few days what I should never have learned if I had stayed in Yale for a long time. But I came to be instructed, not to instruct you. I believe, as has been said, that, if the Indian takes up his land in severalty in the condition that he is now in, he will be worse off than if kept on the reservations. During these twenty-five years, the period of transition, the Indians are to be prepared for the duties of citizenship. Unless there is something done in that period, I think the Indians will be worse off than before.

Master Henry J. Kendall, a young Pueblo Indian boy, a graduate

of the Carlisle School and now of Rutgers College, was the next speaker.

Master HENRY J. KENDALL.—Friends, a good deal has been said about Indian schools. I think I will take a little time in giving my experience of the schools I have attended. I attended a Catholic mission school, and I have attended a government school. In the Catholic school, which I attended for eight months, learning how to read Spanish, nothing was taught in English. There I learned how to pray; but the prayers were carried a little too far for me. After going back home with the idea that I was to live day after day praying on the beads that were given to me, I found out that it would not do. It would not do for me to pray day after day, and have very little time for anything else. My father needed me. He had a herd that needed attention. There was my mother who needed help. I was not ashamed to help my mother, be it in the kitchen or be it in any other place. Well, I learned that there was a chance for self-improvement. With my parents I took a trip up the Rio Grande, where a feast was held by the Indians. In coming back, I met a boy. He was attending the mission school at Albuquerque. I saw that he was dressed in citizen's clothes, and had shorn hair, and looked clean. I spoke to my father, and asked him if I could not stay there with the teachers. He said, No. I insisted upon it before we got out of town. Well, he thought he might quiet me by going back to the school. At last, I persuaded him to let me stay there. In a few days, I saw some pictures that were sent from Carlisle. The boys were dressed in uniform, and attracted more attention than did the boys that I saw at the mission school. Then I heard there were some children going there. I was determined to go with the crowd. My parents came down to Albuquerque, and they did all in their power to persuade me not to leave New Mexico. But all the reasons that they could give could not persuade me. They stayed until the last moment. The children were to start on Monday, and they were there all the week. Sunday evening, I told them that, if they would not let me go, I was going to run away with the party. At last, they consented. I left them with tears in their eyes, thinking they would never see me again. They always thought that one going away from the Indian country would be just entrapped by the whites, and never return. Four years afterwards, I was sent back. Then they shed tears of joy to see the improvement that I had received in Carlisle; and they were only too glad that I should return to that school and finish my education. Generally, the idea is among the whites that, when we are taken away from our people, we shall lose respect for them, that we feel above them, that we do not care for them. But I, for my part, say that, since I have been separated from my parents, I respect them more and I love them more.

As to the different things different parties have done for me, the government has done everything that I could wish, and is doing it to this day. As for the missionaries, you see what they have done for me. They have given me the name of the most honored one of their number, I might say; and I have been trying all this time not to dishonor the name, but to come up to time, to fill his place.

Through the influence of Captain Pratt, I entered the grammar school at Rutgers College two years ago. Last summer I graduated

from it. There were some thirty in the class. Seven of the members failed to pass their examination. Now, I am not going to say, because I passed with my eighty-five, that I am a little smarter than they, but to say that the Indian, when he has a fair chance side by side with the white, is able to hold his ground and pass through the same trial. The diploma that I received there carried me into college this year. I intend to go through, if my health is spared by the Almighty; for, I think, as long as I have health and ambition, there are plenty of friends to help me, and, if I have my health, I shall be able to help myself to a certain extent.

To study law is my ambition; but, as to what I am going to do after getting through, I think it will be better shown when I get through and get to practical work than to say it now. In conclusion, I may say that we students of Carlisle, I might say that we students of the East, in the future may solve the Indian problem.

Mr. COOLIDGE.—I just want to add a word suggested by the remarks of the last speaker. He has just told you that he loved his people more, if anything, since he received his education than he did before. I have experienced also the other side,—that my people have received me after fourteen years of absence in civilization, and have looked up to me and been proud of me. When I suggested anything in the way of improvements, or when I asked them to convene together, that I might speak to them on any subject, they came, as our friend said, “up to time.” So that they do not have prejudice always. It depends much upon the man. Some of the Indians are only allowed to stay a few years in the East. If they stay two or three years, they have only a smattering of education. Those are the ones who sometimes get the disrespect of the people. But, when one is educated enough to stand his own ground, and is recognized and encouraged by the white people there or in the East, then these people will have much pride and respect for him, and will heed his advice and his words.

Sergeant Dennison Wheelock, an Oneida Indian, leader of the band at the Carlisle Indian School, being present, Mr. Barrows suggested that he close the session by playing on his cornet “Taps,” the soldier’s “Good-night.” Mr. Barrows said that several of those present who were officers in the army had often heard that bugle call at night, at the close of a long and weary march. He himself had heard it on the Western Plains more than once after a battle with the Indians. Nothing could be more appropriate, he thought, than for their Indian friend to play this army bugle call as a benediction to this session of the Conference.

Fifth Session.

ADDRESSES AND BUSINESS REPORT.

Friday, Oct. 4, 1889.

The Conference opened at ten o'clock A.M., the chairman, General Fisk, presiding. Miss Anna C. Hamilton, of the Carlisle Indian School, was the first speaker.

A TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE.

MISS HAMILTON.—It gives me unbounded pleasure to have the privilege of standing on the floor of this convention. As friends of the Indian cause, we have much for which we should be thankful. There is a better day dawning for the Indian race. There are many things to cheer us. The American people are becoming awakened to the responsibility that rests upon them. The environment which has surrounded the Indian in the past is changing. The missionary has done grand work. The banner of the cross has been set up among this people East and West, North and South. The young are being elevated: there is hope for their future. I am thankful the Lord has called me to be one of his servants in this work.

Ten years ago, after nine years of labor among the soldiers' orphans of Indiana, I was resting among the Green Mountains, in the valley of the Connecticut, when a telegram came from the Indian Territory, saying: "Will you accept a position as teacher at Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency? A school awaits you of sixty-two pupils. Answer immediately." It did not take long to decide. At 7 A.M. the following morning, I was *en route* for the Territory. Cheyenne school had just opened: the work was new. Agent Miles, one of the grandest and noblest of men, had passed through many trying scenes with these Indians. With love in his heart and tender kindness to that people, he effected a permanent influence for good. He requested us as teachers to forbear learning the Indian language.

My first thought in teaching them was that they must learn to speak the English language, if they were to become American citizens. Many discouragements met us. We were looked upon with suspicion, for they had been deceived by our own people. Day and night, we were surrounded by the Indian men and women, who vigilantly watched us. An old Indian, in speaking to me, said: "Perhaps you wonder why we sit around so much. We have been watching your characters. We see where you stand. We are satisfied, and we are glad to leave our children in your keeping."

The Sabbath-school was one of the enjoyable features of the work. Every Sabbath we gathered together the children, and many of their

parents came to hear the word of God. After Sunday-school, those who desired went to their homes; and many put into practice the lessons taught at the boarding-school in cleanliness and order. Practical work was done in this school. The boys were taught to work on the farm and in the garden. They were trained in the care of cattle. The girls were trained in housework, butter-making, and sewing. They seemed delighted when they could cut and put together a garment. All this in a government school.

We often visited the camps. It was our custom to spend part of Saturday in that way. It gave the parents and children pleasure to see that we were interested in their home life. At first, we were not welcome. They learned to love these schools, which were stepping-stones for their entering a higher grade of schools. We saw the necessity for a school system.

We have with us to-day the founder of the first industrial school for Indian youth. There were pupils and camp children who went to this distant school from our reservation. I have had the pleasure of seeing the development of this grand scheme for the elevation of our Indian wards, which was born in the heart of Captain R. H. Pratt in St. Augustine, among the Florida prisoners. He saw that it was necessary that the Indians should not be confined in the barracks without work. He called upon the government for aid, but received none. In the face of opposition, he went forward, and accomplished his purpose. The prisoners worked manfully. Oftentimes their hands were blistered, but still they toiled on.

That experiment was truly the beginning of industrial training among the Indian youth of savage tribes. There were a number of young men who came home to the reservation after being in St. Augustine several years; and they were the first men to take hold and plough their fields, the first men to ask the agent for employment. They were willing to do anything, they said, to make an honest living. Indians have great endurance, and, when they know what to do, there are none more willing. Should we not assist them, and thus help to right the wrongs of the past?

The seed-sowing which was done in Florida sprang up on the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation, and great good was accomplished. Having known Captain Pratt, the Indians willingly consented to their children entering Carlisle School, but not without tears. When our young Indian friend, Henry Kendall, spoke of separation from parents, last night, my heart was melted. How many times have I watched them separate from children! Clinging to them, they would turn to us and say, "It is just the same as covering them under the sod." And it was to them, because, when they came back, they had different ideas, different aspirations. A friend of mine among the Pueblos says the great need of these people is the industrial training-school; and she hopes the government will open some among that neglected tribe. Two young men were put into our manual labor and boarding school at the agency. Their uncle Minimic brought them in blankets, and said: "Take care of my boys. I love them. I want them to be trained in the white man's way. Teach them of God, and this great country, that they may grow strong, and understand how to work and act and move with the people." That from an Indian ten years ago! He has gone to his re-

ward, but his nephews are grand young men. One left Haskell Institute a year ago. He went directly to the supply agent, and said he desired work. He wanted mules, a wagon and harness. They were given him; and he is paying for them by hauling stone ninety miles at the rate of ninety-five cents a hundred.

Young men and young women have gone out from these schools, married, and married with Christian ceremonies, have planted homes in the different tribes, helping by their example to elevate their race. May we not expect much from a people who are thus anxious to be uplifted? Give them an opportunity, assist them, and they will rise.

Rev. O. E. BOYD said that the Presbyterians had had a school for many years among the Zufi Indians, but had not been able to get them to go off the reservation to boarding-schools. They had just received a cheering word from their superintendent, to the effect that the Zufi had consented to send twelve pupils.

THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

Mrs. A. S. Quinton, President of the Women's National Indian Association, was then introduced.

Mrs. AMELIA S. QUINTON.—I have been asked by various friends to say a word about our society's work this year. The Association and its operations are familiar to many present; but there are always new faces here, and those who would like to know a little more of the work of the National Indian Association. It is now rooted fast in thirty or more States, and has two departments of work,—work for making public sentiment on behalf of justice to Indians, and work among Indians. I need not refer in detail to the work of making public sentiment. It has been as vigorously pressed this last year as in any previous year. The other departments are home-building and missionary work among the Indians.

The society has grown during the last year. I have had the pleasure of organizing nine new branches, and others have been gained by State associations. On a late trip to the Omaha Indians, I had the pleasure of organizing a new association in Lincoln, Neb., which, as in nearly all our branches, is officered by women of the very best type. Another society was gained on that trip in Toledo, Ohio. During the last year, we have also established a periodical for our own work and for the help of the cause generally, and I may just whisper to you in passing that it is already self-supporting. The Association has no debt,—not even a floating debt of twenty-five cents, like the late one of this honorable body.

The department of Home-building has been under the able management of Mrs. Kinney, of Connecticut. It is one of the two principal departments of our work among Indians. It was first introduced by Miss Alice C. Fletcher at the Hampton School, then taken by Mrs. Kinney into the Connecticut Association, and was at the close of that year adopted by our national Executive Board as a regular part of our Association's work, with Mrs. Kinney as chairman of that department. The disbursements during the four years since then have amounted to several thousands of dollars, and clerical assistance

is needed for that line of effort. Some thirty or forty Indian homes have been built, or so repaired as to be practically new ones; and the loan of funds for such a purpose to one Indian pair naturally makes other Indians covet a civilized home, and that is one of the best things about the plan. I have just visited the cottages on the Omaha Reservation. One young farmer took me out to see his granary containing five hundred bushels of wheat, and soon he will have harvested two thousand bushels of corn, and he expects to pay \$200 soon on his loan. The returns this year from these various loans have amounted to over \$550. Various small amounts are loaned to tide a family over and bring the head of the family into self-supporting industry, and sums are lent to women sometimes for sewing-machines. The Indians helped in the department of home-building have been the Alaskans, the Sioux, the Kiowas, the Winnebagoes, and the Nootsachs.

The missionary department has been going forward for five years. In every case, the work undertaken has been providentially brought to our notice, and appeals have come in very loud tones, as we thought; and the means with which to begin work have come as providentially. There have been seventeen stations opened, directly and indirectly, during the last five years. They have been directly the work of the Association morally, not all directly organically. Three of them were among the Poncas, Otoes, and Pawnees. They have passed to the missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, each station having secured forty acres of land, and having put up permanent buildings for permanent mission and school work. That which was sown in weakness, with prayers and tears, has blossomed and borne good fruit. Another mission—that at Round Valley, Cal.—has passed to the care of the Baptist Home Mission Society. A missionary cottage was built there on land secured from government. The latter has helped us in this work from the beginning. The next station was at Rosebud Agency, Dak., where Bishop Hare nominated the clergyman; and that has passed into the care of the Episcopal Church, the bishop having had the oversight of the mission from the beginning. Some others, which I must not stop to name, have been indirectly the result of our Association's work and influence. In one case, the ladies of an Episcopal church sent for one of our officers to give an account of this work; and, as the result of that appeal, those ladies decided to open a station and to support there a missionary.

Recently, a new mission has been opened among the Kiowas in the Indian Territory by our Brooklyn Auxiliary; and that is to be Presbyterian, because the missionary and the environment are Presbyterian. There has been no doubt in a single case as to what was wise to be done in reference to the denominational connection of any of these missions. As to the origin of the Comanche Mission, some of the members of our Association in Pittsburg were United Presbyterians,—a denomination then having no Indian mission, and these ladies started an agitation in their own communion, which resulted in gathering \$3,000 and the planting of that mission. Our mission among the Omahas has two stations. That is the only instance in which our society has done work on any reservation where any denominational work is done. Our thought has been to

supply the wholly destitute tribes; but that field was too large for the few workers in it, and therefore, on the invitation and cordial welcome of the Presbyterian Board, our work was there undertaken. Government gave us the use of the old agency buildings, and we have just secured five acres of land about them; and our medical missionary and his wife are doing helpful work of many kinds among the Omahas, including, of course, the superintendence of Mrs. Kinney's Indian home-building there. An Indian gave us twelve acres of land on Omaha Creek, ten miles distant; and a second station has been opened there, a cottage and chapel having also been erected at that point. All this property will be given to the Presbyterian Board when the stations are transferred to that body.

Among these Omahas, I found a very interesting state of things. They had many young men who had returned from Carlisle and Hampton, whose influence was helpful; yet politically they are in a divided state. There are cliques growing out of old family feuds. Yet, on the whole, the people are making good progress. As you know, they received their land in severalty through Miss Fletcher's work, before the Dawes Bill was enacted; and they have been going on wonderfully, considering the difficulties of the situation. More land is under cultivation than ever before, and they are valuing the schools more highly. Their faces show a great change in regard to intelligence. There was a quickness, a mental alertness among them, quite marked since my visit five years ago. I know my Presbyterian friends will not object to my saying that our work there has given an impetus to their work in several ways. For instance, their Board wanted to build a chapel, but they had not determined when or where; and, when it was announced by our missionary that our chapel would be built, the Board made haste and erected theirs. So ours was put further off; and now there are two, and both needed. Hospital work has been undertaken also; and we hope before we leave the place to build a hospital which will contain rooms for a dozen beds, and have also a large assembly room,—it will not in the least interfere,—where the men of the tribe can be taught their legal and political duties, where the night school and the sewing-school and social lectures can be had. Hiram Chase, Esq., an Omaha lawyer recently admitted to the bar, and Thomas Sloan, a recent graduate of Hampton, and others, can help in all these. The latter has just started a base-ball club. He felt that the Indians needed a sort of gospel in their legs: they need to be taught to think quickly, to make decisions promptly; and he said, "I am gradually going to introduce other things, until this becomes a Young Men's Christian Association." We want to stay on that reservation perhaps a year longer, to carry out plans begun and bring other things to pass. I offer you the privilege of helping us to build that hospital. I wish I could tell you something of the necessity of doing that work. Just one thing in passing. Susan Laflesche received her medical education from the Connecticut Association, and she has just gone home to this Omaha Reservation as physician in the government school there; and we want her ministrations in the hospital there later on. Our newest mission is among the Mission Indians of California, and I have leaflets here describing that work for any who desire them.

demoralizing to their neighbors, and humiliating to those who have brought so imperfectly to them the appliances of Christianity and civilization. While there are many among them who have accepted, so far as their circumstances allow, our Christian and English civilization, yet the controlling influence on many of the reservations is still that of a pagan superstition which fosters ignorance and vice, and degrades or denies the family life. We owe gratitude to those who have called attention to their condition and have tried to correct it; and especially do we rejoice that the legislature of the State has been considering the subject. And we trust that such legislation will be perfected as shall supply these Indians with facilities for higher education similar to those provided for other tribes by the general government, and shall, in a way just and right, substitute the full operation of the laws of the State for the present laws of their tribal organizations, and thus secure all the rights and all the duties of citizenship.

LAW ON THE RESERVATIONS.

VII. The Conference renews its earnest request that Congress will consider the bill proposed by the Law Committee, still pending in the United States Senate, intended to provide needed facilities for the administration of law on the reservations.

Dr. FERRIS wished to express his very great gratification with the paper of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

General ARMSTRONG urged that the Christian sentiment of the country should rally to the support of General Morgan. The thirteen points of his plan might not be accepted in detail; but he accepted his scheme in the spirit rather than in the letter. In its essence and point and purpose, we all believe heartily. Let us put ourselves behind the commissioner, just as the column of black soldiers years ago, whom he led to fight for freedom and right, followed his command.

Mr. HERBERT WELSH desired, in the most emphatic way, to put on record his belief and the belief of the society which he represented — the Indian Rights Association — in General Morgan and in the work which he proposed to do. To add emphasis to that declaration, he would state that as long ago as the 4th of December last he wrote, on behalf of his Association, a letter to the President of the United States, suggesting that, in case of the removal of the then Indian Commissioner, in whom he believed, and for whose retention he earnestly struggled, General Morgan might be appointed. He thought that was the clearest evidence of their belief in him.

Judge DRAPER said that the supposed indifference of public men and their erroneous ideas on practical questions comes not so much from a disposition to do the wrong thing as it comes from the fact that they are not in such an atmosphere as we are; that they are not in continuous contact with the questions which are so commonly upon our minds. He thought they were willing to do the right thing when public sentiment became centred, and when it clearly pointed out to them what is the right thing to do.

Rev. Dr. SHELTON was glad that a uniform plan for school work was recommended by the commissioner. There is great detriment to the work from constantly shifting plans. In the government

schools, he had found some of the best Christian teachers. The government schools that were a success were the schools that used the Bible.

Mr. PHILIP C. GARRETT hoped that, whatever conclusion we might arrive at in the future as to the abandonment of the support given to contract schools, the Mohonk Conference would give its hearty support to General Morgan.

Mr. FRANK WOOD spoke of the importance of calling attention to the Indian courts bill, and requesting that it be passed as soon as possible. Without law, we cannot have our public schools or our Christian education. He thought it had been made clear in the past that law is needed on Indian reservations.

Gen. ARMSTRONG.—The formula for Indian progress has been submitted to you as land, law, and education. A good deal has been said about land and education, very little about law. He had found that, important as education is, it is law that is at the base of it.

General MORGAN said there had grown up among the Indians themselves a simple form of court, called Courts of Indian Offences, presided over by Indian judges. Congress made an appropriation, and enlarged that system; and, considering all circumstances, it has worked, according to the testimony of the agents, very well. The present commissioner has asked Congress for increased appropriation, so that the judges may have better pay, and so that their work may be more clearly defined.

HERBERT WELSH said that, as he understood it, the main purpose of Professor Thayer's bill was to extend the machinery of the courts over Indian reservations. It seemed to him that the Court of Indian Offences which General Morgan describes would not dispense judgment with the same accuracy as these courts. Of necessity, the Indian judges are the creatures of the agents.

Birth Session.

ALASKA AND INDIAN TERRITORY.

Friday Night, Oct. 4, 1889.

The Conference met at eight o'clock, General Fisk in the chair. The meeting was opened by an account of Rev. Mr. Duncan's work in Alaska, given by Mr. H. O. Houghton, of Boston.

THE ALASKA INDIANS.

MR. H. O. HOUGHTON.—I want to give an object lesson to-night, if I can. We have had several here to-day. We have heard here in this Conference that certain things can be done, and that certain things cannot be done; that the Indian is a thousand years behind the white man in enlightenment and capacity for civilization, and therefore we must not expect for a long period yet that he can attain an equality with him. But we have had some object lessons to show that the Indian is up to the white man, and perhaps a thousand years ahead, in some respects. Captain Pratt has demonstrated that the Indian is a man, can be trained to civilization, and can show to the world that he is entitled to be respected as a man and a citizen. Captain Pratt has not only declared that, but he has produced the goods and shown them to us.

General Armstrong has produced from the rough, barbaric Indian granite living statues of sweet and cultivated womanhood and of Christian manhood. There is another object lesson up in Alaska, so real that it seems like a fiction, so wonderful that the tales of "The Arabian Nights" hold no comparison to it to-day.

Twenty-five years ago, a commander of a British man-of-war went home to England from the Pacific Coast, and said that in British Columbia was a race of degraded beings, the worst he ever saw. They were filthy beyond expression; they were cannibals, and exhibited all the worst vices that any race of human beings could exhibit. He offered to carry on her Majesty's ships any missionary that the Church of England Missionary Society would send out to that place. This statement was seen by a young mercantile salesman, then so competent in his business that he was receiving one thousand pounds sterling salary per year,—as much as the commander of a Cunarder. He said he wanted to go, and he did go. He went into the stockade of the military post, and got a young native to teach him the language. It has been said here by General Howard that Mr. Duncan devoted himself for eighteen months to the study of the language. Then he said that he was going to preach to this people. The officers of the garrison told him that he must not do it, that his life was not worth a farthing, if he did. But he went among them, and told them that he had a message from the Great Father. After

delivering this, the first thing that he taught them to do was to make soap, believing that cleanliness was next to godliness. Then he taught them to build a saw-mill. One of the Indians said that, if Mr. Duncan could make water saw wood, then he would die; but the Indians saw him do it, and he did not die. They went and told the other Indians about it. Suffice it to say that he soon produced a civilized community, with a town organization, with policemen, and all the necessary officers to carry on civil government in his settlement.

As soon as he began to civilize this people, as soon as they began to be a power in the community, a great railroad wanted their lands, and the government gave them to it. A bishop of the Church of England wanted them to kneel before him. With the memory of idol worship so fresh in their minds, they refused. The bishop from that time became a persecutor. Thus between the Church and the State they were despoiled of their lands, and driven to seek refuge in Alaska, under the protection of the American flag. They have since accomplished their exodus, after having been deprived of their personal property, also including Mr. Duncan's library. Before their departure, Mr. Duncan went to Washington to see by what tenure he could hold the land of his new home. He consulted there the distinguished jurist who is here present (Judge Strong); and Judge Strong told him, as I was informed, that his best way was to take possession under the law of "squatter sovereignty."

History repeats itself. Less than three hundred years ago, on account of religious and other persecutions, a little band of Pilgrims started from Holland, and settled at Plymouth Rock. Only two years ago, at this Conference, I remember a letter was read from the president of one of our largest universities, saying that, from the deck of a steamer which ploughs the waters that divide British Columbia from Alaska, he saw these pilgrims of this century in their boats, and saw the glint of light on their oars, as they were passing from their foreign homes to this land of freedom,—leaving the protection of the British lion to perch themselves under the wings of the American eagle. They came and established themselves on an island in Alaska, covered by immense forests of cedar and red-wood, extending down to the very water's edge. They built their little huts upon the shores, just far enough to prevent the waves from sweeping them off into the water; and then they began to fell the trees, and to build up there a new community. They soon got out of money. Mr. Duncan, be it said here, although he has received voluntary contributions of money from several sources, has, so far as I know, never asked a dollar from anybody. He is one of those men of indomitable pluck, who will never give up. He realizes that proverb that to him who wills there is always a way. His men were sent to the mines to earn money enough to build their school-house, saw-mill, and other buildings. Mr. Duncan unites in his own person two of the Scriptural employments: he was not only a tent-maker and a house-maker, but a fisherman, besides. You may all know that, in their old settlement, the salmon canned by these Indians brought the best prices in the Boston and London markets. When he was in Boston, I said to him, "Are you not afraid that the people of this country, when they see you prospering on their borders, will

come and take your land and your timber, and bring it to Boston, and use it for houses on Commonwealth Avenue?" He said, "No"; that, so far as canning salmon was concerned, they defied competition. And he also believed that the enlightened sentiment of this country was so far advanced that he was sure that the American people would not rob him, but protect him. He is now applying all his energies to building up this new community. Senator Dawes and Senator Hoar and many others tourists have been there this summer, and all speak with the greatest admiration of what has been done. But, notwithstanding the enterprise of himself and people, on the last of June fire came and destroyed his saw-mill, involving a loss of \$12,000. He went at once to work to rebuild that saw-mill. He did not ask for any contributions for it. His American friends only heard of the loss through England. [Mr. Houghton then read the copy of a letter that Mr. Duncan had sent to his agent in England.]

Now, ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Duncan never begs, and I am not here to beg for him. I will only say that last June, about this time, I was thinking about Mr. Duncan, and thinking that a man, struggling with the great problem of Indian civilization and Christianization, who did not ask for assistance, was the man of all others who ought to have it. A great man, with a large body and a big heart, who to-night is in this convention, came into my office one day. I told him what I was thinking about. "Well," he said, "I want to invest in that enterprise." He told me what he would give. He went home, and sent me double. He has since added still more to his bounty. I then added my own name to the paper, and issued a circular. I have tried to close up that subscription several times; but even to-day I received a check from some one entirely unknown to me. An elect lady in Boston, who devotes her time and property to charities, and investigates carefully the objects to which she gives, sent me a subscription in response to my first circular; and, when she saw in the newspapers an account of the recent calamity, she increased her subscription by five hundred dollars. I have raised, including the above subscription, nearly three thousand dollars; and it has all been sent unsolicited except in a solitary case.

Within the last two or three days, Edward Isaiah Thomas, of Boston, formerly of Worcester, a great-great-grandson of the man who did more in his newspaper to stir up the War of the Revolution than any other man in this country,—and the editor of the paper then organized is looking at me now,—has started another subscription. He has received already two thousand dollars or more.

Now, as I said, I did not come to this Conference to ask money of anybody here. If anybody wants to give Mr. Wood or Mr. Thomas or myself anything, we will see that it gets to its destination. But I come to ask the sympathy of this Conference for Mr. Duncan and his work, that he may know that we bid him God-speed! I have one other request to make; and that is, that our commissioner will say to him, as Samoset said to the Pilgrims, "Welcome, Englishman!"

The Business Committee offered the following resolution:—

This Conference has heard with intense interest the thrilling account of the self-sacrificing and noble Christian work carried on by the Rev. William Duncan, rec-

ognizes in its results an added evidence of the power of truth and love to overcome every obstacle to the civilization and development of any people, and sends to him its most hearty greetings, both of sympathy in his difficulties, especially in his recent losses by fire, and of congratulations on the signal successes which have crowned his arduous and abundant labors.

The resolution was passed unanimously, and it was voted that the president and secretary sign the resolution and send a copy to Mr. Duncan.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY: ITS CONDITION AND NEEDS.

In introducing Miss Alice Robertson, of Indian Territory, General Fisk gave a brief account of the Indian Territory and its condition, and added: Miss Robertson, who is to speak to us on this question, was born in the Creek country, and is a daughter of one of the most successful missionaries that ever served the Church of Christ in this or any other land. Raised in the Territory, and speaking their language, her close relations with them have made her among the most useful of those who have begun to create a proper sentiment in the Territory. It was my fortune, some fifteen years ago, to hold a council with all these tribes on the single question of a United States Court. Miss Robertson was the stenographic secretary at that council. When I uttered my sentiments touching the necessity for the breaking up of things by and by, she thought it was rather heterodox; but now I think she has passed me altogether, and, as her views are so much more radical than mine, and she can tell them so much better, I will now ask her to speak on this important and serious question.

MISS ALICE M. ROBERTSON.—I gave you two pictures the other night: perhaps I may begin to-night by giving you two more.

I go back to the time twenty years ago, when the boarding-school for Creek children, so long under my father's care, was celebrating the first annual examination held after the Civil War had changed the whole condition of affairs in the Indian Territory. The occasions when so many people were assembled from their widely scattered homes were very infrequent; but this examination was a great event, and had called forth a large representative assembly from all parts of the Creek nation. After the classes had completed their recitations,—and these recitations were only of the rudimentary branches, the large school-room being too small to admit all the people,—the exercises were concluded in the shade of the great forest trees that stood in front of the school building. Several of the old conservative chiefs made brief speeches, expressing their pleasure that the children of the Creeks had again, after all the sorrow and trial of the war, opportunity for education. And then, to the surprise of those who thought that the young men should only listen to the older ones, and not themselves speak in public, a young man, a mere boy, as the old councillors would think, arose to speak. Tall and straight he stood before them, his dark eyes flashing with enthusiasm, his face all aglow with earnest resolve to speak words that should be telling in their effect for the good of his people.

Up to this time the Creeks had lived under the government of a hereditary chieftainship, but shortly before they had adopted a con-

stitutional form of government. Now, as they were beginning this new and better form of government, the young man called them to a better life, to the laying aside of the old heathenism, the giving up of the old superstitions and rites that enchained the people and prevented their real advancement, the doing away with the bask, the ball play, and the conjuring of the medicine men; that they should forget all old strifes and enmities, and together as brothers should work for the welfare of their people, the development of the wonderful resources of their county, and most of all for the education of their children. Looking away into the future, he said: "The time is surely coming when we shall be called upon to meet the white man here in our own country, and we must be ready to meet him fearlessly. Our children must be so educated that they will be able to understand all the white man's ways, so industrious that they will have wealth of their own. In twenty years we must be ready for this; and in twenty years we may be ready, if we will."

The audience that day assembled under the trees at the old Tullahassee Mission was made up from all classes of the Creek people. At that time all were poor, for they had not yet recovered from the ravages of the War of the Rebellion which had devastated the Indian Territory. The parents of the children were required to clothe them (it was always an effort to encourage self-dependence, and grand is the motto of the Carlisle School, "God helps those who help themselves"); and, although the furnishing of the "examination-day clothes" was a matter of great pride, and one for which the greatest effort was made by the parents, few of the children had shoes or stockings, and only one out of the forty boys possessed a coat. Aside from the missionary teachers, not a half-dozen white persons were there.

Now, the other scene. Twenty years later, at the town of Muskogee, called into life on the prairie but a few miles from the old Tullahassee Mission by the railroad, there had come a glad day when on the morning breeze there floated the beautiful stars and stripes, telling us that at last the long hoped for United States Court was a reality. In the court room, on the occasion of which I speak, a large audience was assembled. A party of Congressmen were paying a brief visit of inspection, and in their honor and for their enlightenment many people were present. More of the audience were white men than Indians; but among both whites and Indians were evidences of wealth, culture, education, and refinement. The presiding officer was he who, a mere stripling twenty years before, was now a strong man in middle life. The earnest, boyish face was now seamed with lines of thought and care. After the other speakers had in turn been presented by him to the audience, he himself spoke, with the same fearless utterance of twenty years before, and with no less startling effect; and now his words were: "Instead of destroying the Indian people, the policy of the United States has been to gradually teach them the use of the methods of civilization. This course has been humane beyond all precedent in history. Heretofore, whenever a nation of conquerors has come in contact with a weaker one, it has swept it before it like the forest itself. Christian civilization has endeavored to bring the weaker race up to its own station.

"And now the time has come to settle our own destinies: we may

have statehood and civil liberty. We have adopted the letter of the institutions of Christianity, but only in part its spirit. We must put ourselves in full accord with the progress of American institutions, or there is no place for us in the future. For myself, there is no dearer hope of my heart, no higher aspiration as a man, than to come to this American citizenship."

This speech, delivered with an earnestness that was even more eloquent than the words used, was listened to with breathless attention by both Indians and white men, and followed by ringing applause from most; but the more conservative Indians present were evidently as much opposed to giving up the Indian nationality for United States citizenship as the now dead warriors of twenty years before had been to relinquish the busk and the medicine man.

And now as to the condition of affairs among the five civilized tribes. They have there, as you have been told, five distinct nations, each with its constitutional government. These nations have the largest amount of land, the largest amount of money to expend in the support of their governments, and the largest number of offices to be filled in proportion to the population that can be found anywhere. There are, indeed, so many offices in proportion to the population that almost every man feels that he ought to have one. Few comparatively have had any other profession; and to them such utterances as I have quoted bring the same alarm that Demetrius felt when Paul's preaching endangered his craft. The people who control in the affairs of these nations are, almost without exception, mixed bloods with more white than Indian blood. They cannot be called savages: they are shrewd, educated men. Having no right to representation in Congress, and yet with the feeling that their interests require some of their people there to represent them before the government, it has been the habit of each Indian government to send "delegates" to Washington every winter. Next to being chief, the most desirable office has been that of delegate to Washington. In order to secure the various claims and appropriations they were sent there to work for, they, without any right upon the floor of Congress, without the vote that would secure them a hearing, have been compelled to resort to lobbying, and to the payment of large legal fees, which were in reality only a system of bribes. In this way, they have learned many evils in legislation which they have brought back to use in the control of their more ignorant brethren. While the full-bloods are always spoken of as the controlling influence and the one that holds these people back from American citizenship, the real influence is that of the half-breed office-holder, who fears to lose his occupation. The Indian agent, in his annual report for the current year, says that the sentiment in favor of citizenship and allotment of lands is rapidly growing, and is secretly favored by many who dare not openly acknowledge their real sentiments; and, if it were possible to take a vote of the people upon the Australian system, this vote would be in favor of lands in severalty and United States citizenship.

Among the great difficulties in the Indian Territory is the complex character of its population. The real Indian, the genuine full-blood, is numerically the smallest element in this mixed mass of humanity,—if, indeed, people so widely scattered can be called a mass,—about

All their boarding-schools, in which they have about four hundred pupils, are on the industrial plan, like those of the Cherokees. The Choctaw school is in the most excellent condition. The Chickasaw school is doing well.

With a few words about the school under my care. This school is intended to be as nearly as possible upon the cottage plan, the two cottages being run by a house mother, who endeavors to train the girls as if they were her daughters. They receive lessons in books, but in needlework, in cookery, and in other daily accomplishments. Some of these girls are provided for by scholarships: others are from various families; but in the school all stand on the same footing, whether they pay and who does not. To show the progress of the school: At the beginning of last year, a wagon of jaded horses stopped in front of the school. A man was driving got out, and, coming to me, said, "I have a girl." I had several times declined to take her, but he explained that she had cried to him to bring her, and he brought her the one hundred miles in his wagon. A tall, thin figure she was, in her shapeless gown of thin material, a pair of stockings and shoes much too large for her, and a wardrobe. Her brown face was beaming with joy. I thought she would prove a very promising pupil. But the next day, her enthusiastic joy had vanished. She was in the civilized clothing into which she was put. She was crying and wondering why the very proper house mother should have been appearing in the front yard, in full view of the school, in a gown that had been given her. The new way of dress was literally howling with homesickness. She was full of trouble, was unruly and idle and full of mischief. One day there came a young lady, who wore a handsome dress of black and velvet, with bonnet to match, her hands encased in kid gloves, her toilet being perfect in every detail. This was her young sister, who was to be a pupil, equally well as the first girl, simply dressed, as was befitting a school-girl. I thought, I ought to say that the poor girl was the better, but this was not the case. We are very proud of the progress of our girls in housekeeping. Our oldest, most successful of last year are now at school in Ohio. I believe that the girls of the East to finish their studies for the lessons in life and to learn to live wisely.

I hope that you will all be interested in the Indian question. In the outline that I have given you, you may form some idea of the complex relations and problems that are presented by the Indian question of country. When the question is asked me, "What can be done for the Indians?" the only reply I can make is that I can see to be done now is to press the education of these people until they shall be prepared for citizenship." I hope that you will all be interested and

General Whittlesey was asked to say a few words to

brighter side of the Indian question, to lighten the picture given the night before.

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—The dark picture painted before us last night was undoubtedly intended to present only one aspect of the condition of the Indian to whom lands have been allotted. The facts stated are undoubted, and many more just such facts equally dark might be stated. Still, there is another side. Some light, some color, can be thrown upon the picture. Among the first Indians to whom land was allotted are the Santees of North-eastern Nebraska. They received their patents for land several years ago. The last report of the commissioner says that 150 of them have their patents. He says that these Indians cultivated the last year 1,162 acres in wheat; that they cultivated 792 acres in oats, 1,502 acres in corn; and numerous crops of different kinds are reported by him. He says the land is all prepared and planted in proper season, and with energy that is very commendable. Their crops are gathered in very promptly when ripe; and he says they take excellent care of their machines,—mowers and reapers,—of which they have the very best and most modern patterns. He says they have twenty-five frame houses, of three or more rooms, built during the last year, and that all the work in building them was done by the Indians themselves.

Thirty-three of the Indians are reported as mechanics, blacksmiths, carpenters, wagon-makers, and masons. Now, almost the same is true about the Indians at Sisseton and of Devil's Lake in Dakota and of the Shawnees in the Indian Territory. You have heard about the Omahas from Mrs. Quinton. I can say much the same of the Puyallups of the far north, and of the Skokomish who received their allotments. Mr. Smiley could tell you of the Crow nation, who a few years ago were in barbarism. As he came through that reservation, he saw the Indians for fifty miles, all along. They have learned to handle the plough. They have learned to take care of the machines which are necessary for gathering their crops.

These things show that the allotment and patenting of land under the Dawes Bill is not a failure. It has been successful thus far almost beyond our expectation. It is elevating the Indians to manhood and independence, and is giving them the best of all earthly comforts,—a home.

J. W. DAVIS.—Since our gathering this morning, we have received letters of greeting from Rev. Thomas L. Riggs, who is detained from being present by an Indian conference; and also from Miss Collins, stationed among the Dakota Indians, who was present at our last gathering. Her letter, full of interest, is for lack of time referred in part to the commissioner, and in part to the ladies' societies here represented for practical answers. In the line of the bright things in regard to the Indian, let me say that the Santee Indians, who have their farms in severalty, are quite concerned because the whites are coming in and bringing a very inferior element. They are considering what shall be done; and, as a very practical thing, the young men, having formed a Young Men's Society of Christian Endeavor, are sending their members out to sustain Sabbath-schools for the white children. Were there time, I could give you other bright glimpses from the field, but much prefer you should hear Mrs. Shelton, who has just returned from a visit among the Indians, and has

been among some who have never before had a white woman in their camp.

Mrs. SHELTON said there was not time to do justice to the smallest side of the character of this wild people. She would merely speak of two convictions she had formed. First, whatever the Indian schools of the future must be, let them be Bible schools. The other thing was not to take the Indian children from their homes in a mass to educate them. Indians love their homes and love their children. It is just as hard for an Indian father or mother to lose an Indian child for life as it would be for a white person. Some method might be carried on among them on their reservations and in their homes: then, if the higher education is needed and can be obtained, let them be sent East, and let them go home when they desire.

COMMITTEES.

The following committees were appointed: Law Committee, Professor J. B. Thayer, Austin Abbott, Philip C. Garrett, Justice William E. Strong, Professor Francis Wayland; Committee to co-operate with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as provided in the Platform, General Clinton B. Fisk, Dr. F. F. Ellinwood, A. K. Smiley, J. W. Davis, Dr. Lyman Abbott, Judge A. S. Draper, Dr. J. M. Buckley.

CLOSING ADDRESSES.

Rev. WILLIAM W. PATTON, D.D., said that it might seem strange that so many people of eminence should come from all parts of the country to consider a question which pertains only to two hundred and fifty thousand persons. But questions of principle do not turn on numbers. And there is an educating process going on that will not stop with the Indian. You cannot introduce the element of righteousness into the national policy, and emphasize it without introducing thereby a leaven of a similar character that will affect all national proceedings. He had been deeply impressed by the freedom of discussion.

Rev. J. G. VAN SLYKE, D.D., expressed his great interest in the Conference. He had come there to sit at its feet as a pupil, and to light his torch at the fire that had been burning on that hillside. He had learned a great deal, and felt in his heart a deep interest in this great matter of Indian education and civilization.

Hon. AUGUSTUS JONES, of Providence, said the great problems that appeared at Mohonk were problems that he had struggled with in another field. The broad subject of lifting up humanity into a higher stage applies to the white man and the red man equally, although the stages may differ. It is a tremendous question in regard to either. He spoke of the function of the Conference in creating public sentiment, and recalled the words of Wendell Phillips,—that the great work of his life was agitation.

Hon. ELBERT B. MONROE said dark pictures had been painted, but there are bright days coming. He was an optimist of the slow kind. The day of birth is always a day of weakness, but it is a beginning. The light is rising. Not in a moment, not in a day, but by and by,

the Indian will be a man among men. Going away from this Conference, they should stand behind the Indian Commissioner. They must watch, and then they must wait.

Dr. HENRY HARTSHORNE said he belonged to a small body of Christians who are well known not to be able to take part in warfare. He had been interested to note the number of generals and captains present. He had been delighted to find that his Quaker traditions were so perfectly at peace in that military company. These men, born to be leaders, took their places when the struggle came, and went to the front; and now, in the places they hold, they are still men of the foremost kind. We are to look upon the Indians as children of the All Father, whom we are to be instrumental in raising toward the highest possibility or privilege which we enjoy ourselves. There is light, and there is hope; and he did not believe that there is any one thing that promises more hope and more light for the Indian race than the spirit that had animated the Conference.

Captain R. H. PRATT wished to say that the Indian is very close to us: it is only our fault that he is not entirely with us. He did not wish to antagonize the schemes and plans of others, but simply to present what had been evolved from his experience. In reply to Mrs. Shelton, he said that he had known Indians to do a good many things that are exactly in the same line with his taking their children to educate. It used to be a common thing for the Indian youth to make up parties and go from their homes to visit other tribes, to steal their horses and to make war. They went off with sorrow and fear, but their people let them go. There is nothing so horrible in taking children away for a better purpose. In New York there is a large institution that every one says is doing a great Christian and merciful work. Yet every year they send hundreds of children out of New York, away from fathers and mothers, into our Western States; and, so far as he knew, they never brought them back. In England, they carry on a great work of that kind. In the city of London, they are sending not only through England and Scotland, but they have a depository in Canada to provide homes for such children. They call that work Christian and merciful. It is the making of those they send out, or they would not do it. We have got likewise to organize some machinery that will invite the Indians. Let them come among us: they cannot learn otherwise. Still, he admitted the value of local schools, day schools, and boarding-schools. It seemed to him that the organization of some large government schools, and the distribution of Indian pupils from those schools into our families, would be a grand scheme by which we might in a very short time get them willing to become part of us.

Rev. JAMES M. TAYLOR, D.D., of Poughkeepsie, offered the following minute for incorporation in the Proceedings:—

At the closing session of the seventh Mohonk Conference, we wish to place again on record our appreciation of the hospitality of our hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley.

It has made possible the gathering of those most interested in the elevation of the Indian, and the discussion of the most controverted points concerning it, in a spirit and with a purpose quite impossible save in the atmosphere of a *Christian* home.

We recognize the debt of all interested in this work to the philanthropic spirit and to the more than generous hospitality of our hosts; and we express again our

appreciation of the deepening of our own interest, and the broadening of our intelligence, in the Indian question, through the interchange of views made possible in this Conference.

We pledge ourselves to further effort to carry out the opinions formulated in our platform, that the Mohonk resolutions may take practical form in shaping our national policy toward the Indian.

Dr. Taylor said he had expressed in very moderate terms what every one felt in an intense manner,—the debt of gratitude to their hosts; but he also felt that, the more simply this was expressed, the more grateful it would be to them. He felt the great debt that at least the younger men and women owed to this Conference, and the increase of spiritual and moral fervor that must come to one who enters into the spirit of the meeting. In urging them to further effort, he wondered if any of them forgot that that law of God, "What a man soweth, that shall he also reap," is as true for a nation as for a man. The new principle and the new light introduced into this great movement of national life will not at once correct all evils. It must be a slow movement. We need to learn to wait,—to wait with hope, to wait with energy. In moral and spiritual questions, the great source of movement is public opinion. By words here and by words there, we must do what we can to create it.

Rev. SAMUEL E. HERRICK, D.D., of Boston, seconded the resolution. He felt grateful not only that something is being done in behalf of the red man of our land, but that something is being done in this Conference for the white man. We benefited the four or five millions of colored people in the South by breaking down the bondage of slavery: we benefited their masters as much as we benefited the slaves. Whatever good might accrue to the Indian from this meeting, its members would reap far more blessing. They would carry away convictions of permanent value, and they would deepen and fortify the sources of strength and power in their work at home. Their convictions had been deepened: their faith was larger than their individual names, larger than their denominations, larger than their differences. The conviction had been brought home to him that what the Indian needs is just what we need, nothing more and nothing less,—simply because he is a man and we are men, simply because the divine grace has made no distinction in its provision for him and in its provision for them.

Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT wished, in the simplest possible words, to thank Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, not only for the hospitality which they had extended during these years, not only for the beauty of nature and the liberality of provision and the enjoyment of home, but for the education which the members of the Conference had received in civilization, in humanity, in philanthropy, in all that goes to make up a better manhood and a better womanhood. *

Dr. SIMEON GILBERT expressed his profound gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Smiley. It seemed to him that "the century of dishonor" is about coming to an end. They ought to go back in the spirit of a mighty hopefulness. They had seen the spirit of the Indian Commissioner: they had a deep confidence in him. He hoped that they would bear him on their hearts and in their prayers, and in every possible way stand behind him.

The chairman, General Fisk, then followed, in a graceful and

sparkling speech, introduced by one of his humorous stories. He thought it was an inspiration that led Mr. and Mrs. Smiley to establish the Mohonk Conference. Things are progressing, in spite of all the dark pictures that are painted. Truth is ever marching on, and is as resistless as the surging tide. Let us keep lock-step, save all we get, and continue to get all we can ; and the time is not far distant when we shall rejoice over the complete salvation, civilization, citizenship, and education of the Indian race in this country.

Mr. SMILEY responded briefly in acknowledgment of the compliments he had received, and expressed his great satisfaction at the growth of interest in the Mohonk Conference.

A hymn was sung, and the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Dr. Gilbert.

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1889.

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PROCEEDINGS
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P R E F A C E.

THE eighth annual session of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian was held October 8, 9, and 10, 1890, at the Lake Mohonk House, Ulster County, New York.

The papers read during the Conference are given nearly in full. The addresses were all reported verbatim, but abstracts only are printed. It was felt that the value of the report would be greatly increased if it could be issued within a month or six weeks of the time of adjournment. It has, however, been found impracticable to secure the revision and return of proofs or manuscripts by sixty different busy men and women scattered in so many parts of the country. The attempt at such haste has resulted in the necessity of printing several addresses out of their chronological order, and an abridgment on the part of one or two that is to be regretted. Two months is probably a better limit for the preparation and publication of so valuable a report.

A copy of this book is sent to each member of the Conference. If other copies are desired, application may be made to Mr. A. K. Smiley, Lake Mohonk, Ulster County, New York.

I. C. B.

BOSTON, MASS., Dec. 5, 1890.

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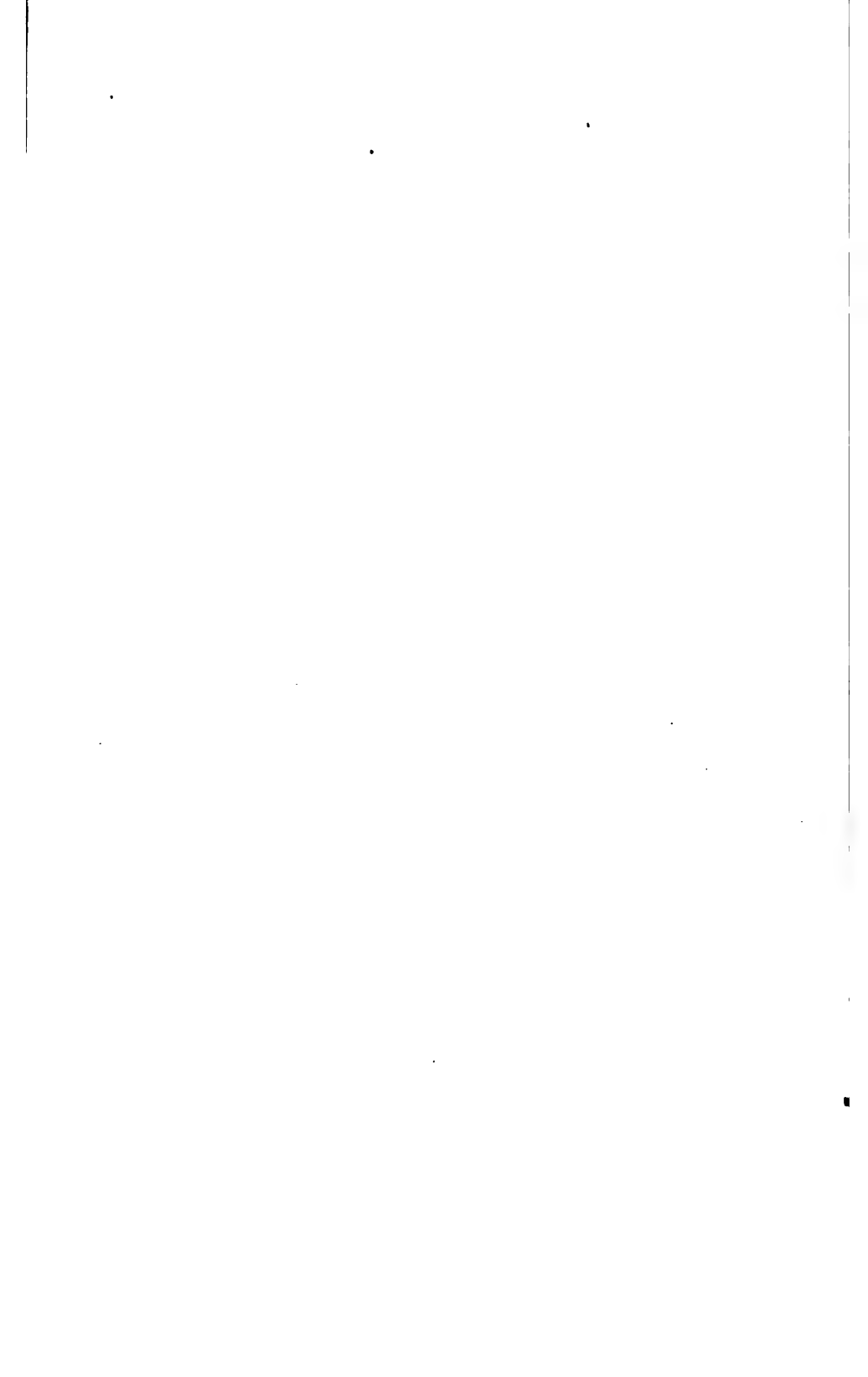
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THE EIGHTH LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 8, 1890.

THE eighth annual meeting of the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference began at the Lake Mohonk House, Ulster County, New York, on Wednesday, Oct. 8, 1890.

After prayer was offered by ex-President McCosh, the Conference was called to order by Mr. A. K. Smiley, who cordially welcomed those who were present. He invited every one to feel at liberty to discuss any of the questions that might come up before the Conference, exhorting them, however, to preserve the kindly and charitable spirit which had always marked these gatherings. With reference to the death of General Clinton B. Fisk, he said: "There is but one feeling toward him who for seven years has guided this convention in such a remarkably successful and pleasant way; and there will be further opportunity for us to express our feelings in this regard. In looking over the field for some one who could take his place, I saw one pre-eminently fitted to fill the position. I therefore nominate President Merrill E. Gates, formerly of Rutgers College [now President of Amherst College], as presiding officer of this Conference."

President Gates was unanimously elected.

On motion of Dr. William Hayes Ward, the following persons were elected Secretaries: Major John C. Kinney, of Hartford, Conn., Joshua W. Davis and Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, both of Boston.

On motion, Mr. Frank Wood, of Boston, was elected Treasurer.

On motion of Dr. Lyman Abbott, it was voted that a committee of seven should be appointed by the President who should present after the discussions a platform for the action of the Conference. In accordance with this vote, the following committee was subsequently announced: Dr. Lyman Abbott, Dr. William Hayes Ward, Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Mrs. Sara T. Kinney, Dr. Addison P. Foster, Philip C. Garrett, and H. O. Houghton.

On motion, a Publishing Committee, consisting of Messrs H. O. Houghton and Frank Wood of Boston, was appointed.

On assuming his duties as presiding officer, President Gates spoke as follows:—

President GATES.—*Ladies and Gentlemen:* Certain critics of our American life have seen in reforming conventions and conferences such as this, only evidences of discontent,—indications that our

American system of government fails to meet the needs of the people and of the time. But it seems to me that our fitness for self-government is in no way more clearly evinced than by precisely such gatherings as this Mohonk Conference. No constitution can cover, or should by minute provisions attempt to cover, all possible contingencies in national life. No code can provide for all possible cases, since the conditions out of which conflicts of right arise are continually changing with the life and growth of a people. And when to the conscience of the American people questions present themselves which call for modifications of precedents and existing laws, what could be a more healthful sign than these voluntary assemblages of thoughtful and patriotic citizens to take counsel together as to the best method of bringing about needed changes? A nation that is not fit for self-government will fail voluntarily to address itself to such tasks as the one which calls us together. The people who are fit for self-government will voluntarily undertake such reforms, and will successfully carry them into effect. Conferences for counsel and for mutual enlightenment will be followed by the distribution of the light thus gained through those centres for the diffusion of ideas,—the newspapers, institutions of learning, and the pulpit. Public opinion thus enlightened will be directed toward necessary legislation for the securing of the desired objects. And so we are doing the work of intelligent patriots in first informing ourselves, then informing others, and finally in attempting by the legitimate methods of education and legislation to reform the abuses that have attracted our attention.

This Conference has drawn together year after year earnest men and women, who come none the less willingly because of the beauty of the situation and the gracious hospitality of our hosts, but who come not chiefly for that. We meet in the earnest desire to secure justice, education, citizenship, and Christianity for that weaker race whose destinies Providence has intrusted to this nation in its strength. It is for this reason that the Mohonk Conference has come to have a name and an influence throughout our land.

Grave as are the problems which still face us, and great as is the work remaining to be done, we may still felicitate ourselves upon the progress which has already been made.

When Plato has sketched his ideal commonwealth, you remember he makes Socrates say, in answer to the question when this happy state of affairs may be hoped for as actual,—when we may hope that this ideal government will be established,—“This can happen only when sovereigns become philosophers.” But here in America the people are sovereign; and, if to be philosophers is to love wise and just views of life, law, and national policy, then the American people are more and more truly becoming philosophers. We are none of us blind to the serious defects of our American system of law-making and administration. But I trust none of us are blind, either, to the many proofs that, upon the whole, what Lincoln used to call the “sober second thought” of the American people may still be trusted to do justice and to enforce righteousness. Let party politicians affirm that the people do not care for the Decalogue in election issues, and that high considerations of morality in politics will ruin govern-

ment by parties and paralyze administration! We do not hold to such a creed: we rather say, with the greater and truer statesmen, who believe in the eternal foundations of justice and righteousness, "Let us go to the people, and they will see that justice is done."

And this persistent "going to the people" through the press, and through meetings for popular information and for agitation, and through appeals to our representatives in Congress, has had a very appreciable and a most gratifying result. Already great progress has been made toward securing the ends which we have in view.

It is but five years since it fell to my lot to present this Indian question for the consideration of the Social Scientists of the country at their Saratoga meeting. In a paper there read, upon "Land and Law as Agents in Educating Indians," the sad facts had to be set forth that we gave the Indian no chance to acquire land, that we gave the Indian no protection by law, and that the system of education for Indians at that time made even nominal provision for a pitifully small proportion of the Indian children of school age. The only education we gave the Indian by our laws regarding *land*, was to give him a training in the process of being systematically robbed. As to fitting him for citizenship by the reign of law, we then gave him but a few of the hardest penalties and none of the stimulating and helpful protection of the law. Of that self-education which comes from making, obeying, and administering law, he knew nothing.

White men used the law to cheat him; but he found no protection under law. The accursed reservation system, which left Indians helplessly shut off by themselves in communities where savagery with all its social vices was carefully perpetuated, the people of the country had not learned to detest, and the philanthropists of the country had only begun to attack, in the interest of a true home life. Five years ago there was not a race of men on earth, no matter how degraded, whose members might not take advantage of our laws of naturalization and become citizens of the United States, except only the race that is most distinctively American, no one of whose sons, no matter how intelligent and well qualified for the responsibilities of citizenship, could by any possibility become a citizen of the United States. To recount these facts is enough to remind us how much we have to be thankful for, in the progress which these five years have witnessed.

Those of us who have had occasion to be present at Washington during the progress of such reform as has been secured in legislation for the Indians, know well that the whole nation owes a debt to the friends of the Indian for a quickening of the national conscience upon matters of righteousness. From the persistence with which the results of deliberations here have been pressed upon the attention of members of Congress, Congress has come to be more keenly alive to appeals for justice about every matter which calls for legislation. Congressional committees are forced to become very familiar with urgent appeals from corporations, from manufacturing interests, and from strong local interests, in every case asking selfishly for something which will be to their own advantage. It is refreshing, to one who is engaged in the interest of the Indian at Washington, to see how much more readily at these latest sessions the attention of Congress can be secured for *appeals based upon simple considerations of jus-*

tice and made by men who do not and cannot possibly have any selfish interest in presenting the claim. All our work at this Conference has this benediction for us, this element of *unselfish effort for the oppressed and the ignorant*. And in so far as we secure public recognition of the just claims of the Indian, and legislation which protects his interests and develops his manhood, we not only bless him, but we bring upon our national legislature and upon the whole people the blessing which always attends the disinterested doing of justice and unselfish assistance in aiding the helpless to aid themselves.

To the friends who have met with us here, coming from active work in the field, these considerations of the unselfish nature of our work especially apply. In that work of educating the Indians which, as becomes more and more manifest to us each year, offers the only solution of the Indian problem,—in this most important work of Indian education, what a demand is made for disinterested, unselfish effort! It fell to my lot, a few years since, to investigate thoroughly one of the largest and best of our Indian schools, spending hours with the students in familiar conversation, and in questioning and examining classes. I came to know something of the progress made in manhood and womanhood by many students who but a comparatively short time before had been shut up in the narrow range of thought and experience which marks the savage. To me no sight I have ever seen is more pathetically powerful in its challenge to Christians who wish to use their powers in efforts to make the world better, than is the sight of the contrasted photographs of the same group of young Indians at the time when they left the reservation and after a year or two in a Christian school. The subtle change that has passed over their faces is like that which follows the creative touch of the hand of God himself. It is as though a soul had been given to them! Their eyes look out on the world with a new hope, and a range that is not limited by such death as the brutes die. They have come under the marvellous sway of light and life and Christian love. The teacher of Indian children who thus almost evokes a soul out of the clay may well feel that her work is the highest which it is given to man to do. We need not wonder that the call to work in the interest of this race appealed to the artistic nature, the clear-eyed vision, and the great heart of Helen Hunt Jackson; nor need those who have seen the transforming results of Christian teaching for Indian youth wonder at the number of large-hearted men and of refined and great-souled women who grace the records of our Indian service, and count it a joy to give their lives to this work. And if here and there one whose work in literature has been such as to lead her friends to expect for her the highest honors if she should choose the artist's life, feels this challenge to a vocation even nobler than that of literature, and gives the strength of her young life to creating a better system of schools for the Indian and to increasing the number of those who are thus born into a higher life, who will dare to say that she has not so chosen that the Master's voice will hereafter declare, "She hath chosen the better part"?

This thought of the noblest aspect of our work, and of the unselfishness which marks what is best in it, brings to the thought of us all the name and face and voice of him whose absence is more felt by us

to-day than is the presence of any and of all who are here. General CLINTON B. FISK, who has always presided at these gatherings, was a man of such royal human-heartedness, of such true unselfishness, and of such unswerving Christian faith that he seemed to embody in himself the noblest aspects and the best associations of this reform. He had seen much of life in many of its phases; yet he never lost his sympathy with the lowliest, he never failed to feel that zest in life which is the crowning gift of Christian faith and Christian activity. Thrown with him closely in this work and in other work in which we had a common sympathy, I had come to know him intimately and well. Of course, that means that I had come to love him deeply. Who that knew him did not feel the heart drawn toward him? But the fact that impressed me most deeply in my intercourse with him, in the business connected with our Indian Commission and with the purposes of this Conference, was that in his most confidential talk there was never a strain of weariness in well-doing, or of despondency or bitterness, however long delayed the good we labored for might seem to be. From its organization, he had been a member of our Board. He had gone through the most discouraging period in the history of Indian affairs, yet with unflinching courage and unwavering faith that good would come out of all this evil. No phase of the work here could have the freshness of novelty for him; and some of the enthusiastic addresses to which he always listened with a smiling cheerfulness simply rehearsed plans for undertaking mistaken efforts which he himself had seen fail again and again. Yet there was a steadfastness of interest in every detail of all the work, an unflinching courtesy in respectful attention to every speaker, a genial and large-hearted catholicity toward all new views, and a quick outflashing of wit that never wounded, but always warmed the heart, which made him the ideal presiding officer and helpful fellow-worker in a conference such as this.

This perpetual freshness of effort and of hope had, as its unflinching fountain, a large-hearted faith in God. It was an acquired habit of conscientious helpfulness, maintained on principle (and often at great cost of days of ease and home comfort for himself), which made our friend the centre of so many of the noble works of philanthropy which our time and our land have seen. None of us who have known him in this work can ever forget him. Nor could I express any hope for our Conference which I should feel confident would commend itself to every one who is here more warmly than the hope I now express, that the sessions of this Conference may be characterized by the clearness of vision, the soundness of judgment, the large-hearted love, and the high Christian hopefulness which were embodied in the friend who has presided over all the earlier sessions of the Conference, General Clinton B. Fisk.

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

The President called on General E. Whittlesey, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, to give a report of Indian affairs in general.

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—In the few minutes allotted to me I will merely allude to the great and happy change in public sentiment upon this whole subject that we have been permitted to witness. Rarely in any part of the country, East or West, North or South, as we go over it now, do we hear any one expressing a doubt as to the possibility of civilizing and educating the Indian. When I first began to visit Indian agencies, sixteen or seventeen years ago, it was a very common thing to hear men say, You cannot do anything with the Indian: it is impossible to elevate him, to civilize or to Christianize him. Not only the rough pioneers of the West would say that, but Christian ministers would say it again and again. The Indians, they said, are dying out; they are a doomed race. Providence does not intend that they shall stay among us; they are going, like the first inhabitants of the land of Canaan, to perish from off the earth. But now we do not hear that sentiment expressed anywhere. This improvement of public sentiment is due to the agitation that has been going on in such conventions as this, and in the public meetings held under the auspices of the Board of Indian Commissioners, the Indian Rights Association, and especially those gathered by our noble, active, and earnest women working in this cause. And they are still working, and there is no reason to fear that their zeal and earnestness will give out until the work is completed. This improvement of public sentiment has reached the halls of Congress. As you know, it was very difficult twelve or fifteen years ago to get any attention paid to measures whose tendency it was to elevate and educate the Indian. It is not now difficult. Members of Congress of both Houses are interested in this work, and they show their interest by improvement in legislation all along the line. Under that wise act of Congress, the Dawes Bill, the work is now going on of allotting land to the Indian and giving him a home,—that blessed word which means to us more than any other word except one in the English language. Indians are now receiving land. Houses have been provided for them, where they can gather about them those things which make home pleasant and attractive. Their children can grow up under far different conditions from those under which their fathers grew up. Since General Grant inaugurated the peace policy, a policy of simple justice and fair dealing with the Indian, it has become the policy of the government to make the Indian a citizen of our common country and to educate the children as the children of other races are educated. The work of allotting land has been going on during the past year. It is impossible to give the statistics of that work up to the present time, because the work of the year is not yet completed. The entire work of allotment will not be completed for years to come, and many of us will not live to see its completion; but it is going on as fast as it can wisely be done. On some of the reservations the land has not only been allotted,

but patents have been granted to the Indians, as to the Sissetons in Dakota, the Chippewas on Lake Superior, to the Omahas in Nebraska, and two or three tribes in the Indian Territory and several upon the western coast, in Washington and Oregon. The Indians are very proud of the papers they have already received from the government. They keep them carefully laid away, and, when asked for them, bring them out, and show them with commendable pride. They regard themselves as owners of land and as on an equality with their white neighbors. They feel they have taken a place they never occupied before.

But perhaps the most important mark of this progress is in the increased appropriations for education. My friend Mr. Blackburn, the chief clerk of the educational division of the Indian Bureau, will give an accurate analysis of the appropriation bill. I will only state that at the last session of Congress the sum of \$1,800,000 was appropriated for education. Then there was a large appropriation for the support and civilization of the Indian. Taken all together, I think it is not an over-statement to say that for the support of Indian schools during the fiscal year just commenced there is an appropriation of not less than two millions of dollars. When we think that a few years ago it was exceedingly difficult to get the sum of twenty thousand dollars appropriated for the purpose of educating Indians, and now that Congress appropriates willingly and cheerfully two millions of dollars, it is evidence of very great progress in the work in which we are engaged. Other important legislation during the session of Congress just closed I cannot describe at length. It is enough to name the act for the relief of the Round Valley Indians in California and the act to amend and extend the benefits of the general Allotment Bill. The last was passed by both Houses, and is now before a Conference Committee.

I need say only one thing more. The Indian Office at Washington is well manned. We have an able and efficient Commissioner of Indian Affairs, an earnest Christian man, whose heart is in his work. I wish he were here; but I am glad that he is in the field, visiting the Indian agencies, and learning by personal inspection what the condition of the people is for whom he works. It will be a very great lesson for him. He has about him assistants who are able and efficient, and in the field very generally the agents are good, earnest, working, men. The superintendents and teachers of the schools are of the same character, selected because of their well-known ability; and I think it is true that scarcely ever will any be found now who are unfit for the positions that they hold.

So, taking this general view of the field, I come to this conclusion, not only theoretical, but from personal observation,—I have spent nearly five months among the Indians this year,—that the outlook for the Indians was never brighter, never more hopeful, than it is to-day.

Rev. C. W. Freeland, Commandant at Hampton, was asked to speak.

The copy of Mr. Freeland's address having gone astray, it is omitted here.

President Gates introduced ex-President McCosh of Princeton College, who read the following paper : —

THE CAPACITY OF THE INDIAN TO BE EDUCATED.

BY REV. JAMES M'COSH, D.D., LL.D., LITT. D.

I have been among the tents of the Indians ; but I do not know so much of their character and habits as to be able to aid this Conference in its practical measures. I have been a diligent student of man's nature for the greater portion of my life, and I am to speak of what the Indian is capable of.

There are in all of us certain tendencies. These may be hereditary or they may be acquired. The acquired tend to become hereditary. The Indian, as every one who has come in contact with him knows, has certain tendencies. These may not be always acting, but they are always there ready to act and tending to act. Mr. J. S. Mill has shown that all the powers in nature are tendencies.

The Indian has those tendencies which are in all mankind ; in other words, the common properties of humanity. These make him a man, and distinguish him from the lower animals. It is declared by universal history that the brute can never become a man. It is also settled that a man can never literally become a brute : he may become lower than a brute ; he has committed sin, which the brute cannot do, as he is not endowed like man with conscience and free will. The Indian and, I may add, the Negro have the essential qualities of humanity. They are capable of morality ; they are capable of immorality. They are responsible to God, though not to the extent we are. They are capable of vast improvement, such as far transcends the powers of the brute creatures. What one generation requires in the way of intelligence and civilization may go down to the next age, which again may transmit its acquirements to the generation following.

The children of Israel were ordered to remember how the Lord had brought them out from the slavery of Egypt, all to impress them with the value of the privileges which they enjoyed in the promised land. So we may all remember the pit out of which we were dug. Most of us here are descended from the ancient Britons, whose character is drawn by such accurate historians as Cæsar and Tacitus, and we may add Herodianus and Solinus.

We can form a vivid idea of these ancient Britons from the account which has been given of them by historians. They painted their bodies cerulean, often with the figures of animals ; they wore long and shaggy hair, and were clothed with skins. They believed in gods many, and practised the mystic rites of the Druids, in which there was nothing to give them moral and spiritual ideas. They offered human sacrifices, which were supposed to be pleasing to the gods. A community of women, including mothers and daughters, fathers and sons, was the rule of the family. They offered prisoners of war as sacrifices pleasing to the gods, and in times of danger their best

men submitted to death to appease their deities. There were frequent wars between the different tribes; and their armies were at times led or rallied by their women, as they were by Boadicea, for instance.

From this race, or a like race, the great body of the people of that country have sprung, and the most of those present at this Convention. We know how these barbarians were elevated. First, the missionaries of the cross proclaimed Jesus and the blessing of salvation to them, and they were led by the power of God to listen and believe and to propagate the faith. At the Reformation they were put in possession of a purer doctrine, to which followed the civilizing influences of literature, science, and art. From that race have descended the great men of England, her theologians and philosophers, her orators and poets, her men of science and inventors, her statesmen and philanthropists. I am sure that by the grace of God and the same means the Indians may be raised to a like belief and civilization.

There is a dormant faculty in the Indian race. To us has been committed the duty of calling it forth. We have all been moved by the stirring address of Caractacus to the Romans, complaining of the wrongs to which his people had been subjected. I have read quite as eloquent appeals by the Indians against the injustice which has been done them by the American people. I know that I am descended from one of the rudest of that race, from what are called the "Wild Scots of Galloway," ranging over the south-west of Scotland and north-east of Ireland. What has been done for my people by missions and schools we should do by the like means for the inferior races who are our wards. In the eleventh century of our era there was written by an Irishman a grand poem, by a man of my name. It was read to me in a translation by a great Irish scholar. I felt as I heard it that I could produce nothing to equal it, and that the people who could produce such a poet must be capable of immeasurable advancement. I can believe that in the course of time one of that race may become president of that college which I have lately vacated. I could wish that the lately appointed president of Amherst College, so admirably fitted for that office, might live so long that there would be Indian scholars ready to succeed him.

The method pursued by the bureau at Washington, discussed and sanctioned by the Mohonk Conference, seems to me to be fitted, more than any other plan which has been suggested, to accomplish the end we have in view,—the Christianization and civilization of the race. I admire the statesman-like paper read at the Mohonk Conference last year by General Morgan and published in the record of its proceedings. I cannot help being sorry for it; but I have come to the conclusion that it is absolutely necessary to break up the tribal system in favor of the allotment of the land in severalty. I have a fancy to see some of the tribes made Christian and still continuing tribes. But I am convinced that the people cannot be elevated in the associations of the camp. There must therefore be property allotted to the individual, to call forth individual energy and ambition. In the change from one system to another, great care must be taken to preserve the institution of the family

in which God means the young to be trained. In as many cases as possible, the children of barbarous parents should be placed for a time in Christian families. Thus only can better tendencies be called forth and the domestic virtues formed. It seems to me that the admirable schools of General Armstrong and Captain Pratt are founded on the right principles, and should be liberally supported and so extended as to be opened to all the young who can be brought into them.

As to the subjects taught, there must, in the first instance, be the English language, which should be required of every pupil. Their own tongues tend to narrow the intellect, and are not fitted to impart and express the ideas which expand the mind and excite higher aspirations. As to the specific branches taught, I do not know that we could have better text-books and reading-books than those used in our national schools. If the Indian children can be made to attend, I believe they are quite able to understand them. So far as I have observed, the children of uncivilized races are nearly as quick as our children are in taking in elementary instruction. Up to fifteen or sixteen years of age, the children of the barbarous races are not so far behind those of the more favored. I acknowledge that they are apt to be left behind, when they have to learn to use the more abstract terms and rise to the higher generalizations of the races which have been educated for ages.

x To enable them to comprehend these, there must be a process of evolution,—which I believe to be a divine and beneficent one,—continued for several ages. This will lead to the enlargement of the brain as an organ of the mind. I have been told by an intelligent gentleman who lived for several years in the British West Indies that a hatter could tell you at what time a company of Negroes had been brought to a plantation by the size of their brain; those who had been longest in the country and in contact with civilized men having larger heads than those who had been introduced more recently. Put the Indians only for a very few ages under civilizing and Christian influences, and undoubtedly the intellectual capacity would be greatly augmented. The success of late of Negro students in Harvard, in gaining high honors, shows what their race is capable of, and I believe that the Indians have a like capacity.

I certainly think that both the mission schools and the government schools should be employed to elevate the Indians. The effort to raise the race will never be thoroughly successful unless they are taught by the Bible and under Christian influence. In the mission schools, the Bible is the most powerful instrument which they can employ, even for the mere quickening of the faculties.

But how are we to get religion introduced into the national schools which Indian children attend? There may be some difficulty in doing this. It starts one of the most perplexing questions of the day,—that of teaching religion in national schools. But where there is a will there is commonly a way. In most cases, the teachers who seek schools where Indians are taught are Christian men and women, and they will find means of giving religious instruction within their school-room or beyond it, without violating any national law or the rights of conscience. Let the missionary societies watch carefully over the

appointment of teachers in the national schools in which Indians are taught. In cases in which the national schools do not give religious instruction, the ministers in the district should be invited to do the work; and they will often do it more effectively than the ordinary teacher. To encourage them, the missionary societies may have to add to their salaries as pastors; and this will entitle them to overlook the work. However done, the Christian people of this land must see that the gospel is made known to every one of this heathen people, as not only the means by which they can be brought to know of a holy God and a loving Saviour, but by far the most effective means of calling forth intelligence and producing civilization.

The following report of the Business Committee was adopted: *Resolved*: That opening addresses and papers be limited to twenty minutes, and that remarks succeeding be limited to ten minutes, unless toward the close of debate the President deems it expedient to limit remarks to five minutes; no one to speak twice on the same subject until others who wish to speak have been heard.

Voted that the order of the morning be as follows: paper by Dr. McCosh, paper by Philip C. Garrett, paper by T. W. Blackburn.

Voted that we recommend that a committee of three be appointed to draft and present this evening a series of resolutions relative to General Clinton B. Fisk.

Voted that the remainder of the evening be devoted to reports from the field.

The following paper was then read by Philip C. Garrett, of Philadelphia:—

ON THE CHOICE OF INDUSTRIES IN INDIAN EDUCATION.

BY PHILIP C. GARRETT.

In the winter of 1889-90, our host and myself had an opportunity to visit the remote reservation, at Yuma or Fort Yuma, in company with the agent, Major Horatio N. Rust. The reservation, a few miles from the débouchure of the Colorado River into the Gulf of California, covers an area of 45,880 acres of good bottom land on the California side of the river, contiguous to the site of the old fort, and directly opposite the village of Yuma on the Arizona side. Of course, the materials for irrigation are abundant; and, as the soil is rich and easy, it is only a question of methods whether the land shall be made arable and prolific. The present Indian village lies along a strip of low ground, forming a valley which empties into the river, and is not unfrequently overflowed. The surrounding land is not much higher, but part of it at least enough so to escape inundation; and the object of the visit on the part of the agent was to look into the feasibility of inducing the Indians to remove their village to a site less likely to be flooded in time of deluge. What the irrigation schemes of Congress may do to bring the Yumas into the midst of white civilization it is impossible now to foresee; but up to this writing they

are very much isolated, and it were happy for them if the wretched Mexican adobe settlement of Yuma had also been one hundred miles away instead of at their very doors. Southward they are near the Mexican line, and northward and westward the great Colorado desert stretches its vast and arid area hundreds of practically impassable miles, save for the line of the Southern Pacific Railroad, which, fearless of marine re-encroachment, defies the dangers of starvation and thirst. This remarkable sunken barrier, manifestly the basin of an ancient sea or the prolongation of the California Gulf, lies hundreds of feet below the level of the Pacific Ocean, and is so barren of vegetation and so overlaid with saline and alkaline deposits that foot of man cannot safely venture across its breadth; and human and equine bones, bleaching on the snow-white surface, certify to the foolhardiness of such as will so hazard their lives. Northward and eastward lines of barren mountains rear their castellated forms in picturesque outlines against the sky, and eastward lie the broad and uncultivated plains of Arizona. It is perhaps due to these natural defences that this tribe retains, in close proximity to a single white settlement, a spirit and independence still lofty and almost defiant at times, in marked contrast to the abject and indolent air of many of the California Indians, who have not only been broken by serfdom to the Franciscan Fathers, but surrounded and swallowed up in the tide of American civilization which has inundated California. Within a few years, the Yumas were without clothing, except the natural masses of coarse, straight black hair which still thatch their heads and adorn their shoulders, and the red and blue paint with which they yet continue to decorate their skins. Unless it is now and then a withered and wrinkled old person who has not outlived Nature's ancient fashions, they now wear decent though not exactly European costumes. The men, though hatless and unshod, are dressed in shirts and pantaloons, and the women in something like a Mexican garb, consisting of skirts and gayly colored blankets, of scarlet or blue, often drawn over their heads. I believe in two days' wanderings up and down the Indian village and the streets of Yuma we did not see even a naked infant. This is probably in large measure due to the influence of the excellent Roman Catholic Sisters, who with zeal and self-sacrificing industry were conducting a very good school in the barracks and officers' quarters of Fort Yuma. The children in the school were neatly clad in civilized garments, including good shoes and stockings and head-gear. In a few instances the pride or vanity of a boy would not allow him to sacrifice his abundant locks of black hair for the white man's hat; but in most cases the barber had done his work, and the transformation was complete. The force of example, the recognized superiority of the white race, and that powerful human civilizer, imitation, was thus, by the daily sight of these children, leavening the whole lump of savagery; and becoming conscious, like our first parents, they were clothing themselves in modesty.

I have referred to the fine type of their manhood, and wish to emphasize it. The young women were comely and pleasant-faced, and the men had a proud and dignified bearing that bespoke reserved power. They were reticent, and apparently averse to intrusion and to questioning. When they moved, it was with a splendid grace and

agility. They were lithe and athletic. When they walked, it was with a grand, quick stride. When they worked, it was with activity, and an energy that bespoke vigor and a fire within. I watched two men poling a raft across the turbulent waters of the Colorado, which here rolls, a red current of modified or muddied liquid, in powerful swirls to the Gulf; and I have seldom witnessed such whole-souled effort as they threw into their work. It looked as though the torrent was too much for them, and they might be swept away; but, to my admiration, they not only got across in safety, but adroitly brought their craft to the very wharf to which evidently their primitive but dexterous navigation had been directed. We were told by the surgeon that the tribe was deeply infected by the vices and diseases which contact with United States soldiery always introduces among the Indians, and this was not much improved by the contiguity of a lax frontier white settlement. Yet such were the men; and I was much impressed with the fine material they presented for the best results of civilizing processes. They seemed to be happy. Whether they would continue to be as much so admits of a doubt, as the foundation of civilization is said to be discontent. But here were undoubtedly the elements of a better existence. The intellect and the energy were ready, like the rapids of Niagara, to be harnessed, in the interests of Christianity, of progress, and material prosperity. The school was doing good work, and was starting a good base course for the superstructure.

In visiting the dwellings of the Indians, a pleasing variety of home industries was observable, and indications of some manual skill. The love of home and of each other was unmistakable, and a portion of their labor was directed to the construction of their homes and enclosures of wattles. Foresight was manifest, and granaries like huge baskets bore witness to providence; and here were the seeds of that love of accumulation which is presumed to be one of the strongest symptoms of enlightenment. They have apparently partaken of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of wealth and poverty. We witnessed their cookery, and even ventured to taste the results thereof, in an appetizing pancake, with a Spanish name, that was worthy of Ireland. The soups, purée of beans, if I remember aright, were prepared in those remarkable and not inartistic, water-tight baskets, which, so far as deponent knoweth, are without a parallel among the denizens of oriental America. We saw no pianos in these humble abodes; but ocular demonstration was not wanting of a knowledge of music, for we bought of the son of Chief Miguel a light and pretty flute, which, I presume, was on the same model as the reed which the god Pan used to play to the ancient Greeks. Blankets abounded, but probably not the fruit of the Yuma loom; for looms we saw none. They may have been Navajo blankets, or Narragansett, or Manayunk. If Navajo, at least, they will serve equally well to point the moral of my story.

In pottery, however, certain of the Yuma families appeared to be proficient, shaping utensils with their own hands from the clay of the country, and not only utilitarian utensils, but also, like Luca della Robbia and Palissy, artistic figures of living things, and not usually of soulless things, but those called by Tennyson "the roof and crown

of things." The imitative faculty was especially illustrated (and to this we would call particular attention) by the accurate reproduction, by one of these native artists, of a cup, a European cup, a fac-simile of the stout vessel from which coffee was imbibed at the Yuma Hotel across the river.

Now here was quite a *menu* of trades,—short, it is true, of few courses, yet long enough to suggest the possibility of developing, in the course of time, a series of industries that for magnitude and the quality of their products may challenge competition, and go far toward making this untutored savage, so recently in the Adamic and Evil condition, a not contemptible rival of his white neighbors. It may be long before a World's Fair is held at Yuma, and the climax of her æsthetic attainments found ; but they have nearly reached the Mosaic stage of the chosen people already.

Two brief lessons it is my object to draw from this little narrative. One of these is that we should not despise the self-denying labors of Roman Catholic Sisters. Among all the instances of devotion in philanthropic work, seldom have I anywhere in the East or West met with any that excelled in faithfulness that of the members of Catholic sisterhoods. I cannot join in any denunciation of them or their schools ; and, in humility and childlike simplicity, my experience is that they are the peers of any. My especial purpose, however, is to call particular attention to the basis which certain rude and infantile industries, already in operation among the Indians, afford for most successful education and improvement. In my branch of the militant Church there is an annual query whether Friends are careful to train the young in such business "as they are capable of." Here we have undeniable proof of the capability of the Indians in two or three industries at least. It may, indeed, well be questioned whether any instruction which Caucasians may give them in blanket or basket making will cause their wares to bring higher prices in the market than those they are making, so long as there continues to exist the present *furor* for Indian curiosities. But the time will come when this will cease ; and meanwhile we should be building up the industry, revivifying it, fitting it for larger and cheaper markets, converting rude and savage into classic art in their decoration, and, in fact, aiding our pupils to "rise on stepping-stones of their dead selves to better things." I am not sure but in basket-making the Indians are peers of any manufacturers,—perhaps the superiors of any. But let us take the present feeble but definite and interested efforts at pottery among the Yumas as a basis for their industrial education. It is quite conceivable to me that an enterprising, clever, and at the same time disinterested artist and mechanic in porcelain might by unremitting effort, in the course of time, make Yuma the hive of as busy an industry as Trenton, with a forest of smoking furnace-stacks, and producing a style of pottery characteristic, unique, and meritorious, for which there might be a great demand. I would begin by introducing potters' wheels, and the simplest forms of work, educating them in the different kinds and values of clay and of quartz, in the producing of a glaze or enamel, and in the simplest improvements in decoration : then introduce the best furnaces and utensils, and gently lead them on, as they are able to bear the growth, to better and better productions.

And so with blanket-making: is it not, from what we know of the progress of the Indian, a possible thing to teach him the use of better looms, to introduce modern processes for carding wool and spinning it, to inform him as to the kinds of wool and methods of sorting and washing and dyeing it, that would introduce the Navajo into a new world of profit and prosperity in his own chosen field?

This is the point—in his own chosen field—wherein there is the nucleus of an industry,—the more skilled and promising, the better; yet, however unpromising, let us avail ourselves of this nucleus, and build around it. Whether it be textile fabrics or pottery or basket-making, if the Indian has begun it himself, is it Utopian to believe he will not, under proper fostering influences, be capable of attainment? I believe not. Having had before my eyes this summer an instance in one of the Hampton Indians whom General Armstrong was good enough to send me, I believe not. For I do not hesitate to say that this Indian, for skill in handiwork, was far superior to any white man I have ever found in the neighborhood where he worked, and was worth higher wages.

The suggestions which I wish to make, then, drawn from thoughts that “arose in me” during this brief visit to the Yumas, are these, and they are made in submission to those whose experience in practical work among red men renders their modifications valuable:—

1. That, when disposed to indignation that Roman schools should have so large a share of government patronage, we should remember that any censure on this account should not lie against the zeal of that Church whose ardor and industry in philanthropic labors, and *in promoting the cause of Christ as they see it*, are worthy of all imitation on the part of the Protestant churches: it lies against that public opinion which, directly or indirectly, can sustain such appropriations. And we should be very tender toward those servants of God whose self-denying lives, devoted without stint to good works in profound faith, merit our admiration.
2. That, while industrial education is receiving attention, as never before, in all systems of popular instruction among people of Caucasian races, it needs much greater proportionate consideration on behalf of the Indians at the present stage of their development. It would not be amiss if one-half of the money now expended upon the literary education of the Indians were bestowed upon their training in agricultural and mechanical pursuits, with the full purpose of making them adepts in these, and enabling them to be self-supporting, even if they know little else for half a century but the three R's.
3. In the choice of industries: that we should especially develop those in which the Indians have already shown some skill of their own evolution,—not to the exclusion of others, many of which may prove useful, according to the environment of a tribe, but in the reasonable expectation that in them would be found the best opportunity for profitable occupation, and therefore for elevation in material prosperity.

President Gates said that he wished to say a word about Henry Kendall, who was at the Conference last year with Captain Pratt. After completing his studies at Carlisle, this young man entered Rut-

gers College Preparatory School, and, after two years of work there, he entered college, where he showed among other things a great capacity for foot-ball. "Perhaps," said President Gates, humorously, "we ought to have sent him to Princeton." He was a favorite at Rutgers from the first, and was fairly treated. Toward the conclusion of the Freshman year he said that he had not been sleeping well for a month. A physician was asked to prescribe for him, but it was found that the secret of his sleeplessness was that he had received letters from home, saying that those whom he loved were living in discomfort, and in great need of him. "I never saw a young man manifest a deeper and more tender affection for his mother," continued President Gates. "I never knew a man whom it cost more to break off his studies than it did him. He said that he could not possibly stay and leave his mother to suffer. He is now at home, ministering to her. I hope he will come back to Rutgers at some future time. He was not only a good student, but he was capable of earning excellent wages as a carpenter, the trade that he had learned at the Carlisle school. On one occasion since he has returned to his people, when there came trouble with reference to the surveyed route laid out by a railroad company, and there was great danger of a riot among the Indians, the influence of this young man carried the day for good order."

A paper on Indian education was read by Mr. T. W. Blackburn, chief of the Education Division of the Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT AMONG THE INDIANS.

BY T. W. BLACKBURN.

I am sure no topic is nearer to your hearts, and I trust you will find much encouragement in what may be shown of the progress of the past year, and much hope for the future of a race too long pampered by policies tending to pauperism, pauperized by policies tending to paternalism, and prevented from adopting and enjoying our civilization by a system of barter, betrayal, and butchery.

As most of you know, although many scattered schools have been maintained among Indians for over half a century, the national system of schools for Indians dates its small beginning from 1876, when an appropriation of \$20,000 was wrung from a doubting Congress. In 1882, \$487,200 was appropriated. In 1885, the million point was passed. In 1889, \$1,364,568 was the grand total for educational purposes, the growth of the work being extremely slow between the last two dates. One year there was an actual decrease of two per cent. from the amount of the preceding year. But the present Congress has displayed a rapidly expanding comprehension of the importance of the work, and has placed at the disposal of the Indian Department the generous sum of \$1,842,770 for education,—an increase of 35 per cent. over the sum appropriated in the preceding year.

The table shows the sums appropriated for Indian education for the fiscal year 1891:—

For support of schools,	\$776,870	
Construction of buildings and repairs,	125,000	
Purchase of stock,	10,000	\$911,870
Erection of industrial school building at Blackfeet Agency, Mont.,		25,000
Albuquerque (N.M.) School,		46,500
Carlisle (Pa.) School, including pay of Sup't, \$1,000,		121,000
Chilocco (Okl.) School,		50,000
Carson (Nev.) School,		25,000
Pierre (S.D.) School,		35,000
Construction of school buildings near Flandrau, S.D.,		25,000
Santa Fé (N.M.) School,		25,000
Genoa (Neb.) School,		50,000
Erection of buildings for an Industrial School on the Shoshone Reservation, Wyoming,		25,000
Grand Junction (Col.) School,		35,000
Support and education of 120 Indian pupils at school at Hampton, Va.,		20,040
Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kan.,		122,500
Support and education of 200 Indian pupils at Lincoln Institution, Philadelphia,		33,400
Salem School, Oregon,		70,750
Support of 300 Indian pupils at St. Ignatius Mission School, Jocko Reservation, Mont.,		45,000
Support of 60 Indian pupils at White's Manual Labor Institute, Wabash, Ind.,		10,020
Support of 80 pupils at the Cherokee Training School at Cherokee, N.C.,		13,360
Education and support of 100 Chippewa boys and girls at St. John's University and at St. Benedict's Academy, Stearns County, Minn., and 100 pupils at St. Paul's Industrial School, Clontarf, Minn.,		30,000
Care, support, and education of Indian pupils at industrial, agricultural, mechanical, and other schools other than those herein provided for,		75,000
Support and education of 60 Indian pupils at St. Joseph's Normal School, Rensselaer, Ind.,		8,330
Support and education of 100 Indian pupils at St. Boniface's Industrial School, Banning, Cal.,		12,500
Support and education of 100 Indian children at the Holy Family Indian School, at Blackfeet Agency, Mont.,		12,500
Transportation of pupils,		40,000
Total,		<u>\$1,867,770</u>

To the influence of the Mohonk Conference, the Indian Rights Association, and other friends of the Indian, sustained and re-enforced by the press, the educational organizations of the country, and a growing public sentiment in favor of applying business principles to the problem of civilizing the red man, the present administration owes this official and substantial mark of approval of the policy which has been outlined by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and endorsed by the Secretary of the Interior and the President of the United States. Indian education is now, as it never was before, a topic of general discussion and interest.

My review must be confined, at most, to the comparatively brief period of the last fifteen months. Without reflecting upon preceding administrations or drawing invidious comparisons, it is proper to say

that Commissioner Morgan found a fine missionary field in all branches of the Indian service. Those who have visited Indian reservations know that, perhaps for want of sufficient funds, the management of Indian affairs, particularly in connection with the schools, has been niggardly in its expenditures, unappreciative in its salaries, and absurdly economical in the matter of buildings, furniture, and appliances. Therefore, the present administration finds it necessary to devote itself assiduously to the work of rehabilitation and reorganization. Better teachers are sought, buildings are being repaired, additions constructed, better furniture purchased, sanitary conditions improved, shops added, farms and gardens better cultivated, the table fare made more abundant and palatable, and better grades of stock obtained; and the constant effort is to place the whole system, morally, intellectually, and materially, upon a higher plane of excellence.

There is much yet to be accomplished in the way of new and enlarged buildings before the reservation school work can be said to be fairly opened. Congress, at its session just closed, appropriated \$125,000 for buildings and repairs on the reservations generally, and gave us in addition \$25,000 each for Blackfeet and Shoshone agencies, — a very satisfactory increase over former appropriations, though not half enough. A statement of pressing necessities in the way of buildings, made up for the Commissioner's information, shows an aggregate of more than \$500,000 demanded to-day.

The following table shows requirements of the Indian school service July 1, 1891, in the way of buildings and repairs, based for the most part upon estimates of agents and superintendent more or less formal and allowing no more than \$12,000 for any building, and exclusive of schools specially appropriated for:—

Cheyenne River, S.D.,	\$4,915.44
Cheyenne and Arapaho repairs,	2,301.95
New building for Cheyenne School,	12,000.00
New building at Cantonment,	12,000.00
New building at Jesse Bent's Ranch,	6,000.00
New building at Seger's Colony,	6,000.00
Crow Agency, Mont.,	12,000.00
Crow Creek and Lower Brulé, S.D. (two buildings),	24,000.00
Colville Agency, Wash.,	12,000.00
Fort Belknap Agency, Mont.,	3,000.00
Fort Peck Agency, Mont.,	2,500.00
Fort Hall, Idaho,	2,500.00
Fort Lapwai, Idaho,	10,000.00
Grande Ronde Agency, Ore.,	1,800.00
Green Bay Agency, Wis., repairs,	5,000.00
Boarding school for Oneidas,	12,000.00
Day schools, repairs,	2,500.00
Hoopa Valley Agency, Cal.,	2,000.00
Klamath Agency, Ore.,	10,000.00
Kiowa Agency, Okl.,	1,500.00
La Pointe Agency, Wis., four small boarding schools, to cost \$5,000 each, at Vermilion Lake, Lac Court d'O'Reilles, Lac du Flambeau, and Bois Fort,	20,000.00
Lemhi Agency, Idaho,	3,500.00
Mission Agency, Cal., boarding school,	12,000.00
Mission Agency, Cal., day schools,	3,500.00
Moquis Agency, Ariz., new boarding school,	12,000.00
<i>Amount carried forward,</i>	<i>\$195,017.39</i>

<i>Amount brought forward,</i>	\$195,017.39
Moquis Agency, Ariz., repairs and additions,	6,000.00
Navajo Agency, Ariz., two new boarding schools,	24,000.00
Nevada Agency, Nev.,	7,065.90
Neah Bay Agency, Wash.,	8,000.00
Omaha Agency, Neb., shops, etc.,	5,000.00
Osage Agency, Okl., shops, etc.,	3,000.00
Pima Agency, Ariz., to complete building,	5,000.00
Pima Agency, Ariz., small boarding school for Papagoes,	6,500.00
Pine Ridge Agency, S.D., two new buildings,	24,000.00
Pottawatomic, etc., Agency, Kan.,	6,000.00
Ponca, etc., Agency, Okl.,	2,500.00
Puyallup Consolidated Agency, Wash., new buildings at S'Kokomish and Quinaialet,	10,000.00
Repairs,	1,500.00
Quapaw Agency, Ind. Ter.,	2,400.00
Rosebud Agency, S.D., day schools,	11,000.00
Rosebud Agency, S.D., boarding school,	12,000.00
Round Valley Agency, Cal., new boarding school,	8,500.00
Southern Ute Agency, Col., new boarding school,	12,000.00
Sac and Fox Agency, Iowa, semi-boarding school,	2,000.00
Sac and Fox Agency, Okl., two new boarding schools,	20,000.00
San Carlos Agency, Ariz., two new boarding schools,	24,000.00
Sisseton Agency, S.D., repairs and additions,	6,000.00
Tongue River Agency, Mont.,	12,000.00
Uintah Agency, Utah, at Ouray, boarding school,	17,000.00
Umatilla Agency, Ore., shops, etc.,	3,000.00
White Earth Agency, Minn., new buildings at Leech Lake and Red Lake, at \$6,000 each,	12,000.00
New building and repairs at Agency,	12,000.00
Warm Springs Agency, Ore.,	12,000.00
Western Shoshone Agency, Nev.,	8,122.50
Yankton Agency, S.D., repairs,	4,300.00
Fort McDowell, Ariz., to fit buildings for school,	10,000.00
Fort Mojave, Ariz., to fit buildings for school,	5,000.00
Fort Totten, N.D., to fit buildings for school, at least	10,000.00
Making a grand total of	\$506,905.79
From which deduct amounts which may become available from treaty funds,	95,000.00
Leaves the net sum necessary for the reservation schools to be appropriated by Congress	\$411,905.79
Amount appropriated by Congress	125,000.00
An excess over amount appropriated of	\$286,905.79

New buildings are now contracted for, are in course of construction, or are about completed, for the following reservation schools:—

Fort Hall, Idaho; Fort Belknap, Montana; Fort Sill, Oklahoma; Navajo Agency, Arizona; Omaha Agency, Nebraska; Pima Agency, Arizona; Puyallup and Yakama Agencies, Washington; Quapaw, Indian Territory; Sisseton and Yankton Agencies, South Dakota; Umatilla, Oregon; and Uintah, Utah.

New buildings have been completed within the year and are now occupied for school purposes at Fort Peck Agency, Montana; Yankton Agency, South Dakota; Puyallup Agency, Washington; Mesca-lero Agency, New Mexico; Fort Hall, Idaho; Navajo, Arizona; and Santee Agency, Nebraska. New buildings are proposed for this year at nine other agencies. Special appropriations have been made for extensive additions and repairs at nearly all the training schools, and for an entirely new training school at Flandrau, S.D.

It is believed that the present year will see marked improvement

in the material conditions of all the schools both on and off the reservations.

The Indian Office has been fortunate in securing possession of the abandoned military posts at Fort Totten, North Dakota, and Fort Mojave, Arizona. Also negotiations are in progress for Fort Randall, near the Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota. At Fort Mojave, accommodations are now ready for from one hundred to two hundred pupils, to be taken from the Mojaves in the vicinity of the fort, and from the Suppai and Hualpais tribes,—all wanderers in Arizona, without agency supervision, annuities, rations, or other aid from the government. It is virgin soil for a government school, but promising, nevertheless. At Fort Totten a large industrial school will be developed.

In the past year new training schools have also been made ready for occupancy at Carson, Nev., Pierre, S.D., and Santa Fé, N.M. These, with Fort Totten and Flandrau, will bring into the work the force of twelve well-equipped training schools, capable at once of accommodating nearly 3,000 pupils. With the improvements already projected under this year's appropriations and others anticipated, it will be entirely possible within eighteen months for these schools to carry not less than 3,300 pupils. Eventually, these training schools are to be filled by promotions from the reservation schools; and their pupils, aged from fourteen to eighteen years, will compare favorably in acquirements with children of like ages in the public schools, enjoying the added discipline of practical, systematic, and persistent industrial instruction.

The training schools are conceded the highest place in the Indian school system; and more noticeable progress is made in them than at the reservation schools, for obvious reasons. At the seven training schools 2,112 pupils were enrolled last year, and the average attendance for the twelve months ending June 30 was 1,819.

The national Indian school system comprises training schools, already referred to, reservation boarding schools, and reservation day schools. Each class has its peculiar merits, and all are working harmoniously upon well-defined lines and in pursuance of a suitable course of study.

The reservation day schools are the least effective. They are often the sole evidences of civilization in their localities, and the nearest white person other than the teacher is fifteen, twenty-five, fifty, or perhaps one hundred miles distant. The environment is not encouraging, and the progress of the pupils slow; but the camp school is invaluable as a civilizing force in the Indian country. Agent McLaughlin, of Standing Rock Agency, says the day, or camp, school has a marked influence for good upon the old people as well as the young, and that a drive among the tepees, or huts, will reveal its presence. A cloth spread over a board or box for a table, a wash-basin outside the door, a suggestion of an apron, a white handkerchief, or perhaps a picture cut from a pictorial paper on the wall, are small things in themselves; but these seen in an Indian settlement speak volumes of praise for the faithful day school teacher. The day schools are despised by casual visitors. Official inspectors condemn them as worthless; but the most intelligent agents favor them for their influ-

ence upon the adults, for their usefulness in breaking the way for attendance at the boarding schools, and because at many of them conscientious, earnest, and competent teachers have achieved really remarkable results.

The reservation boarding schools are the genuine leaven which will leaven the whole lump of barbarism. They are the common schools of the Indian country, bearing the same relation to the training-schools that primary grades sustain to the grammar and high schools of our cities. They are the inspiration of the Indian child for something better, and lie at the very foundation of the general plan of elevating the race by educating its children. They perform their work faithfully, and the best results to the whole body of Indians will be just as certainly achieved through these home schools on the reservations as the intelligence of a white community is increased by its common schools rather than its colleges and high schools. It is my firm personal conviction, with all respect for those who think otherwise, that the salvation of the Indian is in the reservation boarding school, where the great majority must be trained to citizenship, if trained at all. These reservation schools are distant from public view. The teachers have none of the stimulus of popular applause, none of the special advantages incident to an environment of sympathetic civilization; yet theirs is far the most responsible duty, and they merit your active, effective, philanthropic co-operation.

As to these reservation schools, especially, it may be said that an increased attendance has been secured, extensive repairs on buildings have already been made, agents have been instructed to consider the educational work of the reservations of first importance, and the *morale* of the school service has been vastly improved. But the past year has added to all these an entirely new feature. For the first time in the history of this work, agents, superintendents, and school employés, and all concerned, have been given a definite outline of their duties and privileges. A formal code of regulations has been promulgated, which clearly sets forth the objects to be accomplished and the methods of their accomplishment.

Also, for the first time, a uniform course of study for the reservation schools has been devised and adopted. This course of study is elementary. It covers a period of eight years, and provides for a scholastic advancement about equivalent to the work of six years in the white common schools, including in addition regular and careful attention to industrial training. One of the brightest superintendents pronounces this by far the most important step yet taken; and so satisfactorily has it seemed to meet the situation that some of the contract schools have already indicated their purpose to adopt it. Sooner or later all these schools will accept it as a guide, and the system will be harmonious, effective, and popular.

I cannot close this paper without a brief reference to the men and women who are working out the details of this national philanthropic enterprise. At the boarding schools, they toil seven days of each week, and often the exigencies of the service require them to work likewise seven nights of the week. Their salaries are meagre, their surroundings barbarous, the climate often trying, and the isolation almost intolerable. They endure all the hardships of the frontier,

but without the compensations of pioneer life among whites. Theirs is a true missionary labor, and their only adequate reward comes from the consciousness of doing good to despised, degraded, and, in some instances, hopeless and indifferent pagans. There are no sinecures in the Indian school service, and they are brave women and self-denying men who will devote themselves to this work. Because it has the fascination of missionary endeavor, and teachers become attached to their pupils and their duties, it appears possible to retain excellent employes even at salaries wholly out of proportion to the services required and rendered. I well remember how the tears glistened in the eyes of a strong man, who had been banker, legislator, leader, and politician, and who secured his position in one of our largest schools by political influence, as he spoke to me of a class of fifty or more little boys and girls, and explained his duties in connection with their education.

Only last week we received a letter from a charming woman, who has gone to assist in opening and conducting a new school one hundred and forty miles from the nearest white settlement, in which she says: "Provisions are exceedingly expensive, flour being \$9 per barrel, and other supplies proportionately high. As yet there are no comforts of any kind here. We are sleeping on the floor, with no substitute for a bed save a tent which we found here. Our trunks are thirty miles away, and a teamster has offered to bring them over for twenty dollars. There is no means of conveyance of any kind from here, so we cannot but feel quite helpless." Yet this is a highly educated Southern lady, who has been in the service for a number of years, and who remains in the work because she loves it.

The following table shows the relative condition of educational work among the Indians for the quarters ending Dec. 31, 1888, March 31, and June 30, 1889, and the same three quarters of 1889-90, and is the fairest exposition of the progress of the year, inasmuch as it comprises those months in which all the schools are in operation:—

<i>Kind of School.</i>	<i>Average Enrolment.</i>			<i>Average Attendance.</i>		
	1889	1890	<i>Increase.</i>	1889	1890	<i>Increase.</i>
Government Boarding, . . .	4,487	4,764	277	3,694	3,979	285
Government Day,	2,467	2,618	151	1,578	1,742	164
Government Training, . . .	1,770	1,991	221	1,670	1,879	209
Totals,	8,724	9,373	649	6,942	7,600	658
Contract Boarding,	3,376	3,808	432	2,978	3,426	448
Contract Day,	1,064	848	216*	622	539	83*
Contract Special,	972	939	33*	899	897	2*
Contract Totals,	5,412	5,595	183	4,499	4,862	363
Grand Totals,	14,136	14,968	832	11,441	12,462	1,021

* Decrease.

Another, who teaches a day school in New Mexico, says: "The house has stood empty for some time, and the roof leaks centipedes, while there are spiders and lizards galore. I am in a constant state of wild apprehension. Then I have to send sixty-six miles for every

article of food, and," she humorously adds, "have lived on ham and eggs till it is hard to tell whether I shall eventually grunt or cackle."

My work being chiefly connected with the government schools, I have confined my remarks entirely to them, but wish also in one word to bear testimony to the general excellence of those conducted by religious and other organizations, both those carried on under contract with the government and those independent of its aid.

An audience like this, representative of culture, disinterested philanthropy, practical charity, and effective missionary zeal, need not be told how promising is the field of labor among the 250,000 Indians of our country, and particularly among the 36,000 or more Indian children. With the government able and at last willing to provide for their secular education, and now forcing them out into the enlightenment, the enterprise, and the evil of our white settlements, the churches, societies, philanthropists, and good citizens generally, will need to be both earnest and enterprising if they are to keep pace with the movement and to Christianize the race as rapidly as it is civilized, absorbed, and Americanized.

A telegram from Dr. Dorchester, Superintendent of Indian Schools, was received from Oregon, as follows:—

Mr. A. K. SMILEY,—Thanks for invitation. Regret distance forbids going. Must finish Oregon and Washington. Since February, have thoroughly inspected New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Nevada. The good work is advancing well. Government is removing bad officials, but not easy to keep other bad ones from getting in at a distance under present system.

DISCUSSION.

Gen. JOHN EATON.—I wish most heartily to thank the management for the delightful manner in which they have presented this subject in its different bearings to us this morning. The outline of the present state of affairs from General Whittlesey, the philosophical and historical view from Dr. McCosh, the very practical observations of Mr. Garrett, and, finally, this valuable and comprehensive report from the official source of information have made an excellent opening for the meeting. You all know that the prejudice against the Indian in his immediate neighborhood is such that it is very difficult to get his neighboring white men to deal with him justly, or to open to him the avenues for his improvement. In 1870, in my first official visit to the schools on the Pacific Coast and along through the interior where the Indians lived, it was almost impossible to find any school management which would admit an Indian child. Again and again I came across an Indian family who had made considerable progress, who had house and property, and were living an industrious and honest life, who were desirous of improving their children. Yet these children were not admitted to the schools of the white people. A great change has come about in that respect. It is necessary to secure to the Indian, wherever he may be among white people, the same common school privileges that every other child enjoys. As the progress of separation goes on, they will live among white people; and they must have the same opportunities that other families have

for their children. I should like to have Mr. Blackburn state the progress in this direction.

Mr. BLACKBURN.—A circular was sent from the Indian Office to the superintendents of education and of public schools in the Territories and States where there are Indians, indicating that it was the policy of the government to secure the attendance of as many children as possible in the white schools in the Indian communities or adjacent to the reservations. But, as Indians pay no taxes, and have no means of paying for schools, the government offers \$10 per quarter for each Indian pupil induced to attend the white public school, the officers of the school district submitting proper vouchers to show that the Indian child has been in the school, and that they have encouraged him, and made it comfortable for him. The school district is obliged to furnish books and all necessary supplies.

Gen. EATON.—From what fund is this money paid?

Mr. BLACKBURN.—From the general school fund. The entire sum of \$1,846,000 is divided up into several special funds, and this money is drawn from one of these divisions. Reports have been received from a number of States, and the idea has taken very well. It is practically certain in the course of another year or so we shall have hundreds, if not thousands, of Indian children attending schools adjacent to the reservations where they have taken allotted lands. The Indian land will not be taxable for twenty-five years. The white people would have to pay all the taxes for schools. Where there are five, ten, or fifteen Indians, the taxation against the whites would be more than they could stand; but, where this inducement of \$10 a quarter is offered, they will be willing to allow the Indian children in the white schools. But for the support of government, there would probably be no schools in many places, either for the whites or for the Indians.

Gen. EATON.—There is still another point of interest,—the setting apart of a limited amount of money by which young Indians of the best talent, aspiration, and character may have opportunity for higher instruction. Will Mr. Blackburn state the facts on that point?

Mr. BLACKBURN.—There is an appropriation of \$60,000 for industrial, mechanical, and other schools. Of this sum there is a part laid aside, from which it is possible to give an opportunity to young men like Henry Kendall, for instance, or like Dr. Eastman or Montezuma, and a few others who have ability in certain directions, to attend colleges and other institutions. We have applications for something like fifty pupils of this character. Some want to go to medical colleges, some to law colleges, some to other institutions. They have completed the course at Hampton or Carlisle, or at some denominational school or reservation school, and feel that they have demonstrated their ability to take a higher course. It is the idea to give individual Indians such courses with money that has been laid aside for that purpose. Some years ago the same thing was done. The present idea is to restore that method to its proper place in the educational system.

The President then invited Rev. Thomas L. Riggs, of Oahe, S.D., to speak.

Mr. RIGGS.—I do not know of anything that has been so marked as a matter of contrast between now and ten or fifteen years ago as this matter of education among the Indians. It has grown almost beyond our own stature. We have come to feel that the work is larger than we are. It is training us faster than we are fitted for it, and we are having more room to work in than we are capable of filling. The encouragement that has come from the government schools has been very great. Our own work has been almost beyond the limits of these schools; for it has been with the wild fellows, with those who are sometimes called the "woolly men of the West." But, even there, there has been a great deal of encouragement; for among the wilder Indians of the reservation there has been decided advance. Eighteen years ago, when I went out to that region, as I crossed the river, an Indian stepped up and said to me: "I understand that you have come out here because you are the son of your father, and because you have some things to teach us. It would be well for you not to come over here, or I shall have something that I can teach you; and that is, that, if you come up to the Black Hills, some Indian will carry off your scalp." We do not hear anything of that kind now. We had among these men such men as "Big Feet," or "Spotted Eagle," as he is called properly. That man hates the better element. He stands as representing the Indian element, the old heathen element. As far as he has any influence, he has exercised it against civilization and Christian effort. Yet that man said to me last spring, "I wish we had a school in this village." It meant something for him to say that. "I wish," he said, "that we had a teacher here." That is ninety-five miles west of the Missouri River, near the foot of the Black Hills, on the Cheyenne River. This man, who is the wildest of all these men, asks for schools and a teacher. I had to-day a letter from Captain Irvine, stationed at Fort Keogh, who tells me that Lieutenant Casey of the 22d Infantry has gathered a body of Northern Cheyennes together, enlisting the men as scouts; and he asks for some help in the way of students from Eastern schools who have returned to the reservations, who should be enlisted as soldiers to be appointed non-commissioned officers. That is an indication of advance and encouragement. It is less than twenty years since an army officer told one of our missionaries that he held that soldiers had a right to their own pleasures, and that no one should prevent them. This was when some one had protested on account of gross immoralities. We have nothing of that kind to meet to-day. We have encouragement of many kinds; but the greatest encouragement in the world comes from Mohonk.

Gen. EATON.—May I ask Mr. Riggs to tell us what the effect has been of the application of United States laws to the Indian?

Mr. RIGGS.—Very good, so far as I have seen. Let the Indian go into the courts. It costs him something, but it is a vast education for him. I had occasion last spring to know of one of our Indians who got into a quarrel with his wife, and she went off to her people. He took the matter into the courts, and swore out a warrant against her; and the sheriff came over with the warrant, and carried the wife back. It was the first case that the new county had ever had, the first fee the sheriff ever had, and it cost the Indian eighty

dollars and he lost his case. It was a splendid education for him.

Mr. AUSTIN ABBOTT.—Do you find any serious deficiency in the practical working of the law for the protection of the Indian's property? and, if so, on what points?

Mr. RIGGS.—I cannot say that I have studied that matter as carefully as I should. I think the difficulty that occurs to me first is that, as the civil law laps over on to the Indian, and he is still under the control of the Interior Department, he has too much law. It is possible to try a man twice for the same offence. The agency police takes him up, and he spends two or three days in the agency lockup perhaps, and then for the same offence he can be brought before the civil court, so that the Indian has too much of a good thing in some ways.

President GATES.—Has there been a perceptible decrease of crime since 1880?

Mr. RIGGS.—There is very much less crime. The Indian is learning, and he learns readily.

Dr. STRIEBY.—What is the United States law on the reservation? And what is the department law?

Mr. RIGGS.—I should be poor authority on that question. Law on the reservation is embodied in the agent. He has almost entire control, subject to public opinion. He is a little king. If you have a good agent, you have a good administration of law. The native courts have been productive of good. They have made a great many failures. The courts appointed to try cases on the reservation make most curious decisions, and they assume most wonderful power; yet, after all, the growth has been upward. It has been an advantage to make failures, and have the cases brought up and talked over and quarrelled over; and, on the whole, these courts are advantageous, in spite of some most abominable failures.

Mr. GARRETT.—You said that a man was liable to be tried twice for the same offence. Is that on the reservation?

Mr. RIGGS.—No: on public land on which Indians are still living. On the reservations the police court holds supreme.

Senator DAWES.—What case was that in which a man was tried twice for the same offence?

Mr. RIGGS.—It was a quarrel between two individuals.

Senator DAWES.—Which tried him first?

Mr. RIGGS.—The police court.

Senator DAWES.—The second trial was in the nature of an appeal, was it not?

Mr. RIGGS.—I do not understand that it was. The defendant was not satisfied with the verdict.

Senator DAWES.—There must be some mistake about that. The crimes which they are to try are written out definitely.

Mr. RIGGS.—Here is a case. A man got into a quarrel at camp, and an attempt was made to arrest him by an Indian policeman. His wife struck the policeman with a stick, and he drew his revolver and hit the woman over the head. The woman was taken to the agency prison. I do not know how many days she got for attacking the policeman. Afterwards the case was brought into court at Fort [unclear], in the United States Court.

President GATES.—I should like to ask the law committee to give the substance of the Indian law, for we are hardly ready to believe that too much of the best law is being administered among the Indians.

Bishop WALKER, Dakota.—I wish to say a word in reference to an experience of mine within the last two weeks. I had occasion to visit a reservation when an Indian court was in session, and I was much impressed with the dignity manifested there by the three judges who were trying the case. I inquired of the agent what the process was. He told me that it was the practice of these courts to bring the person before the bar, to call witnesses, and upon their testimony to decide. I asked what was the general character of the decisions made, and was told that, as a rule, they were very good. I saw more dignity in this court than I had seen in some police courts in New York City. I learned that these judges were allowed to make their decisions, and, if they were in the opinion of the agent unwise, he was allowed to interfere. But he said he was careful never to go contrary to their decisions unless there was marked injustice, but that, generally, their decisions were wise. He himself was the final court of appeal. I found that he was a man of discretion and wisdom, and I am glad to be able to give this testimony in reference to an agent who is doing his work well. He has sympathy with these poor people, and he is accomplishing great things for them.

Dr. O. E. BOYD, New York.—I want to give an illustration from the Omaha Reservation. They are making an effort on that reservation toward having the marital rite celebrated in a Christian manner. At the last distribution of moneys on the reservation, the agent, or some other official, refused to distribute the money, or whatever was to be given, to any persons who were not married according to the Christian style. The result was that our missionary had fifty-one marriages to celebrate within two days.

Mr. W. A. MOWRY, Boston.—I desire to add a word to what General Eaton has said in reference to the programme of this morning, and to express my great gratification at the arrangement of these papers. At the foundation of all our work is the capacity of this race for education, or of both races, for Dr. McCosh has included both the Negro and the Indian. Some months ago I was in Nashville, and one morning I went to the Fisk University. I had a tremendous prejudice against colored people, because I had happened in one of those low-down churches to spend two hours in witnessing what I thought ought to be suppressed by law. That morning I went over to Fisk University, and passed from one room to another, listening to different recitations. Finally, I came to the Greek recitation-room, under Professor Spence, one of the finest Greek scholars and teachers in the country. It happened to be the Senior Class, eighteen colored men, one white man, and one colored woman. I sat down there, not expecting to stay; but in a moment I got interested, and stayed some time. They were reading Demosthenes on the Crown; and I can say that for smoothness and accuracy of translation, for clearness and perspicuity in etymology and syntax, if Rutgers, or Princeton, or Yale, or Harvard, or Amherst, can beat it, they will do well. Before leaving their room, I called attention to the instance of the missionary in

South Africa, who was once sitting in his study, reading Cicero's orations ; and he read where Cicero advised his friend, the general, to make slaves of the prisoners of war that he took from all nations except the Britons, for they were too indolent and too ignorant to be made useful. He looked up from his book, and on one side of his desk was a bust of Cicero, and on the other was a bust of Sir Isaac Newton, and he exclaimed, "Hear what this man says of that man's ancestors." You ought to have seen how quickly those young people got the moral of that story, and what might some time come from their race.

The same thing is true of the Indians. I saw a contrast once in the State of Washington. The clerk of the hotel told me to get into the rear car of the train, as it was a better car. It *was* a better car ; but I did not feel at home, because it happened to be the special car of a gentleman from Philadelphia. So at the next station I quietly slipped out to find another car where I should not be trespassing. I went to the front coach, and there was my friend, Mr. Coffin, of the Forest Grove Indian School, with twenty-six young Indians whom he was taking down from Puget Sound. If you could see what has been done to those Indian youths in that school, since moved to Salem, Ore., you would be surprised. All the cooking is done by the children, all the buildings are built by the youths, all the shoes and all the clothing are made by them ; and everything shows that they have a capacity equal to that of the colored race, or of the ancient Britons.

Mr. FREELAND.—I have been present at Indian police courts, and I would not insult them by comparing them with any of our police courts in Eastern towns. They are the most dignified bodies that one can imagine. To show the impression that these courts make upon the people themselves, let me give the following instance. Two pupils who were brought to Hampton proved to have been very unfortunately married. Gross injustice had been done. They had been married against their will. The uncle of the young man was a powerful chief ; and when a body of chiefs came on to Washington, and came down to Hampton, we asked them what could be done, for it did not seem wise that these young people should live together when so unhappy. The Indian chiefs replied that the Indian court had decided that they must be married, and so they must remain.

President Gates closed the discussion by saying it was evident the central thought to be carried away was that advantage must be taken of the plastic years of childhood, with all their possibilities ; and, since the Indian problem must be taken hold of from the educational end, it was right to have had that subject fill the first session.

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Night, October 8.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES.

The Conference was called to order by the President at 8.15 P.M. The committee, consisting of Dr. Lyman Abbott, Mrs. A. S. Quinton, and Philip C. Garrett, who were appointed to prepare resolutions with reference to General Clinton B. Fisk, reported as follows:—

In the death of General Clinton B. Fisk, temperance, justice, liberty, and equal rights lose an eloquent and conspicuous champion, and the oppressed races in America an ardent and faithful friend. As Chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners, as President of the Lake Mohonk Conference, and no less by his eloquent advocacy of Indian rights in press and on platform, and his varied administrative and executive labors, he served a people in whom he recognized, children of God, to deny whose humanity was blasphemy, to despoil whose humanity was treason. He labored with patience, unwearied in the service of humanity because it was the service of God. In that service he united an inflexible conscience and a catholic sympathy, which made him at once firm in the maintenance of his own convictions and tolerant toward the opposing convictions of others. In the tact, the unflinching good humor, the ready resource, the earnestness tempered with wit, with which he presided over the deliberations of the Lake Mohonk Conference, we who knew him best and were most intimately associated with him recognize his possession of the "greatest thing in the world,"—that love which envieth not, is not puffed up, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, and beareth, trusteth, hopeth, and endureth all things.

Resolved, That this minute be entered upon the published records of the Conference, and a copy of it be transmitted to his family.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, who read the resolutions for the committee, moved their adoption in the following words: "The two grandest motives in the human soul are conscience and sympathy, as the two grandest words in the English language are duty and love. These two motives have often in literature and sometimes in history been set over against each other, as though they were antipodal, as though they were antagonistic. We have had the great Puritan movement, with its magnificent heroism and its magnificent results, the motive power of which was 'conscience,' the motto on whose banner was 'duty'; but it was lacking, if not in love, at least in sympathy, in fellowship, in breadth of tact, in largeness of touch, with all the varied lives of man. And we have in our own day, in some sense as a reaction against the excessive dominance of conscience, what we are pleased to call the reign of love, which is often rather the reign of good nature, what we are pleased to call toleration, but which is sometimes only indifference. To unite these two, to be strong in our own faiths and broad-minded and open-minded, to be resolute in our purposes and large-hearted in our sympathies, to have the courage of our own convictions and to have respect for those whose convictions antagonize our own,—this is to fulfil in our own experience the union whose praise is sung by the Hebrew Psalmist: 'Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other.' Clin-

ton B. Fisk had qualities that were all his own, that belonged to the individual genius of the man, to imitate which would be a folly. But he had moral qualities to perceive which required no great insight, but to imitate which might well incite the Christian ambition of every one of us. And it has seemed to me, as I have reflected upon his life more since he has left us than while he was yet with us, that the lesson which we have learned of him has been the glory of the union of these two not contradictory, though sometimes conflicting, qualities. His attitude on the anti-slavery issue, his attitude on the Indian question, and pre-eminently his attitude upon the temperance question marked him a Puritan of the Puritans in the resoluteness and determination of his conscience. But the largeness of his fellowship, the warmth of his greeting, the cordiality of his smile, the breadth of his tolerance, the geniality of his humor, the play of his wit, what we called his tact,—and what is that but the touch of one soul with another soul?—demonstrated the reality and the catholicity of his sympathy; and sympathy is the deepest as it is the subtlest and most delicate manifestation of love. Perhaps it is almost inevitable that the preacher on such an occasion should fall into the habit of his desk. At all events, my thought to-night is not so much to honor a friend—he needs no eulogium pronounced upon him here in this presence—as to try for myself and for you to find a lesson for our lives, that we may be more resolute in our own sense of duty, have more the courage of our own convictions, and yet therewith a truer and larger faith in the sincerity and worth of the differing convictions of our fellow-men, and a broader and more catholic sympathy with and for true men of whatever opinion.”

PRESIDENT GATES.—So many of us knew and loved our friend whose memory is with us to-night that your committee have thought the wisest way would be to ask several persons to speak, each with reference to some one point or trait or phase of General Fisk's work or character. I shall first ask Dr. Cuyler to speak.

DR. CUYLER.—Dear friends, it is hard to think that Clinton Fisk is not here to-night. It is strange for this convocation to gather, and not see that short, square, solid form and genial face come in. Not here? He is. I suppose, if there is any spot on this continent where the beneficent spirit of our beloved friend may hover, it is here on this beautiful mountain and among his brothers and sisters in Jesus Christ whom he so loved to labor with, for the Negro, the Indian, and in many another line of Christian philanthropy. The last time I saw him in this room, two years ago, on a bright Sabbath morning, he sat right before me, much moved by the service, to the depths of his Christ-loving heart. Tears rolled down his cheeks; and, when the service was over, and we met, he said to me, “I determined this morning to build an extension on my life and make it larger than ever.” God gave him two years more to enlarge; and then he took the great, rich, sweet-tempered, loving life with him when he went up to meet his Master. Clinton Fisk loved everybody: everybody loved him. There was his power. There was no malignity in his philanthropy. There is in some men's. It was love-power all through. Whoever sought to work with him,—and he saw an honest-hearted striving to do the work of the Master in his fellow-men,—he reached

out his long, strong arm over every denominational wall, over every political party wall, over everything that could separate, and made himself at one with them. In one line of philanthropy I had the opportunity of seeing more of him perhaps than many of you here to-night. Some of you worked with him for God's image cut in ebony, some for the red man. I was permitted to work with him in opposition to that terrific curse of the community, the dram-shop. And we felt when he went that, since we dropped our tears on the face of William E. Dodge, the great temperance reform has not lost a more unselfish, brave, determined, and godly spirit than his. All departments of the temperance movement, every line, every regiment, in the temperance army, all loved and honored Clinton Fisk; and to one branch or wing of the temperance effort his departure is a loss irreparable. Our Methodist brethren, too, mourn him; friends of the Negro mourn him; workers for the Indian mourn him; workers against the devouring curse of strong drink mourn him; we all mourn him. Yet we thank God for him. How genial he was! Some of the finest touches of delicate wit and almost Charles-Lamb-like humor I have heard from popular speakers fell from the lips of Clinton Fisk. And so, keeping his heart sweet, his countenance radiant, he moved steadily on, from the humble rank in which he started, a soldier under his country's flag and under the banner of his Master, until at last the Master had only one more promotion for him, and called him up higher and called him *home*. A wise man was he,—too wise to leave his name on marble or granite that perishes. Clinton Fisk carved his name on human hearts: they live forever. His epitaph is way down yonder in Nashville, on many and many a heart behind a dark face,—in the humble life of a Southern plantation and all over the whole land; and there is no one of us who will not count it a peculiar joy and honor in life to have been the friend of Clinton Bowen Fisk. I loved him to the very core of my heart, and I believe you all did. If we could send by some sort of spiritual telephone a message where he is in the Father's house, I believe there is no one from whom he would more love to hear, and by whom he would more love to be sweetly and tenderly remembered, than by this group of his fellow-workers that gather to-night at Mohonk.

Dr. Strieby was invited to speak with reference to General Fisk's work in connection with Fisk University.

Dr. STRIEBY.—It is true that this many-sided man needs all of us to tell about the different points of view from which he may be seen. My recollection goes far back. At the close of the war, General Fisk was in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau in Tennessee and Kentucky, with headquarters in Nashville. He had a purpose, and was able to accomplish that purpose,—to care for the interests of the black man and at the same time to care for those of the white man. I had occasion to notice, many times afterwards, not only the devotion of the Negroes to him, but that white men of standing, influence, and intelligence would come up on the platform with us who were smirched with the Negro color, and be there because they loved General Fisk; for they remembered him when their property, and lives almost, were in his hands, and he preserved them. Soon after the

war there was a great crowd of colored children in Nashville, but no schools, or at least very few. There was a large block of land down near the Chattanooga Depot that had been occupied by a hospital for the soldiers during the war, and was now abandoned. General Fisk said, "If you will get the money to buy that lot of land, I will give you that row of buildings for a school." Three self-denying men became responsible for sixteen thousand dollars to buy the land, and he turned the buildings over to us, and there was the beginning of Fisk University. It was pretty rough for several years, but it answered the purpose. Then it came into the mind of George L. White that he could take some of the singers of that school, and sing money out of the community to erect a new building. We had meantime secured a fine campus. Mr. White wrote to General Fisk, who was so identified with the school, and asked what he thought of the idea. He replied, "It is a visionary enterprise: better not try it." But Mr. White said, "I will obey the Lord, and not General Fisk"; and, when General Fisk saw that here was a way of doing good, from that moment he was in hearty sympathy with it, and became the friend and counsellor of those Jubilee Singers, who loved him as a father. He was always with them, in spirit at least; and he crossed the ocean once to assist them, and continued his co-operation until that splendid building, Jubilee Hall, was erected. He was always interested in the school: he attended the commencements, laid corner-stones, and dedicated buildings, he and his dear wife being always there on such occasions, so far as their other engagements would allow; and I want to say that her memorial is in almost every room in that building.

I want to speak about him in another connection. He was a Methodist, but his sympathies were so broad that he came into the Executive Committee of the American Missionary Association, being elected with heartiest unanimity; and he was always present at the meetings, if he could come. And, if we did not receive from him a little note explaining his necessary absence, we felt that we could always expect him, although he could sometimes come only for half an hour, "to help form a quorum," as he said. We felt that his strong faith and hopefulness did us good. I remember on one occasion, when we were threatened with a debt and thought of retrenching, he said, "The Methodist Church never retreats, and the Congregational Church ought never to retreat." That has been a legacy to that committee to this day, and I thank God for it as a motto: The "Christian Church ought never to retreat." He has left to us the memory of a genial, loving, hopeful, helpful Christian brother,—a memory that will ever be very dear to us.

SENATOR DAWES.—In this hour, when the life and public services of General Fisk are passing in review, I count it a great personal loss that my acquaintance with him began only with his public services, in the capacity which has called us here on this occasion. I never knew him personally in that charm of wit and fascination which pervaded all his social relations; nor did I ever know him in that tenderness, love, and devotion which illuminated his domestic life. I knew him first when he commenced his work as a member of the Board of the Indian Commissioners. Few people know what have been the work,

the trials, the difficulties, the obstacles, which that Commission has encountered ; and, most of all, few people as yet are able to measure to the full all that that Commission has accomplished, in which General Fisk, all the time I knew him, bore so conspicuous a part. They had to do with a race which had been taught by our dealing with it to distrust everybody, a race never satisfied with that which was for its best good,—always distrustful,—distrusting, I was going to say, its very best friends. The Commission stood between that race and a nation whose dealing with it has been truly characterized as a century of dishonorable and unjustifiable and wicked faithlessness. They were called upon to hold the scales of justice even between these parties,—this poor, benighted, suspicious race and the greedy persecutors who had followed it from the day when the Indians welcomed the white men to these shores. They encountered that opposition which every good man, or body of men, if it faithfully discharges its duties, is sure to meet at the hands of those with whose work it interferes. They were persecuted as well as tried. The attempt was made to drive them from their work by depriving them of their pay ; and the sorry spectacle has been exhibited, for the last ten years, of a nation of sixty million people, abounding in wealth and resources, accepting the gratuitous services of these men who were devoting their days and their nights to a work nobody else would do,—the nation accepting it and refusing to pay for it ! There are no other office-holders in this land who give their time to the duties of their office and do not receive any compensation for it. In all this, Mr. President, I think that you and his surviving associates will permit me to say that he was chief,—*princeps inter pares*. He manifested in this, as in everything else that I ever saw him undertake, a tact, a wisdom, an ability to overcome difficulties, that amounted almost to genius. There were many dark hours in their labors, many days when it seemed as if they must give up ; but there was never a moment when I saw General Fisk that he was not full of hope and courage. That spirit which he infused into his own religious denomination he had a heart big enough to extend to others whom he thought needed it. The thought which seemed to me to be always uppermost in his mind, the two words which would best characterize his work and rule of life, were fidelity and justice. He acted always and everywhere as if he felt that justice nowhere should fail because of him. I think that I but speak the sense of all who ever knew General Fisk when I say that the world is better because this man lived in it. This is my tribute to him on this occasion. When the telegraph brought to me the announcement of his death, I felt that the poor man of whatever color or race, that the State, the commonwealth, and the nation which he served without seeking honor or emolument, and the Church of Christ had suffered an irreparable loss.

Rev. JAMES M. KING, D.D.—Great as was our friend in the different departments of human endeavor to which reference has been made, he was greatest as a Christian man ; and his Christian faith was the moulder of his greatness, the inspiration of his heroism, the soul of his vitality. It is recorded that when a surgeon in the French army was seeking for a hidden bullet in the breast of a soldier of Napoleon I., in the very hour and article of death the soldier called

out to the surgeon, "Cut a little deeper, and you will find the face of the Emperor." The face of this man's emperor, Jesus of Nazareth, was in his heart. He was a brave soldier in the armies of the republic from Christian conviction. He entered the army as a Christian man; and upon the shelves in his tent at headquarters, side by side with the volume of military tactics, stood the New Testament. Loyalty to the institutions of his country was a religious principle with him. Brave as he was as a soldier, his greatest victory was over himself. He had learned how to rule his own spirit, and thus was "greater than he that taketh a city." He was first a Catholic Christian, and then he was a loyal Methodist Christian. He believed, as all honest workers believe, that the best way to manifest Christian unity is for every man in his place to promote the form of Christian faith that has commanded his own adhesion; that standing heart to heart in facing the foes of righteousness is illustrated union. He faced the men of the South in war; and, when the war was ended, the Union preserved, and the slave set free, he did more to establish fraternal relations between the branches of the Church he loved, which had been rudely severed by slavery, than any other man among us. In the council of his own church, we all thought his presence was almost indispensable. In every conference, in every board, and in every committee, Clinton B. Fisk only spoke when the right moment came. Sometimes, when there were conflicting purposes and friction seemed to threaten rupture, then, with a characteristic geniality and with wise discretion, he would quiet passion, and peace would be restored. What a power he was in every board of management where he sat! There was no man in the councils of the Church with which he was identified so often called upon for public speech. He was at more dedications than any bishop. Rich churches, poor churches, missionary churches, colored churches, hardly considered that their houses of worship were properly dedicated to God until Clinton B. Fisk had something to say upon the occasion of their opening; and his hand was always open with blessings of substance to ratify his blessings in speech. City churches in the winter felt his inspiring touch, and in the summer "the Church of the Fishermen" by the sea looked to him as its shepherd. He was a man of private prayer, of family prayer, of public prayer. He prevailed with God, and therefore had power with man. Twice within eighteen months of the time of his departure I witnessed scenes like these: The first was at the close of my Sunday night's appeal for penitents to come to Christ. I saw in the audience General Fisk sitting beside a middle-aged man. When the appeal was ended, he put his arm around that man, and came and knelt with him at the altars of God's church, and poured his heart out in prayer for the sceptic who had been touched by the evening's gospel. The next time was at Jerry McAuley's meeting, where he stood with his arm around a victim of appetite, pleading with him to seek pardon and liberty through Christ, and pleading with God to take the manacles off the slave. It is said that the pillars of Hiram were of the finest material, of great height and symmetry, firmly based, and "upon the top of the pillars was lily work." That typifies our friend. Beauty and strength were blended in his character; and to-night who doubts that he stands a pillar in

the upper temple of God, stronger than ever, and the "lily work" at the top is bathed in celestial splendor?

He came to the end of life, and met the last enemy like the hero that he was. We expected nothing less of him. A screen separated him from those who were dearest to him while the physicians were counselling at his bedside; but the screen did not keep out the voice that was dearest to him, and there floated upon the air to his ear this sentence, "He is slipping away from us." When the physicians had gone, he asked, "What did you mean by that?" When he was told that the counsel had determined that he was near his end, that soon he must face the last enemy that we must all face by and by, he said: "We will shape things for living or dying. To live is Christ, to die is gain. Glory be unto his name." Not long before his departure, at the close of a sermon that I tried to preach, I quoted three stanzas,—not of very good poetry, but of excellent gospel,—and at the close of the service he came forward, and, grasping my hand between both his warm hands, he said: "That is my creed: give me a copy of that poem." It ran thus:—

"I must be doing something for the weary and the sad,
I must give forth to them the love that makes my heart so glad;
For God so fills my spirit with the joy that passeth show
That I fain would do his bidding in the only way I know.

"So to suffering and sorrow I shall always give my heart,
And pray to Heaven that every day I may some good impart,
Some little deed of kindness, some simple word of cheer,
To make one drooping soul rejoice or stay one falling tear.

"And, when I reach 'the river,' and have crossed its waters o'er,
And feel that some will miss me upon the other shore,
My grateful spirit ever shall bless the Lord Divine,
That has crowned the humblest efforts of a human love like mine."

He has "crossed the river." We mourn because he has gone. Oh, how we shall miss him! But it may be that, looking over the battlements of bliss to-night, he sees this assemblage over which he so often presided. If so, he sees just as many hearts missing him as there are hearts present. He awaits our coming. The joyous morning of the meeting day may not be far distant.

Dr. W. H. WARD.—I do not feel competent to give any eulogy of General Fisk. I would a great deal rather say I loved him. I met him—not as often as I would have liked, but not seldom—in his own home, and learned there how sweet he was and how noble he was. I met him frequently in another position of official responsibility, and learned his wisdom, his geniality, and his strength. What I admired him for more than anything else, perhaps, apart from that wonderful, incommunicable, and indescribable genius which he had of happiness, of cheer, and of constant loving suggestion, was that breadth which seemed to carry him across all lines of division which separate men, and which marked a certain youthfulness that was in his nature, a young-heartedness that marks, sometimes, the reformer. He was of all things a reformer, not a narrow reformer, who in his youth catches hold of some one point that needs correction, and hangs on to that alone. He had that breadth, that largeness of vision, which kept him always poised on the forward crest of the advancing

wave of all human thought in the line of beneficence and of reform. That seems to me to characterize a heart which is looking ever forward, never looking backward, that keeps ever its perennial youth. While these words that have been spoken are loving and true, my thought has been running back to the ancient Greeks; for there was something wonderfully Greek about him, which was not strange when we remember how in his very boyhood, under the most adverse circumstances, by the firelight, when he could not afford anything better, he was studying his classics. I have been thinking of the Greek art, which so wonderfully expressed the thought of the Greeks, and which is represented again and again upon the metopes of the Parthenon, the old struggle between the evil and the good, the full-bearded, brutal Centaur forms, and those lithe, strong, fresh, active, wide-awake Lapithæ. The Centaur is always old, and the Lapith always young. The fight between them seemed to typify the war between old error and falsehood and tyranny and the young, fresh life of every new progressive movement which is to help humanity. It seems to me as if General Fisk illustrated and exemplified the Lapith spirit as against that of the old Centaurs. You noticed how in all progress which man wants to make in this age of the approaching twentieth century, whether in temperance, in the cause of the Indian or Negro, whatever it may be, he was always ready with his help, because he hated the old Centaur, and he felt in himself that young, forceful spirit and sympathy which was determined to bring good out of evil, and victory to the new, fresh right of the next century, the wrong which this century shall bury.

Gen. E. WHITTLESEY.—It is to me a precious privilege to say a few words in this place in honor of the dear friend who for so many years occupied the position which you now hold, Mr. President. So much has been said, and so well said, of the character and work of General Fisk in many directions that I will confine myself entirely to my personal knowledge of him in connection with the Board of Indian Commissioners.

It was on the third day of July, 1874, that President Grant appointed Clinton B. Fisk a member of that board; and from that day to the day of his death, in July, 1890, sixteen years, he continued in that service. And more than half of the time he was chairman of the board, presiding at our meetings in that delightful way which you all remember, conducting a very large correspondence with people in all parts of the country who had plans to offer or who wished for information respecting Indian matters. He always found time to give earnest attention and careful consideration to any serious matter concerning the interests of Indians. He often visited Washington when emergencies arose or when he felt that his influence was needed to carry measures that he thought were of great importance to the welfare of the Indians. So much occupied was he with this, and with the various great organizations with which he was connected, that he never gave a great deal of time to inspecting the Indian service in the field; but, whenever he did go out on a tour of inspection, he was quick to observe, and ready to approve wherever he saw that commendation was deserved. And he was just as ready to bring charges against those who were guilty of irregularities, and

to bring evidence to support his charges until the wrong-doers were brought to justice. Some of you will remember one instance in the case of the San Carlos reservation, where mineral deposits were found too great a temptation for some high in office. About 1879 or 1880 General Fisk, looking into the matter with the keen eye of a business man, and with the sense of justice of a judge upon the bench, brought those men to a sense of their wrong-doing; and very soon the place that they had occupied in the public service became vacant.

One visit that we made together was of special interest to me. In the year 1882, in the Indian Territory, the Creek Indians had got into great trouble, and a division arose among them, largely political. Very serious trouble followed. The two parties finally took up arms, and were arrayed against each other. They had come into collision, and several lives had been sacrificed. Hon. Hiram Price, then Indian Commissioner, tried to get the help of some members of Congress to undertake to solve the difficulty and settle the trouble. Failing in that, he applied to General Fisk and to me, to see what we could do. We went out there, and spent a week or ten days counseling with those Indians and there I saw the qualities of General Fisk brought out as I had never seen them. Here were two parties of men thirsting for each other's blood, and it was important to bring them together. He tried to get them to agree to some terms of peace. One party was called in, and we heard their complaint, heard them relate with patience-trying reiterations the causes of their trouble. Then the other party was called in, and they again related the causes of their trouble. Next, representatives from each party were invited to meet at the same time, and to discuss together their troubles. Each of these councils occupied at least a full day,—morning, afternoon, and evening,—until a late hour. When passion seemed about to rise to an almost ungovernable pitch, then it was that General Fisk, by some playful remark or some simple anecdote, would allay the disturbed feelings, and they would be able to go on again in quietness. So he held those parties for more than a week, counseling with them until they came to an agreement. One side wrote out on what terms they would make peace, and the other side did the same. The two papers were placed side by side, and the Commissioners went over them, taking out a little here and a little there, finally producing a document which both sides agreed to sign. Then we had a general meeting in the largest church in Muskogee. It was crowded to its utmost extent, and the solemn treaty was laid upon the table, and the Commissioners came forward and signed it, and the chief men of both parties, who had been lately so hostile to each other, signed it in solemn silence, in the presence of all that assembly. Then there were congratulatory speeches, and it ended by a general shaking of hands and the singing of the doxology in full harmony. No sooner was that completed than General Fisk sent a message which was flashed across the country,—“Trouble ended, peace ratified, doxology sung.” And Commissioner Price and thousands associated with him were full of joy, and they did not hesitate publicly to express their gratitude to General Fisk for his services in that blessed work of peace-making. It was his genial

temper that did it. I learned a lesson from him during those days which has been of great service to me,—that it requires simply good temper and patience, and a sympathetic feeling with those with whom you are dealing, to be successful in Indian negotiations, and that will always be successful.

General Fisk needs no eulogy. His eulogy is engraven upon the hearts of the thousands whose lives he blessed. When last July and through all of June and a part of May he lay upon his bed in New York, under the hand of disease, we felt that he could not be spared, and that his life-work was not yet done ; but He who sees to the end saw that Clinton B. Fisk had finished his work here, and he called him to a higher life.

The following poem was then read by Mrs. W. Winslow Crannell.

GENERAL CLINTON B. FISK.

BY MRS. W. WINSLOW CRANNELL.

Brave-hearted, true, unyielding
The right to do and dare ;
And yet so loving was his heart
He cared for others' care.
There was no wrong he would not right,
No grief he would not share,
No burden e'er by sufferer borne
But that he, too, would bear.

One day, the Master, seeing more
Than all our hearts could know,
Sent—when the birds their sweetest songs
Were singing soft and low,
And when the woods were green with leaves
And all the flowers ablow,
When all the dusky hills around
Took nothe summer's glow,

When laughing waters lightly ran
Through meadows green and fair,
And all the attar of the woods
Made sweet the ambient air—
To take him home. 'Twas thus, I ween,
To soften our despair ;
Earth's symbol of the beauty
That the loved of God shall wear.

'Twas just because we knew him great,
And yet so gentle, mild,—
A general leading in the van,
Beloved by man and child,—
We miss him so. He gave us aims
Lofty and undefiled.
We wept when he would have us weep,
And smiled whene'er he smiled.

And he was strong as he was true,—
Not bending to and fro ;
In loveliness of perfect deeds
Enshrined, his name shall glow.

New valor for our work we'll draw
 From him who loved men so.
 The pathos of his silence pleads
 More loud than words or show.

Greatness and gentleness combined,
 As wave laps over wave:
 No greater tribute can we find
 Than all the love we gave.
 He marched as leader in the van;
 He fell. We crown his grave.
 He fought for justice, truth, and man:
 God keep his army brave!

Bishop WHIPPLE.—When your honored Chairman asked me to say a few words from my heart in memory of one whom we all loved, I remembered when another noble Christian heart had been called home, and Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg was asked to preach his sermon. And he said: "What doth the Lord require of thee but to love mercy, to do justly, and walk humbly with thy God? So did he." That is all the sermon that a man like Clinton B. Fisk needs. My acquaintance with him arose from our mutual pity and love for the red man. He took up this work as the mantle dropped from the shoulders of William Welch, one of the largest-hearted men that ever worked for humanity in our country, and no man has ever done more to help these poor wronged men of the trembling eye and the wandering foot. My intercourse with General Fisk always happened to be at the time of some crisis, as on the eve of our late Civil War, or at the time when all those Indian ponies were taken from the Sioux on the Missouri, or when some great wrong had taken place; and then I looked into the depths of the man's heart. He was an intensely humane man, a man of singular wisdom. He exemplified always the proverb that the best way to do a thing is to go and do it." Meeting him as a member of another communion, I could illustrate my idea of his theology by relating an instance that occurred at a time of great bitterness and sharp conflict between Christian men. A wise scholar was walking in the fields, when he saw a shepherd boy, and he said to him, "Boy, who made the world?" "It was God," said the child. "But who is God?" said the scholar. "I know not," said the boy. "But his dear son, Jesus, said he was my Father, and your Father, and Father of all the world." And that was the theology of our brother. I am quite sure that he not only will be missed here, but you will miss him everywhere from your hearts. He will be wanted. Life would not be worth living if we did not know that, as we part, we shall meet again, not in a world of bodiless shades and confused throngs of nameless spirits, but in all the certainty and the beatitude of a perfect recognition; and it only remains for us to live as he lived, storing our treasures so that, when the Master calls, it will be to rise up quickly and go to meet him.

The resolutions relative to General Fisk were then passed unanimously, by a rising vote. Addresses were next called for from workers in the field.

tinue the lace-work, and to add to my class of twelve as many as she can teach. She hopes also to do something in the Sunday-school, and of course she will visit from house to house. There is nothing better than giving people a chance to make their own way in life. It is one of the best things that we can do for Indian women and girls and Negro women, and all poor people. If we can only give them the chance in life that you and I have had, I am quite sure that that would solve many questions which have been problems to us heretofore. To-night my good teacher is on the White Earth reservation. She takes those Indian women into the same log hut that I used last July, and I know that I am going to hear good news from her by and by. I remember a soliloquy of an Indian woman named Shoniaqua, which means money woman. Looking at her first finished piece of lace, she said for sixty years she had not been a money woman, but, with pleased look, added, "Money woman now," as she saw that there was in the lace-making a possibility for money-making.

Adjourned at 10 P.M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 9.

EDUCATION.

The Conference was called to order at ten o'clock by President Gates, after prayer offered by Bishop Whipple.

Letters were read from Commissioner Morgan, Rev. Dr. W. S. Hubbell, of Buffalo, and Miss Alice C. Fletcher.

Mr. Smiley announced that, of the three hundred and seven invitations sent to various persons throughout the country to attend this Conference, one hundred and sixty had been accepted, and about one hundred and forty guests were actually present. Letters of regret had been received from those persons not able to attend.

It was announced that the papers would be limited to fifteen minutes, and remarks upon the papers to ten minutes.

The subject of education was then taken up.

President GATES.—It is a far cry from that wild Galway savage to the distinguished gentlemen who, by ancestral reminiscences, brought him to our remembrance yesterday. The trouble with the problem that confronts us is that neither our own consciences nor the spirit of the age will allow us to contemplate giving four or five hundred, or a thousand, years to a like development of the Negro or the Indian race. The desire to give to the Indians at once that citizenship which the white people enjoy marks not only the spirit of unrest of our generation, but has in it, also, much of the spirit of Christ. We feel ourselves responsible for getting these brothers of a weaker race fairly on to their feet at an earlier day than time and such unaided evolution as works out civilization would bring about.

When we face the question of education, we all feel that we are facing that which is the great problem of Indian reform. You notice in Miss Fletcher's letter she tells us that we cannot make masses of men over, "in the mass." Since our Divine Teacher appeared, the law has been, One by one shall the truth take hold of men's hearts; one by one, and through the touch of the man who has himself touched *that Hand*, shall the reforming influence be diffused in life. While I believe in education and in systems of education, it seems to me that, to make any system what it should be, it must have in it that spirit of loving service which is not strange to us who gather here. It is because we feel that we have one Father, even God, that we are touched with the feeling of brotherhood for these races. This problem of education should not be considered without the allied question, What should be the relation of the Christian

Church, as a whole, to the work of education which the federal government has to carry on.

What is that relation now? Some of you are aware that, besides the government schools supported directly from government funds, controlled by government authorities, and officered by teachers appointed by the government, there is a system by which schools, as mission schools, receive pupils under what is known as the contract system, to which government pays so much for each pupil, a sum varying from one hundred and eight to one hundred and twenty-five dollars a year, or, for another class of scholars, one hundred and fifty dollars a year. This extension of aid to schools under denominational care gives to the government the right of inspection. The pupils must be fed and clothed; but the government usually pays travelling expenses. This "contract system" has been before us frequently. We shall continue to hear about it; and I only throw out this word of explanation that I may further say, I hope, as we approach this question, it will be in a large, catholic, and Christian spirit. We "believe in the holy catholic church, in the communion" of Christian people, in well-doing, and in good work. With a sense of responsibility for our share of government work, that it be properly done, there comes to each of us as an individual, and to each Christian body, a special responsibility for doing its share in putting the spirit of Christ into this entire system of the educational work which is done by the government. Whether through a continuance of the contract system or by the employment of Christian teachers to work under the governmental system, or whether there shall be some other plan devised by which the conscience of the nation shall be quickened and made effective in forwarding this work, I am not prepared to say. Broad discussion is one means of a helpful solution of that question. But we are not to consider the question whether the education of the Indian shall be totally secularized, whether, in attempting to elevate a race that is below our civilization, we can hope to do it without the great factor of Christianity! As to that we are all agreed. You know how the whole system of education in the empire of England in India has called out the need for Christian and moral aid. The past system is a failure for educating in morals, or for making over that nation of intellectually keen men which their secularized institutions have produced. This problem has come upon us more rapidly than was expected. Let us discuss it freely, earnestly, and hopefully.

Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT.—I have been asked to explain what this question is, with a little amplification. It is not what should be the relation of the churches to education. It is not exactly what should be done respecting the contract schools, although that is involved. It is, What should be the relation of the churches to the federal government in the work of the education of the Indian race? In our States the relation between the Church and State is very simple. The State protects the Church as it protects all citizens. It exercises no control over the Church other than it exercises over all citizens, and furnishes no means to carry on church work. But there has grown up in the Indian service a kind of partnership between churches and the government. This has grown up naturally, per-

haps necessarily. A part of the funds to carry on church work is contributed by the government. This is anomalous, though it may be necessary. The question which addresses itself to Indian workers more and more is whether it is desirable to continue this partnership or to enlarge it or to lessen it or to abolish it altogether, and leave the work of secular education wholly with the federal government, and the work of religion wholly with the churches,—the latter to make their arrangements as best they can on the basis of simple protection by the government. The question is not, then, I beg leave to repeat, whether religious work shall be carried on nor what the relation of the churches is to educational work, but what should be the relationship of the federal government to the missionary organizations in the work of the education and Christianization of the Indian race. This question has been forced upon Indian workers by some facts, incidents, and exigencies that have grown out of the partnership relations between the government and the missionary bodies. It is not for me to state those facts. They will come before you in the course of the debate. The Business Committee questioned whether they would formulate a specific question, as, for instance, Is it desirable for the churches to withdraw from all relationship with the government? But they concluded that the best course to pursue was to put the large question before the Conference, in the hope that it would elicit a frank and free expression of a great variety of views, and out of that variety some common result might be reached. Let me express the hope that those who take part in the debate will adhere closely to the question, then, which is, What should be the relation of the churches to the federal government in the work of the education of the Indian races?

The first address on this subject was made by Rev. J. M. King, D.D., secretary of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions.

THE CHURCHES:

THEIR RELATION TO THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT IN THE EDUCATION OF THE INDIAN RACES.

BY REV. J. M. KING, D.D., NEW YORK.

It affords me great pleasure to have the opportunity of taking part in the discussions of the Mohonk Conference, because my study of the proceedings of the Conference for a few years past convinces me that the character of the national legislation and the character of the private benevolent work in the interests of the Indian races are both largely here determined.

The platforms of this Conference from year to year have marked a steady, intelligent, and conscientious advance. The platform of the Lake Mohonk Conference for 1888 said:—

“We call upon the Department of the Interior to inaugurate at once a thorough and comprehensive system, providing at national expense on principles analogous to those which experience has

incorporated in our public school system, for the education of all Indian children, in its ward and care, in all the elements of education essential to civilized life and good citizenship, the use of the English language, the common industrial arts and sciences, the habits and properties of domestic life, and the ethical laws which underlie American civilization."

The platform of the Lake Mohonk Conference for 1889 said : —

"We welcome heartily the presence of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at this session, and indorse heartily the general principles embodied in the paper presented by him, outlining a proposed policy for the organization of a comprehensive system of Indian education by the federal government. We urge upon the administration the organization of such a plan, and upon Congress the necessary appropriations for its execution; and the chairman of this Conference is hereby authorized and instructed to appoint a committee of seven, of whom he shall be one, to render to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs such co-operation as he may desire in preparing such a system as shall be best to promote the universal and compulsory education of all Indian children in harmony with the principles of our government, and with the concurrent work of the churches, missionary boards and societies and philanthropic organizations, and to urge upon Congress such increased appropriations as may be necessary to carry this into effect."

It was hoped that the new and thoroughly American policy of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs would be accepted by Congress as it had already been accepted by the administration; but the United States Senate overruled the action of its Committee on Appropriations, and restored in the Indian Appropriations Bill appropriations for three new sectarian schools which had been provided for by the bill as it came from the House of Representatives, thus increasing the number of sectarian appropriations. This action caused extended protest from the press and from varied organizations throughout the country. The *Independent* of New York, July 31, 1890, said : —

"While having full sympathy with the work done heretofore by the contract schools, and while believing fully in the necessity of moral and religious training, in order to the highest civilization of the Indians as well as of whites, we believe the time has come for the work of secular education, carried on by men and women of high moral and religious character on a non-sectarian and non-partisan basis, to be done chiefly, if not entirely, by the government; while the work of evangelization should be prosecuted by the Church. . . .

"The last week has seen an onslaught on the Indian Bureau from a number of Catholic papers, apparently having one common inspiration. Nevertheless, it is hard to persuade the people that the Catholics have anything to complain of, so long as they control three-fifths of the appropriations for contract schools."

The Churchman of New York, Aug. 2, 1890, said : —

"Commissioner Morgan was right in calling a halt. Senator Reagan was right in declaring against government aid to religious denominations. The government has drifted into a wrong position in this matter. A temporary expedient has been rapidly growing into a vicious system, and it is now determined against the advice of the Commissioner to extend it and fasten it upon the government. If anything could open our eyes to the evil of it, it would be the spectacle of the Catholic Bureau pushing by the Commissioner and forcing itself into the Senate Chamber, and with whip and spur driving over the Senate Committee. The Commissioner should be backed by every American citizen. Religious societies should carry on their missions in entire independence of the government."

"The National League for the Protection of American Institutions," an organization wholly unsectarian and non-partisan in character, containing among its adherents thousands of the formers of public opinion in every State, whose objects are stated to be "to secure constitutional and legislative safeguards for the protection of the common school system and other American institutions, and to promote public instruction in harmony with such institutions, and to prevent all sectarian or denominational appropriations of public funds," has taken pains to test extensively the most enlightened public sentiment on the question of sectarian appropriations by Congress as well as by the States. The responses from thoughtful and liberal Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews, and from those of no professed religious faith, have shown all but a unanimous consensus of opinion against such appropriations, as both perilous in precedent and harmful in result. The outline of the plan carefully elaborated in the Commissioner's report, looking to the assimilation of the Indian to our national life by a system of schools non-partisan and non-sectarian, related to each other and forming a connected whole, with uniform studies and patriotic teachings, conformed, as far as practicable, to the common school system, presents in great part the national question on which the nomination of General Morgan was by many sustained, and by others opposed, in the contest before the Senate. The plan reported by the Indian Department had been carefully considered by many philanthropic and educational citizens, who had devoted themselves to the solution of the Indian problem under the lead of distinguished experts in educational and Indian affairs, both of the States and of the nation. After diligent scrutiny and discussion, it was regarded as marked by the caution, moderation, and wisdom demanded by the difficulties of the situation, and tending to avoid the interruption and antagonism incident to discordant systems by bringing all the schools founded or employed by the government into harmonious relation, on the model of the public school system, into which the government schools might, in time, be readily absorbed. Influential presses, secular and religious, gave it their approval, as a gentle and judicious mode of solving a national problem by a simple and easy return to American principles, the forgetfulness or disregard of which had led to the complica-

tion of adverse and antagonistic systems in defiance of the constitutional rule of an absolute separation of Church and State.

If, while the Indian appropriation bill was before Congress in discussion, the same energy and ability had been put forth by the secular and religious press in opposition to its obnoxious features as were exercised in attacking these features after the passage of the bill, the result might have been different.

There is no lesson taught by the history of the republic that is better understood by the American people or the world at large than the admirable adaptation of the public school to fit the children of all nationalities for the exigencies of American life and to encourage an intelligent devotion to American institutions. The attempt to defeat the appointments in the Indian Department of the Commissioner and Superintendent, who favored governmental schools, was openly based on opposition to the common school policy, and by those who make a demand for new schools to be controlled by ecclesiastics, and not by the government, but said schools to be supported by the national government from the national treasury.

In order that the work might be uniform, the office prepared recently a new contract, in which it was provided that the Indian Office might "prescribe the course of study and designate the textbooks, and require the same evidence of the qualifications of the employees in contract schools as in the government schools." It was held, as we think justly, that, if the government furnishes the money for the education of Indian children for American citizenship, it has a right to say how this work shall be done. These contracts were sent out to the various religious bodies who carry on these contract schools; namely, Roman Catholics, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Friends, Methodists, Mennonites, Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Unitarians. All of these bodies, with one exception, accepted the new contracts without objection. The Bureau of Catholic Missions, however, declined to accept them, refused to allow the government to prescribe the course of study or designate the textbooks, and objected to submitting the required evidences as to the qualifications of school employees. On the amendment of the Senate, both Houses of Congress, however, finally incorporated in the Indian appropriation bill the following section: "That the expenditure of the money appropriated for school purposes in this act shall be at all times under the supervision and direction of the Secretary of the Interior, and in all respects in conformity with such conditions, rules, and regulations as to the conduct and methods of instruction and expenditure of money as may from time to time be prescribed by him."

The following table shows the amounts appropriated to the various religious bodies for Indian education during the fiscal years 1886 to 1891 :—

	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891
Roman Catholics, . . .	\$118,343	\$194,635	\$221,169	\$347,672	\$356,957	\$347,689
Presbyterians,	32,995	37,910	36,500	41,825	47,650	44,850
Congregational,	16,121	26,696	26,080	29,310	28,459	27,271
Martinsburg, Pa., . . .	5,400	10,410	7,500	Dropped	.....	.....
Alaska Training School,	.....	4,175	4,175	.....	.....	.....
Episcopal, . . . . .	.....	1,890	3,690	18,700	24,726	29,910
Friends,	1,960	27,845	14,460	23,383	23,383	24,743
Mennonite, . . . . .	.....	3,340	2,500	3,125	4,375	4,375
Middletown, Cal., . . .	.....	1,523	Dropped	.....	.....	.....
Unitarian, . . . . .	.....	1,350	5,400	5,400	5,400	5,400
Lutheran, Wittenberg,	.....	.....	1,350	4,050	7,560	9,180
Wis., . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	2,750	9,400	6,700
Methodist, . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	275	600	1,000
Miss Howard, . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Appropriation for Lin-	33,400	33,400	33,400	33,400	33,400	33,400
coln Institute, . . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Appropriation for Hamp-	20,040	20,040	20,040	20,040	20,040	20,040
ton, . . . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	\$228,259	\$363,214	\$376,264	\$529,930	\$562,040	\$554,558

The significance of these figures indicates the tendency of the existing system to arouse, not simply disputes between the government and the authorities of any denomination that may claim a right to control in the matter of Indian education, under authority given or assumed to be given by acts of Congress, but to arouse throughout the nation the denominational rivalries, jealousies, and animosities which it was the aim of the first amendment to the national Constitution to prevent, and which every departure from its spirit is sure to awake. The dissatisfaction may be the greater among the various denominational bodies which have a national organization which recognize allegiance to our constitution and laws, and which are devoted to American principles and institutions, if they find that the national government is appropriating so large a proportion of public moneys for Indian education to an ecclesiastical body which represents no national church organization in America, and avows no allegiance to the American government. The proposition seems hardly to admit of dispute, that a race whose education is assumed by the national government should receive an instruction and training fitted to imbue them with the American spirit, to fit them for the exercise of their rights and duties by a right understanding of our political system, based on the sovereignty of the American people and the supremacy of American law, with liberty of conscience to all, and that protection to all in their constitutional rights which entitles the government to their loyal devotion and exclusive allegiance, shutting out all allegiance to any other power, prince, or potentate whatsoever. Apart from these national considerations, it is respectfully submitted that the Indian children are vested with constitutional rights which the government, in the exercise of a reasonable guardianship over the wards of the nation, is honorably bound to protect.

The President in his message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1889, in speaking of Indian education, said :—

“The national schools for Indians have been very successful, and should be multiplied, and, as far as possible, should be so organized and conducted as to facilitate the transfer of the schools to the States or Territories in which they are located, when the Indians in a neighborhood have accepted citizenship, and have become otherwise fitted for such a transfer. This condition of things will be attained slowly, but it will be hastened by keeping it in mind. And in the mean time that co-operation between the government and the mission schools, which has wrought much good, should be cordially and impartially maintained.”

It certainly cannot be contended with justice that, while we give to the Episcopalians, for instance, whose work among the Indians has been noteworthy for its extent and value, and whose claims upon the government are as reasonable as those of the Roman Catholics, only \$29,910, the government could give to the Roman Catholics either the sum asked for, \$531,996, or the sum received, \$347,689, and still administer the system “impartially.”

Many learned jurists and statesmen think that the first article of the first amendment to the national Constitution, which ordains that “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,” does not permit Congress to make a law establishing for the Indians, or any other class in America, one or more schools belonging to a particular religious denomination and where the doctrines of that denomination are to be taught, for the reason that such a law is a law respecting an establishment of religion, and that the constitutional provision that Congress shall make no law prohibiting the free exercise of religion equally forbids Congress making a law that will empower any other body to prohibit the free exercise of religion; and these principles are applicable alike to all religious denominations whatsoever, native or foreign, that now exist or may hereafter appear in our States and Territories. The debate in the United States Senate on July 14, 1890, on the Indian appropriation bill, developed a strong sentiment in this direction, and in no instance was an effort made to answer the constitutional argument. Expediency and local political interests seemed to be the motives controlling the action.

I only wish to be understood as protesting against national grants to such contract schools as are purely under sectarian control. The organization of citizens whom I represent is now preparing its appeal to all the religious denominations, asking them to withdraw all applications for appropriations and to refuse to receive appropriations from the national treasury for their work of religious instruction among the Indian races.

Let us not make an attempt at the solution of the question of Indian education which embarrasses the solution of the broader questions. Let us not make him the prey of denominational bickerings. Give him the American public school, or its equivalent, and then let religious denominations prove their faith by their works and try to Christianize him. The controversy concerning sectarian appropriations

will continue, because a vital and fundamental principle animates it ; and the welfare of the Indian will be prejudiced unless this partnership of the government with religious denominations is dissolved. These Indians are the wards of the nation, and we cannot escape the responsibility for their education. When we provide in a given place only a contract school under sectarian control, we force them under an establishment of religion and pay the bills for their religious education, which is both establishing a religion and abridging the free exercise thereof on the part of the individual.

Where the government has encouraged by its appropriations the investment of private funds drawn from private beneficence, for the purpose of promoting denominational schools, of course perfect business honesty must be adhered to and good faith be kept, when the government determines to withdraw from the support of sectarian contract schools ; and I urge that the attitude of the churches ought to be that, after timely notification to the parties interested, government appropriations for denominational schools among the Indians shall cease.

Confusion will necessarily result unless there is uniformity in the educational system. Let the nation do its work of education, and trust to the churches, as it does with other classes of the population, for Christianization. It is a notable fact that the results of the sectarian contract system have been very questionable in many places. We believe that General Morgan has the right view of things, for two reasons : first, in the best interests of the Indians ; and, second, in the best interests of the American principle of the entire separation of Church and State. The question of economy as between the expense of maintaining the contract and the government schools has no force as an argument ; and it is unworthy of consideration by the United States government, when we consider the historic relationship of the government to the Indian races.

It seems to me that it would be a wise course for this Conference to ask, in the near future, all the religious denominations now receiving funds from the national treasury for Indian education to withdraw their applications for funds, and to refuse to receive them in case appropriations should be made. The national government, introducing the common school system among the Indians and making attendance compulsory, recognizes, as it ought, the free public school system as a national American institution. And it would seem that the churches ought to encourage the national government to take such desirable action by refusing a partnership which makes such action impracticable.

If the churches in matters of Indian education accept sectarian appropriations from the national government, while using the moiety of money they get undoubtedly for worthy purposes, they do great damage to the entire cause of public education by sanctioning a step in the direction of the union of Church and State, by imperilling the integrity and indivisibility of the school fund in the several States. In several of the States the question has already reached a dangerous and critical stage. The enemies of the school system are watching with great solicitude the movement made by the churches for appropriations from the national treasury ; and some of them openly re-

joice in what they believe to be the solution of the entire problem of the support of denominational schools in the States, by a division of the school funds on denominational lines.

Again, the churches accepting appropriations to aid them in their efforts to educate the Indians are putting a premium on the use of ecclesiastical power for political purposes, in the shaping of legislation. And that power in these very lines has been used most relentlessly in high places. It would seem that the Church of Christ ought not to be a party to this kind of work in a republic.

Again, the churches ought not to consent to such a relationship to the national government that workers in the field dare not tell the facts coming under their observation, lest their own work will be imperilled and their path of usefulness hedged up. If it is claimed that this money in the treasury is the property of the Indians, what right, then, has the general government to say that it shall be filtered through sectarian sieves on its way to the owners?

In answer to the question, then, "What should be the relation of the churches to the federal government in the work of the education of the Indian races?" we would respond, The same relation as they sustain to the government in the work of the education of other races of our composite population, in case the churches desire to see the Indian races civilized, Christianized, and Americanized. And this means, let the government do thoroughly its work of industrial and intellectual education by teachers competent in both character and culture; and let the free church in a free State press its distinctly Christian religious work side by side with the government, furnishing its own motive powers, both spiritual and material.

DISCUSSION.

Gen. S. C. ARMSTRONG, of Hampton, Va.—It all seems to turn on the principle that it is wrong to divert the use of funds raised by popular taxation for the support of sectarian schools. That is a broad and accepted principle, and ought to be established throughout our land. It would be wrong for churches to ask for money from government or for funds from Congress to help educate Indians, when they are no longer wards of the nation, but like other people. But is this what they are doing? What are those funds? Are they raised by popular taxation and given as charity to the Indians, as they would be given to our citizens generally? I say, No. There is a broad, vital difference. That which it is right to do in the case of the Indian is not right to do in the case of the people at large. I agree with the last speaker that it is necessary to separate Church and State, but I do not agree with his implication that the support of contract schools is a blow to the integrity of our institutions. That is what he means. But, in educating the Indian, we are paying him a debt recognized by many treaties. He once owned this whole country. Even to-day he has about two hundred thousand square miles. The value of the land that we have taken from him is not put to his credit in any bank account. It is in the hands of government, as his proper trustee. Secretary Teller gave us the exact figures, in the case of the Sioux tribe. Does not that make a difference? This money is the Indian's

own by virtue of lands ceded or rights relinquished. On that difference, two years ago, turned the action of this Conference. It ought to be decisive now, and I believe it will. We have this year about two millions of dollars devoted to the education of the Indian by act of Congress, which should be given to it in the way to do the most possible good. Is not the government, like any other trustee, bound to do the best thing it can? The obligation of trustee or guardian is the same in all cases. Government has no such relation with the whites, the blacks, or the foreigners in our country. By that difference of relations, the contract schools are justified. I do not think this conflicts with Dr. King's position. The child of the white man is the heir of the ages. Look at his inheritance from the past. Heredity and environment are the greatest facts of life. The difference between him and the red man's child is vast. The spirit of fair play in this country is strong, and more and more demands that the Indian child should have a fair chance. Everything has been against him. The best thing for the Indian is a practical, Christian education. The government is giving him a practical education very generally. Industrial ideas are coming to the front in all education in this country. They have spread in the South among the Negroes with great rapidity. They have been applied to the Indians most wisely, and nowhere more earnestly than in the contract schools. In the matter of religious training, the contract school is the specialist. The government school is more or less Christian, according to the ever changing management. When there was, a few years ago, a Roman Catholic superintendent of Indian schools, there was advantage for that denomination; and the Protestant workers were not always satisfied. Now Protestant work is at its high-water mark, and will stay there through the present administration. What will come next? All is temporary. The changes in 1892 may be as great as they were four years before, and as they have been every four years. The *only permanent Christian force* in Indian education is that of the churches through contract schools. If the churches choose to abandon that system and do all their work through charity, it is their matter. Let their secretaries speak: they are here.

The real trouble is the unfair and undue advantage held by the Roman Catholics, which they gained largely by united and persistent effort. Protestants have not worked together. For at the bottom of all this is the Roman Catholic question. I think that the Roman Catholic work is a great gain for the Indian. Industrially, it is as good as any, often superior. Its academic or class work is generally, I think, inferior, unequal to some government work and other contract work. On the moral and religious side, it is to the Indian what it is to our citizens generally. Would you do away with the priests in your cities? More and more the value of the Roman Catholic Church as a moral and religious power is recognized, and it is more and more needed. It is a tremendous and helpful force in our labor question. With the Indian, I believe that it is at its best. From the first the Roman Church has made a noble record of heroism, and a most valuable effort in behalf of the red man. We must give it its right place. Out of the twelve thousand Indians at school, twenty-three hundred are under direct Roman Catholic influence.

The figures of the appropriations to the different sects which were given yesterday were startling in the tremendous advantage of the Catholics. But this is another way of looking at it. Twenty-three hundred out of the twelve thousand are in Catholic schools, eleven hundred of them in contract schools, and the rest of the twelve thousand are mostly under Protestant influences. The government schools at Cheyenne River, at Crow Creek, at Lower Brulé, are decidedly Protestant. Is not Bishop Hare as well satisfied as if he had appointed the teachers? It is a good illustration of what can be done in government schools. If the administration is favorable, missionaries may be a great power in them without official relations. But, if Bishop Hare were here, he could tell you of some unsatisfactory experiences he has had, because of conflicting influences and appointments. The trouble is, nothing is sure for the future. The Catholics got about one-fifth of the one million eight hundred thousand dollars appropriated, while they have about a fourth of the pupils. The contract schools are, and ought to be, subject to government inspection. Mr. Blackburn of the Indian Bureau will tell you how some Catholic teachers were dropped by government, because incompetent. Those who do not speak English are dismissed. They do not accept the government's prescribed course of study. About one-fourth of their teaching is, I am told, in the catechism; the rest, usual class-work. In the Protestant schools there is less catechism and more ordinary book-work. I believe, in reference to all this work of Indian civilization, there should be an appeal for a national policy that all agents, teachers, and helpers should be retained during good behavior and good service. In the government schools, under the system of inspection, the work has been steadily brought up to a higher plane, and the schools were probably never so efficient as now. Government inspection makes the contract schools much better than they would be without it. A great deal more has to be done. In view of the fact that so many Indian children are still unprovided for, would it not be disastrous if the anti-contract school views were carried out?

Let our action here be, not destructive, but progressive and constructive, when to-day less than one-half of these children are being taught. If the Protestant churches say, "We will furnish all the money ourselves, and let the present contract-school funds go to purely government schools, in order to weaken the Catholics or to assert a principle," I have nothing to say. I respect the principle, but despise the policy. There is no quarrel, I think. In Christian work—for Indians, notably—the Catholics and Protestants are working side by side, with much mutual sympathy. It is so at Standing Rock and elsewhere, not without trouble at points. This combination of work for the Indians is a good thing for all branches of the Christian Church. The public sentiment growing out of it is the salvation of the red race. Hold on to the things we have got, I say. Improve all along the line, both government and contract schools. But, in the name of good sense and of justice and of God, let us press forward, and do what we can for the twenty-one thousand children for whom nothing is yet done.

Bishop WHIPPLE, of Minnesota.—My thought in listening to the

very stirring words of the first speaker was, *Make haste slowly*. He enunciated great truths very near to the heart of any Christian man who is, in the very fibre of his being, an American. But I say again, *Make haste slowly*. My recollection goes back for more than thirty years of very intimate acquaintance with the work of this Indian system. I can remember a period when forty-eight thousand dollars of Indian money was expended for schools among the Sioux, and not one single Indian child had ever learned to read. While our Indian system is unreformed; while it is subject to every vicissitude that belongs to American politics; while any man in the employ of the Indian Bureau, if he runs counter to those who are called the Indian ring, or presumes on some of the prerogatives which selfishness has in view with regard to the Indians,—if such a man is in danger of sharing the fate of one man whose name I cannot speak without tears coming to my eyes, Edward Smith, who died of a broken heart, a pure, true, noble man of God,—if all this is true, pardon me if I ask, What must we do? What do we want to do? Lead up a poor heathen people whom we have wronged out of their darkness to the light of civilization. Now, remember, no nation has ever survived the loss of its religion. It might have been a very poor religion, and full of superstition; but the moment that it lost that sense of accountability to an unseen power, and had no standard of right outside of itself, it perished like the fabric of a dream. Remember another truth. What is government? Bishop Wainwright asked Daniel Webster to tell him the best treatise on government. Mr. Webster opened the Bible, and read the verse beginning, “There is one law-giver and judge,” and said, “There is more in that sentence than in all the books that man has ever written.” Government is the delegated trust from God, who only has the right to govern, who gives every nation the right to say how that trust shall be clothed. While I admit that under our American system—and I thank God that I am an American—you have no right to teach the things that have separated men into rival sects and parties, you have the right to protect the existence of the nation. It is not sectarian to teach the children of the State that there is a God, and reverence for God’s eternal law. It is not sectarian to teach truths that underlie every relation of man to man and man to God. There I take my stand with regard to the Indian.

Now let me say that my skirts are quite clear with reference to the union of Church and State. I have for ten years had so little faith in the administration of Indian affairs, though our means were so straitened, that I have not had one dollar appropriated by the government for the work I was trying to do. I was offered by the Commissioner at Washington money to aid me in my work. I said, “No, not one solitary dollar.” Then Mr. Gilfillan went to White Earth, and I was asked to appoint him as a teacher. I said, Yes, on one condition,—that he shall not receive one dollar for his services in the schools. But let me say here that the schools which the government has among the Indians are to-day better than formerly. We are moving in the right direction. We have Christian men at their head, and Christian women. But it is simple justice to say that the government has been forced to this position through the

contract schools. I say unhesitatingly that I believe the new movement of the government in the right direction with regard to industrial schools is due to the mission schools of the different religious bodies, and to the faithful work done by contract schools. The time may come when the educational system for the Indians shall be upon such a basis that you and I can have no question with regard to its future. I do not think that time has come now; and I say very frankly that I should feel in the depths of my heart, if at this time that change should be made, a very great and irreparable wrong would be done to the Indians. No one has thanked God more than I have, when I have read the report of the Mohonk Conference. If, thirty years ago, almost thirty, when my diocese was deluged with blood and I was walking on my heart, if any one had told me that the time would come that representatives of all the great bodies of Christian workers in this country would meet together with one thought, that they might work out a plan to save these poor people, I am sure I should have said, "Lord, let now thy servant depart in peace." My heart has been filled to overflowing here, but we must remember that there is long, hard work for strong men yet to do.

There is no government yet for the Indians. The provision has been made for Indian rights of property; but for the most part, owing to negligence, the certificates of Indian patents are not worth much more than the paper on which they are written. So with respect to citizenship. I was asked by a statesman the other day, "What do you think of the solution of the Indian question by making wild Indians voters?" I said, "We have tried that." He replied, "I did not know that it had ever been tried." We had an old Territorial law in Minnesota that any Indian who wore a civilized dress could vote. We had once an exciting election, and it was supposed that the vote was decisive, until some one said, Wait until you hear from Pembinah. And we found, sure enough, that an entire tribe had turned out, in hickory shirts and breeches, and their vote had knocked us higher than a kite.

It is a blessed thing when Indians are prepared for Christian citizenship. There is no work that has overpaid a hundred-fold, good measure pressed down and shaken together, as has the work that the different religious denominations of this country have done for the poor Indian.

My dear wife, who stood behind me in all those dark hours, when both my missions were wiped out as if there had never been a vestige of them, looking at me, with the tears running down her face, said, "We have nothing to do with this: it is your business to do the work, and God will take care of it." So we went on. I am tempted to read a letter written to me after she had passed away: [Bishop Whipple here read some extracts from a letter written by a young Indian missionary on hearing of the death of Mrs. Whipple.]

I could tell of scores of good men trained in these Christian contract schools. And, although the time may come when the government must depart from that policy, that time is not now. You may say that the department has the entire matter in its own hands. Do not let us mince matters. If any religious body is not doing its work, let us demand that their teachers, like other teachers, shall be

fitted for their place, and that they shall faithfully carry out every order that emanates from the government. With that, we need have no fear of the future.

Only one word more. It will not be long before I go to the other home. But let me tell you that, next to the thought of meeting the Saviour, is the comfort of meeting many—oh, so many!—of those poor wandering folk we have been leading out of their darkness, who have been brought to that everlasting home.

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—In confirmation of the remark of Bishop Whipple that the department has this matter in its own hands, I would like to read one clause from the Appropriation Bill just passed by the present Congress:—

“That the expenditure of the money appropriated for school purposes in this act shall be at all times under the supervision and direction of the Secretary of the Interior, and in all respects in conformity with such conditions, rules, and regulations as to the conduct and methods of instruction and expenditure of money as may from time to time be prescribed by him.”

President GATES.—That emphasizes the truth that, if we are in danger of a Scylla on one side, with reference to the different denominations and the contract schools, there is a Charybdis on the other in the matter of a civil service that is not yet, by any means, reformed.

Dr. STRIEBY.—I feel very much as Bishop Whipple does. The contract system has worked well. It will come to its end by limitation, because by and by the Indians will be civilized and this system will be out of the way. What has moved me of late has been the action of Congress which seemed to be sectarian. I have said that, rather than have our government committed to sectarian legislation and measures, I would be willing as an individual to forego all the advantages of the contract system. But I do not think that is necessary. This contract system is special. It is adapted to this class of people. I believe fully that these Indians are the wards of the nation. They are not like the Negro, the Chinese, the Swedes. They sustain a peculiar relation to the government, and the money it pays to the contract schools is demanded by that relation.

The civilization that has been thus far attained among the Indians is due to religious influences more than to all others. Until within a recent time it could be said that they were the source of all advance from John Eliot's time down to Bishop Whipple's. The Riggses and the Williamsons, and such men as they, are the ones who have laid the foundations upon which the superstructure has been built. For no light reasons should we be willing to forego the advantages which have thus been gained. As to the relation of Church and State, do not let us be troubled beyond measure until we know what we really mean. What do we mean by the union of Church and State? The State has no right to impose religious regulations and opinions on the people. On the other hand, the Church has no right to impose obligations upon the State or people. If the State will keep hands off in that way, and the Church will keep hands off in her way, the union of Church and State will be avoided. What is done in the case of these contract schools? The government money is due, as I think, by con-

tract and by treaty obligation to the original owners of this land. The money is no bonus given to the religious bodies. It is money paid to fulfil the government's obligations to the Indians. The money goes, not to teach religion, but to teach the curriculum prescribed by the government; and any religious body that will not accept the money on those terms has no right to it. That may apply just where it pleases. With regard to the Roman Catholic denomination, there will be no difficulty. If they will take the money and use text-books, and have the school conducted on the principles laid down for the government schools, no one can object, if no discriminations are made in their favor. If the government means to have religion in the schools,— I do not doubt that it does,— no one questions its right to do so. Carlisle and Hampton and all such schools have religious influences in them. It would be strange if it were not so. But what is the difference between employing A and B as a Presbyterian or Baptist in these schools and employing the same persons in a government school? In either case, they will teach the prescribed studies, and in addition to that will do what they can in the way of religious influence. You must have religious influence in your school, and you must have religious teachers to give that influence. The present system works so well, do not let us disturb it now. Let the government mark out the course of study and let the missionary societies employ men who will teach that course, and who shall also care for the moral elevation of the Indians.

Rev. O. E. BOYD, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board.—The policy of the government is changeable in its relations to the denominational or contract schools, not because of any inefficiency of the officials, but of necessity because of the constant change of these officials. Each one when appointed brings in a new theory and policy, which must be tried. We well remember how Mr. Price *urged* upon our Board contracts for new schools; then how, under Mr. Atkins and Mr. Oberly, the policy was changed, and one of our well-established schools taken from us. Now, under Mr. Morgan, still another policy is introduced, which is far better than all the others. These constant and inevitable changes of officials and policy, under the present system, make the status of the work of the denominations very uncertain and unsatisfactory. They prevent our Board, and we suppose others also, from settled and progressive work; and none can be carried on in this manner and be well done, because no definite plans can be made for the future.

For instance, a school has been granted a contract at first for, say, fifty boarding pupils. The accommodations are afterward enlarged at much expense to the Board, and the renewal contract is asked for, say, seventy-five pupils. Again, other buildings are added, and money expended, and a new contract granted for one hundred pupils. As there are hundreds of children not yet in the schools, it is natural to suppose that the desire of the government and the Church is to enlarge until they all are cared for; and, acting on this thought, the Board expends still more and larger sums of money, and asks a larger contract. Meanwhile, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs is retired, because a new party is in power or for political reasons, and, instead of the enlarged contract asked for, there comes a sugges-

tion that none may be granted ; but, after much delay and correspondence, it is finally granted, but on such a reduced scale that the Board is crippled in its operations, its plans upset, its money expended, and it has but meagre results to show. We cannot but think that the present attitude of the Indian Bureau will either drive all the denominations out of their present efforts for the Indians as now conducted or to Congress for special grants, as the Catholics have already done.

Listen to the story of one of our superintendents : —

"It makes me miserable to have so many teachers here at so great an expense to the Board, and be unable to secure enough pupils to get a reasonable amount from the government. The plain truth is that the school business at this point is greatly in excess of the demand. The school had two hundred last session, and a new one near by fully as large is soon to be opened. Then there are the Congregational and the Catholic schools for boys and the Sisters' school for girls,—all making efforts to get pupils,—besides our own. I wrote to the Indian agent, asking him to go with me and help me to get pupils ; but to-day I get a note stating that 'he has no funds for travelling expenses.' I do not see any prospect of filling up very soon, certainly not until later in the season ; and then, if large children come in, it will be to get clothed and fed during the winter, and leave as soon as their spring work begins."

Under this system, the agent is the friend of the government schools by virtue of his official relations, and he must see them filled first. The present contract forbids us to receive into our schools any former pupil of a government school except by special permission, while at the same time the government can take any or all of ours. Our schools are seriously embarrassed by this rule. With such odds against them, how can religious and benevolent societies carry on their school work ? It looks now as though we may ere-long be left with large properties on hand, which have cost much money, and for which there will be no use or sale.

Meanwhile, the Romanists, by their persistent efforts, have secured all that they asked for directly or indirectly. Since our present most excellent and Christian Commissioner came into office, it is well known how, in spite of his earnest desires, they have gone directly to Congress, and had their requests granted.

Now come to our Board momentous questions : What shall we do ? Shall we give up altogether ? Shall we carry on only such schools as we can without the financial aid of the government ? or shall we go to Congress, and lobby our bills through, and become independent of the Indian Bureau ?

These are vital questions, not only to our Board and similar benevolent institutions engaged in Indian education, but to the Indians themselves. If we all withdraw, what will become of them ? Education is good, but without religion it may prove only harmful. We all believe that it is the duty of the government to educate and the duty of the Church to Christianize these people. Heretofore we have worked hand in hand. Now *shall we crush a good work for the sake of a good idea ?* or shall we, by united efforts and in the Master's spirit, seek to remove all strife, except that generous emulation which seeks only the highest and best good of the Indian ?

Would it be wise to put all Indian schools under the entire control of the Indian Bureau? As long as there are *two* powers that can pass laws or enter into contract with interested parties for the control of these schools, will not these difficulties continue?

Would it be wise to ask the government to withdraw its subsidies from all religious bodies, and have the school and mission work of the latter entirely dependent upon their immediate adherents for their support? If we do this, will not the present policy of the government shut off sooner or later all religious instruction among the Indians? If religious bodies are forced to give up their schools by the withdrawal of the pupils into government schools, can or will the government give them religious instruction? or will it — can it — permit these religious bodies to give any religious instruction in the government schools? Is such a thing possible?

Rev. ADDISON P. FOSTER, D.D., of Boston. — It would seem that there is, after all, very little difference of opinion among those present, when we test ourselves on certain points. One point we agree upon is that there should be no connection between Church and State. We agree, also, that we must go slow; that, if we ever see our way to give up the system, it can be only as we have made previous preparation for it. At the same time there is a point of difference to consider. The question in dispute is this: Is it wise for us to make preparation to give up the contract system? It would not be easy to break up that system at once. The denomination with which I am connected expends in one school twenty thousand dollars received from government and to give that up at once would almost destroy the school. We cannot abandon the contract system to-day; but it may be that it is wise to take measures by which we shall do it to-morrow or at some future time. The question is, Is it unwise for us to hold on to the contract system as part of our American plan for Indian education? I do not see how the question is touched by the statements that have been made, that this money belongs altogether to the Indians. That statement has been contradicted.* I do not see how some other considerations that have been brought up here affect the question, when we remember the reasons why we insist upon a separation between Church and State. These are at least two. One is that the connection of Church and State incites animosity between people of different sects, and it is essential to the well-being of our country that we should have as much harmony as possible. Anything that separates the people into rival factions causes division of feeling. Whenever there is anything among us that leads to that, it is a root of bitterness that tends to destroy republican government.

The other thing is that a government must act impartially. If the government is trustee for the Indian, you and I have part in this trusteeship. I with my peculiar prejudices, and you with yours, have a right to be reasonably satisfied with the action of government. If the Indians are our wards, how are we to act as their trustees from our different points of view? Or how shall we combine on a policy

* As a matter of fact, only one small item of \$25,000 out of the appropriations for Indian schools approaching \$2,000,000 comes from Indian funds. All the rest of the money expended is raised from the ordinary sources of government revenue.

that shall satisfy all? We are not satisfied, as Presbyterians or Baptists or Methodists, if the Catholics have almost all of the money appropriated by the government. You understand that the Catholics in 1890 have received seventy per cent. of this contract money, the Protestants about twenty-seven per cent., while two or three per cent. goes to unsectarian institutions, like Hampton. We are all sharing in this trusteeship; and yet the government, in representing the interests of us all, is favoring a denomination in such a way as to excite animosity. We feel that it is unjust that this particular denomination should have such a large share. Can it be said that there is absolute religious freedom, when we are imposing so largely upon our wards this particular religion, and when all the different religions are not equally represented? I hesitate exceedingly to say anything with regard to what one of our friends has insisted on; but I cannot let it pass unnoticed. He has urged the admirable quality of the Roman Catholic schools, and spoken tenderly and warmly of the work in them. Let us remember that government is educating these Indian children with reference to citizenship. Our republic cannot be sustained unless its youth are educated to be good citizens. But it is an unfortunate fact, which we cannot overlook, that there are eight millions of people in this land under subjection to one who sits upon the throne of the Vatican, and who claims the right to control their personal decisions in regard to political as well as religious matters. It is a fact that, if they follow the teachings of their ecclesiastical leaders, they cannot be loyal citizens of this republic and in sympathy with some of its vital institutions. Is it consistent for us to allow to be taught in the Indian schools, at the expense of government, doctrines that militate against the interests of the United States? I have nothing to say with regard to their own missionary efforts; but, when it comes to our government acting as trustee, I protest. I wrote, some time since, to find out why it was that Roman Catholics succeeded in getting such large sums and how they managed their schools. I have secured a few letters in reply. It would appear from these letters that we cannot well ask for funds in the same way that the Catholics do. It is not in accordance with the spirit of Protestantism that we should lobby in this fashion or override the officials as Commissioner Morgan and the committee of the House were overridden. We will not do that. Then, again, the Protestants need more money to carry on their schools than Catholics. The Catholics have, indeed, money for their buildings. A certain excellent lady has given it to them. But their teachers are unsalaried. They have fewer teachers, and their schools are poorer. I know there are some good Catholic schools: excellent reports have come with regard to them. But this is not true of most. Extracts from letters written me by certain missionaries, together with statements made to me by gentlemen entirely conversant with the facts, who are here to-day, prove that these Catholic schools, as a rule, do far inferior work.

[Here Dr. Foster read extracts from letters to prove his point.]

The government school at Fort Yates is in the hands of priests and nuns, and the priest in charge prints his letter-heads as the "Catholic Mission." A gentleman familiar with the Indian schools states to me that in one under Catholic control all the teachers but

two are German and French, and unable to speak English. I am glad to hear that English will be required in the schools henceforth. In short, the system of contract schools is un-American, difficult to carry out, impractical, sure to create friction, and ought to be abandoned as speedily as possible.

Rev. ARTHUR MITCHELL, D.D., Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Missions.—It appears to me that those who are proposing the discontinuance of the contract schools are misconceiving the fundamental fact which underlies the existence of those schools. In these institutions, while the government places in the hands of the missionary societies a sum of money to pay for the food and clothing of the Indian children, the missionary societies or the churches of the country erect suitable buildings, and also assume the important duty of finding suitable persons to take charge of the children and instruct them. They select proper teachers, continue them in their positions if they do good work, and support them wholly.

Those who are objecting to-day to these schools ask whether the churches need the financial help of the government in carrying on their denominational work, and whether they ought to have it. But this question, when it is asked in relation to such a work as the government has undertaken for the Indians, betrays a radical error as to the real relations of the government and the churches in this undertaking. Such a question is precisely a case of putting the cart before the horse. For the real question is not whether the churches of the country need and ought to have in this work the help of the government, but whether the government does not need, in such a peculiar undertaking, the help of the churches, whether the government can afford to deny itself such help. I believe that a partnership between the government and the missionary bodies of the country, after the fashion of the contract schools, supplies both elements needed to produce the qualities for good citizenship in the now degraded Indians. It secures both general and religious education.

The churches might possibly do all this work alone, although with difficulty, considering the many other calls upon them. But, certainly, nothing in the past history of purely government schools gives proof that such schools, swayed by political influences as they are, and not pervaded always, by any means, with a strong religious spirit, can lift up the Indians. For the elevation of these pagan tribes the government must have the help which the religious element, the religious bodies of the country, can alone be relied on to give. The government, of course, has no need to ask the churches for money; but it has need of those elements of character, of those persons and influences, whose main sources are found in the churches of the country.

Senator Ragan has been quoted as saying that "this giving of financial aid by the government to the denominations for their religious purposes should come to an end." So far as his words refer to anything like a union of Church and State for the propagation of any sectarian views among the citizens of the country, they state a general rule perfectly sound and believed in by us all. But the true statement of the case which we are considering is rather this: that,

in a work so unique and exceptional as the government is now forced to undertake, *the moral elevation of a multitude of heathen*, so that they may be fit for American citizenship at the earliest possible day,—in such a work, I say, the present practice of the government in allying with itself the religious and missionary forces of the country ought *not* to come to an end, but, on the contrary, ought to be continued,—continued at least until some other method has proved itself, not merely on paper, but in actual operation, to be suited to the work. When any other plan has both in theory and practice accredited itself as able to do their work, then, and not till then, will it be safe to drop the contract schools. In these schools, as I have already stated, while the government provides funds for buying food and clothing for the Indian children, the religious societies erect suitable buildings and select and support the teachers. This is the extent of the partnership, except that the government, in virtue of the funds which it supplies, has the right to inspect the schools, and see that the course of study and the quality of the teaching, industrial and secular, reach a required standard. Although the missionary teachers give decided and earnest religious instruction, they must not in doing this fail in the secular and industrial instruction which all are agreed the Indians require.

Of course, it is very easy to say: "Let the government look after the secular teaching and the secular schools, and let the missionary and religious laborers take care of the religion of the Indians. Separate Church and State. Let the children go to the government schools for general and industrial training, and let the missionaries give them their religious training outside the school. Is that not the method which is followed in the States?" Certainly it is; but it may be practicable there and utterly impracticable among the Indians. There is this difference. The child living in the States leaves school to go back to a civilized home, and to a community where Christian schools, churches, examples, and Christian influences of all kinds are around him or can get access to him. He is not beyond reach. The Indian child, on the other hand, leaves his school-house to go to a home of barbarism. The missionary and the influences of religion have hardly any hold on him or access to him except in his school days and hours and his school life. To cut off the religious teaching which the missionaries are able to give in the schools is to cut them off from the largest field and the most hopeful class in which they can have work for the Indians' evangelization.

The body of missionary teachers in the contract schools is just what has given to these schools their peculiar character and value. These teachers are religious persons, many of them enthusiastically so. No other persons will give themselves, year after year, patiently and perseveringly to the religious instruction of Indians, as well as to secular instruction of every kind. Why, then, should not the government avail itself of the help of such teachers and schools? Through their help does it not seize the quickest, strongest, and surest means of fitting the Indians to be citizens? And is not this its end? Why, then, should it not use those means to reach its end?

Everybody nowadays is confessing and declaring that the Indians must have the influences of religion brought to bear upon them.

They must have Bible teaching. No one more strongly than General Morgan himself—and thankful I am for it—is saying that the schools must be religious schools. It is the Bible that creates intelligence, fosters the self-governing American spirit, and at the same time develops conscience. These three things are the vital elements on which the republic lives. This Book furnishes the wheat out of which the bread of republics is made. Not a spot twenty miles square can be shown on the face of the earth where a Christian civilization, or anything worthy to be called an American civilization, was ever found, except under the teaching and the direct influence of the Bible. Very well, then: in what class of Indian schools is the Bible best taught, while at the same time all general education is faithfully given? In the mission and contract schools. This is the answer returned to us from every source. After having visited many important Indian reservations and studied Indian schools of every grade and kind, I have no hesitation in saying that the most useful of all, in proportion to the means expended on them, are the contract schools; and the volume of testimony to this effect, coming from experts on the subject, is immense.

Moreover, these schools, in their body of teachers staying on for successive years, furnish almost the only *permanent* element in our dealings with the Indians. Without some guarantee of permanence and continuance, the best laid plans for teaching and helping the Indians come to nothing. See the perpetual change of teachers in the government schools. There the teachers, instead of being supported and continued year after year, perhaps for twenty years, as is the case with the teachers who are sent by the churches to the contract schools, are changing continually,—sometimes every year, sometimes more frequently still,—and are always liable to dismissal as a result of political fluctuations. Not even the best of Commissioners—and none better than General Morgan have we ever had or desired—has any certain tenure of office beyond a very few years. No Secretary, nor President even, nor any policy they inaugurate, nor any appointee they name, has the essential element of permanence. Now, if in the contract schools you have such an element, I say, *Keep* it. If you have, besides, in these schools an element of personal contact with the Indians, of heartfelt interest in them, of close, individual, enthusiastic work for them, winning their confidence, continuous in its action until it has opportunity to become a transforming power over them,—if you have such an element, *keep* it. Do not throw it away.

The plan laid before the Conference by General Morgan last year, as a plan, leaves absolutely nothing to be desired. It is perfect, it is ideal; but just there is the trouble,—it is as yet only ideal. If Commissioner Morgan could stay Commissioner, or if any party or policy or appointments under the federal government had a guarantee of permanence, all would be well. I would hold up both hands for making over to the Commissioner the whole work for him to do. But where can we find any such guarantee? We hope that his appointment and his policy will abide." It would be splendid. We will do our best to secure it. We are glad that a good beginning has already been made. But less than three years may see political

changes which will upset, or at least confuse and clog, all his plans. Therefore, I say, if we already have in the contract schools a corps of teachers beyond political changes, doing their work faithfully, religiously, successfully, more so than anybody else, *do not bow them out*. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. There is room and work enough for all. Not half of the Indian children yet are in schools of any kind whatever. Let any new plans find their field in providing for the children now utterly unprovided for. If you have any schools proven to be good, with a good history behind them, and actually now in effective operation, hold fast to these schools. These will help on the day when neither mission schools, nor contract schools, nor government schools, nor charity schools of any kind, will be needed for the Indians, but when the Indians will have their own schools, as all other citizens.

Meantime, let me say in conclusion, if you would help the Indians, if you would help the churches in their work for the Indians, do your utmost to introduce permanence into the political methods by which Indian policies and appointments are made. Even the churches are often nearly discouraged by the incessant changes in Indian management. They could adapt themselves to almost any methods if they could only be sure that these had come to stay. Every election now may bring a brand-new theory into the field, and often a large body of new officials, to whom the whole Indian work is utterly strange. To lay plans and build good work of any kind on the fluctuating currents of American party politics is like trying to build a church and laying its corner-stone on the Atlantic waves.

Gen. CHAS. H. HOWARD.—I want to ask whether I may speak on both sides of the question, for I want to look at both sides. Why did not Bishop Whipple touch any of that public money? He has been in this work thirty years. He is a pure, noble man, and loves the Indian as you love your child; and they call him father, as well they may. Why does he refuse to touch government money? This is a serious question for Christian people, when they have such an example before them. Why are the Riggses, one of whom is here to-day, ready to say the same thing, that they do not want to touch government money? There must be some reason. They and their father, Dr. S. R. Riggs, for forty-five years have been working for the Sioux Indians. Why do they feel this way? I think I know. I will tell you. It has been intimated to-day that the work of the government, and that possibly the end of all our effort, is to make American citizens. These people look higher than that. They want to make Christian men and women out of these Indians. To do that, they cannot divorce the school from the missionary work. I appeal most earnestly for the Christian school, and the Bible in the school, and the gospel every day and hour. If there is something in this government contact that will cramp Christian work, then let us say, "Get thee behind me, Satan!" But I believe, as Bishop Whipple has said in his apt classical quotation, in "making haste slowly." I speak after having inspected twenty-three of these agencies, and having been on almost every reservation in every Territory of this country, except one. What we utter here resounds in Congress, and is seen upon the pages of almost every important daily in the land. That means

something. Let us make haste slowly, for I believe we are facing the sunrise. When I go to a reservation, and find that the teacher has not the fear of God before him, that he is a profane man and utterly unfitted for his work, as I have seen over and over again, I say we must have the contract school until we can have something different from that to replace it. When the transition comes, let it be gradual and easy. Let the government take this step when it may; but let our Christian churches hold on and carry forward what they are now doing. I believe there is nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent the present system. If there had been, it would have been found out long ago. A great deal of this money is due to these Indians, according to solemn compact and treaties, to be used for educational purposes. We have never given it to them: we have denied it to them. Millions of dollars are still owing these Indians. Senator Teller is my authority. The nation is as much bound to repay this as a man is bound to pay his note of hand. This is apart from any general moral obligation to recompense the Indian because our people and nation have in the past robbed and despoiled him.

Dr. WM. HAYES WARD.—It is not a theory, but a condition, that confronts us. The theory which has been presented so strongly is that the United States government shall give nothing and no State shall give anything for a special religious purpose or for the advantage of a religious body. I believe in principles, and I do not believe in any conduct which contradicts principles. And yet we have gone against that theory or principle in this whole Indian history from the time that General Grant first asked religious bodies to nominate agents. Have we really gone back on our principles? Is it a principle that government should have nothing to do with religion? Is there not a principle that goes far back of that, to the effect that the religious instincts and necessities of every man shall have free scope, and shall be provided for, and that children shall have their religious instincts provided for? And do we not allow them to be provided for in our civilization independently of the State, by our churches and other institutions? This is true of a free community. But now take a community that is not free. Take, for instance, a prison, an orphan asylum, a regiment of soldiers. That is not self-governing: that is under control; that is a ward of the people. What does the government do? Does it say, We have nothing to do with religion? No: it provides those institutions with chaplains. That is precisely the position which we are in with reference to the Indians. They are under control. They are our wards. They are not free, not self-governing. What do we do? We say it is the business of the Commissioner of Indian Education to provide religious education, by a right which goes back of any principle that has been laid down here this morning. The government has a right to provide religious instruction among the Indians,—I think that is understood by Commissioner Morgan,—whether in the government schools or whether in the schools controlled by religious bodies.

I want, also, to make my strong protest against the sentiment implied, if not distinctly uttered, by one of the speakers who questions the loyalty which the Catholic Church maintains toward the United States government. No person could have heard, as I did,

at that Catholic Centennial in Baltimore, the expressions of loyalty to the United States government, and the way they resented the implication that they are under any political control from any foreign body, without feeling that there was an earnestness and honesty in it, and I for one believe it; and I think we ought not to give utterance to any feeling of distrust, and ought not to let our action be controlled by such a feeling, when we know that they have the same political rights, and, I believe, the same national loyalty, that we Protestants have.

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT.—Most heartily do I indorse the motto which Bishop Whipple has given us, as one which should control our action, —to “make haste slowly.” But, if we are to do that, we must make some haste. If we go away from this Conference and repeat only what we said last year, we shall have made no haste at all; and that is not what Bishop Whipple recommended.

I thought that I was a radical on this question until I heard Bishop Whipple. Then I concluded that I was not, because the utmost I wish to do is to preach to-day what Bishop Whipple practised twenty-five years ago. We have all been stirred by his eloquent words, as we have long been stirred by his more eloquent life. Surely, in his case it is true that deeds have spoken louder than words. I shall rejoice when the time comes, as it will come, when every Christian church of this continent will say what he said a quarter of a century ago: “We will not take the money of the federal government, or put our schools by necessity of that money under federal control.”

The Roman Catholic Church is right in its protest against having its schools under federal control. The Church ought never to be under any form of control by a political government. The Church should be emancipated from its present partnership relations with the government, not that its work may be lessened, but that it may do a larger, nobler, diviner, and more spiritual work. It is for this reason that I wish that every church represented in the Indian work would say, “We will not take your money from this day.”

The Church and the State ought to be one. The time will come when they will be one, and that dream of Arnold of Rugby will be realized. The relation of Church and State ought to be the relation between the deacon and the dry-goods dealer: the deacon is a dry-goods dealer in the shop, and the dry-goods dealer is a deacon in the church. The community ought to be so full of the spirit of Christ and of God and of religion that the only organization should be at once the church *and* the government. But until that can be brought about, until men see eye to eye, until they have one conscience, one faith, one hope, and one law, then there is but one safe relation between the Church and the State,—that of absolute and total independence. If the Church is under the State, it is manacled, crippled, corrupted by worldliness. If the State is under the Church, —let Italy, Spain, Ireland, the whole of Europe in the Middle Ages, tell what is the result. If these two are mated together, we have a politics that ruins piety, and a piety that does no good to politics. The Church would be stronger for its work if it held no open palm at Washington for droppings from the treasury. Dr. Mitchell makes the suggestion that it is the United States government which

asks the churches to help it carry on its work. This is admirable as the suggestion of an idealist; but it is not history. The lobby does not come from Washington to our missionary societies, but goes from our missionary societies to Washington.

We stand twenty-five years behind Bishop Whipple. There is danger in our action of crippling the work of Christ. It is because we believe that the Church of Christ will be made strong if it throws its crutch away that we plead for a speedy separation. Suppose the American Board, which is to-day meeting at Minneapolis, should have a message flashed across the cable that the British government had suddenly resolved that it would undertake the work of establishing schools throughout India; that English should be taught in every school, in order that civilization should be hastened and industrial systems maintained, and that in these schools the following rules should be put in force: that the Sabbath must be properly observed, that there shall be a Sabbath-school or some other suitable service every Sunday which pupils shall be required to attend; that the superintendent may require employees to attend and participate in all the above exercises, but any employee declining as a matter of conscience shall be excused from attending and participating in any or all religious exercises. That is the law that governs to-day the government schools under the Indian Bureau. Suppose it should be flashed across the ocean to Minneapolis that national schools on that basis and under that system were to be established in India: do you think that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions would put on sackcloth and ashes, or would they rise and join in one great song of thanksgiving?

Just one word more. I speak as the pastor of a great church. And I am sure that, if I were to go next Sunday morning to my congregation in Plymouth Church, and say to them: "The United States government has resolved that it will no longer give a dollar to the American Missionary Association; if you are going to carry on the missionary work, you must carry it on yourselves; the United States treasury is locked and barred against you, and it will never be opened,"—I am sure that I could duplicate their present contributions. So long as I can only say, "You are only asked to join in partnership with a nation so rich that it does not know what to do with its money: now pour in your contributions," I speak to unwilling ears.

Dr. WARD.—Could you do that three years in succession?

Dr. ABBOTT.—I should expect to duplicate the contributions the first year, and to add to the duplicated contribution the second. A great deal of the discussion seems to have been founded on lack of faith in our institutions. To build on politics is to build on the waves of the sea, we are told. The Indian Bureau, it is said, may not remain. No: the Bureau will not remain; but the public will remain. Public opinion will remain. I do not in any way dishonor General Morgan when I say that the present policy of the Bureau of Education originated right here at Lake Mohonk. It was because Christian sentiment, public sentiment, had been crystallized here,—the Christian public sentiment which had been created in the past by such men as Bishop Whipple, Bishop Walker, and the Riggses. It

was by reason of this public sentiment that the national government has taken up the work of Indian education. And so long as the American people remain the American people, and Christian churches remain Christian churches, so long the work of education will go on with larger sweep, and there will be more and more of strength, purity, and power in the national education of the Indians.

Bishop WHIPPLE.—I have been alluded to very kindly several times. All that I said before is quite true. It is also true that a few years ago, when the utter desolation and degradation of some bodies of Indians away in the northern parishes were represented to me, and a gentleman offered to build log school-houses, provided the government would adopt them, I most heartily and cordially approved of it, because it was the only thing that could be done for their salvation. I make this explanation, that you may know that I *have* favored contract schools.

Rev. Dr. J. H. ECOB, Albany, N.Y.—I want to enter my protest against certain things that have been assumed as general principles. There has been a distinction made between secular and religious teachings which I cannot accept. I refuse to acknowledge that distinction. I say to my people: You shall not draw a line down through your life and say: "On one side I am a Christian, and go to prayer-meeting and church. I step over that invisible line, and put on the face of a man of the world." I believe we are making a great mistake when we say that the government is secular, and, as has been implied, almost wicked. In its work for the Indian, I believe that every item of right instruction given to these heathen people is in and of itself Christian, and tends to their uplifting. It is, therefore, the true and proper work of both the Christian Church and the Christian nation.

That leads me to say one word as to the distinction between Church and nation. Do we not speak of our nation as the flower of Christian civilization? The religion of Christ has given us our government with its Christian institutions and laws, and now we are told that the Church must wipe its hands of any connection with this Christian nation! The prophecy has been uttered this morning that the ideal state of things, when the Church and nation shall be one, is surely coming. After the prophecy is uttered, suddenly we are asked to cut sharp and clean between Church and State. How, then, will the prophecy ever come to pass? A prophecy is nothing unless it is rooted in the causes of its own fulfilment. I have learned for the first time that our Christian nation is undertaking a distinctly Christian work in elevating these heathen people to the status of Christian citizenship; and if that is true, if the Church at any one point can put her hand into the hand of the government, saying, "We will work with you on the same basis," we are hastening the day when that prophecy shall come true. I want to work for the coming of that day with heart and mind.

Prof. ANSON D. MORSE, Amherst, Mass.—We are making far too much of this fear of union between Church and State. Some two thousand years ago, we know that the Celt and the Teuton were in very much the condition that the Indian is in to-day. It was a union of Church and State that Christianized and civilized them; and,

humanly speaking, we can see no other way through which at that time they could have been Christianized and civilized. When we come to look at it carefully, we shall find that evil as well as good came from this union; but the good greatly outweighed the evil. The evil it produced was tyranny. During the Middle Ages the Church tyrannized over the State. From the beginning of modern times, in Protestant as well as in Catholic lands, the State has tyrannized over the Church. When we express our inherited dislike of the union of Church and State, we ought to ask whether, in the present situation, there is likelihood of tyranny being exercised by the Church over the State or by the State over the Church. I do not think that we can reasonably fear this.

There is no satisfactory solution of the Indian question except through the hearty co-operation of the Christian people of this country. And is there any more effective way to bring about this co-operation than through the contract schools? These schools are the agencies by which the great religious bodies of the country work for the good of the Indian. To discountenance them would be to discourage the churches whose organs they are. Many complain, and with strong feeling, that the Roman Catholics have had undue privileges in this matter. But is not this the fault of the Protestant bodies? Is it not due to the fewness of their mission schools and to their lack of union? Let them extend their work, let them form an alliance for the more effective cultivation of this and other mission fields, and then they will secure easily all that is just.

Dr. W. A. MOWRY, Boston, Mass.—Day before yesterday I thought I was a white man, yesterday I was sure I was a half-breed; and to-day I believe that I am a full-blooded Indian. I have been intensely interested in this discussion this morning. It is one of the most important that this country has seen for many a day. The freedom, fairness, and fulness have been charming. You will get great good out of it, and it will be published and read. Every line of it will be read by the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

I have seen something of these Indian schools—not much, but a little—between Hampton and the Oregon coast. A tremendous work is going on in these schools. If we are to make haste, it must be slowly. If we are to make any change in the contract system, it must be slowly. We must hold on to all the good things we have. I have not been very much concerned by this Indian matter; but I have been very much concerned on another line of education,—that is, in connection with our common schools. Do not let us forget that we have six or seven million children to educate in this country; and there is a vital question to be considered, and that question is the maintaining of our public school system, our American system of public schools. One line of argument here a certain set of ecclesiastics might use. They can ask, If you can do this in the government schools, if you pay \$150 a year for the teaching of each of these Indian children in schools managed by the churches, why will it not work as well in parochial schools of all denominations?

Mr. Smiley said that he hoped all those who desired to speak would have the chance. He was anxious that the general opinion

should be that no further enlargement of appropriations should be made to denominational schools in the future. The work of such schools as Hampton and others, however, should not be crippled. No well-established work should be abandoned until the United States could do that work as thoroughly.

The following resolution was offered by Dr. Lyman Abbott, and unanimously adopted :—

Resolved, That the question whether this Conference make any declaration on the subject of this morning's discussion be referred to a committee consisting of the present Committee on Resolutions, with the addition of the gentlemen named below, and with power to add to its number, which committee shall report to this Conference: Bishop H. B. Whipple, Gen. Marshall, Bishop W. D. Walker, Rev. J. M. Ferris, D.D., Rev. Arthur Mitchell, D.D., Mr. O. E. Boyd, Rev. M. E. Strieby, D.D., Rev. Frank Woodbury, D.D., Rev. J. M. King, D.D., Mr. J. B. Garrett, Mr. A. Smiley, Rev. James Bruce.

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Night, October 9.

The Conference was called to order at 7.45 P.M. by the President. Mr. Chester Cornelius, a former Carlisle student, was invited to speak. The President, in introducing him, said: "I remember an interesting evening when I was inspecting the Carlisle School. I spent several hours with twelve young men, representing ten different tribes, while they answered ten or twelve questions such as these: What do you think is the greatest need of your own tribe? What are you going to do with your education? How can the educated Indian be most useful? Is it best for him to go back or is it better that he should stay in the East? The answers to these and other questions made a most interesting file of papers; and I remember the paper of this young man, which was manly and thoughtful. He has since studied at Dickinson College, and is now commandant at the Carlisle School."

MR. CORNELIUS.—I was in hopes that the President would limit me to two or three minutes instead of allowing me the full ten; but it seems that here as well as in college, professors and presidents are in the habit of giving long time to those who do not wish to speak. But it gives me a great deal of pleasure to appear before you as a representative of the Indian race. The people of to-day are beginning to realize that the Indian question must be solved, and that it must be done soon. The notion of yesterday, which was that we must take the Indian where he is, educate him where he is, and keep him where he is,—in other words, treat him as an Indian for centuries to come,—has died away. The question now is, How are we going to give him the present civilization? You have found that the best way to exterminate the Indian is to give him the education that you who enjoy this blessed land, and who are living in this enlightened age, enjoy,—the civilization that is wholesome and helpful to all those who take it. You are here to consider what is the best way to do this. It has always been my opinion that the best way to educate an Indian is to take him away from the reservation, and keep him away after he has been educated. The best way to Americanize people is to do as the widower did who married a widow. They each had a good many children, and the first night they got together the husband mixed them all up so that they did not know which was which. That is the only way that the Indian question can be solved. The Indian must be absorbed in your civilization. The two hundred and fifty thousand Indians will never become a nation by themselves: that is out of the question; and, as the American civilization is good for all those who come into it, it is

good for the Indian also. I hope and pray the time will soon come — and it rests with you when it shall come — when there shall be no reservations anywhere, when all the Indians shall be absorbed and be American citizens, and when the people of this land shall realize that the Indian must undergo the same laws as those who come from foreign countries; that, like the Frenchman, the German, the Italian, the Irishman, he must go to work; that he must work to exist; that he must live by the sweat of his brow. You must take away the present system of giving rations. It has a tendency to make the Indian a beggar, a worthless good-for-nothing all his life. He is taught by it that he can live without doing anything, that he can simply demand a thing, and it will be done by the United States government. The system of education laid out by Commissioner Morgan is of great importance, as is the question how long you will continue to send back to the reservation children who have been educated in the East.

I want to say a word in behalf of the Oneida Indians, the tribe to which I belong. Some of the younger people of that tribe have acquired the higher education, and have equipped themselves for the battle of life, and have thrown themselves into the midst of the busy throngs of to-day. They have gone away from the reservations. None of these educated people, young men and young women, have gone back there to find work. There is no inducement on the reservation. They have taken up different branches. I know of several young men who are practising law in different States, and I know some who are filling places as clerks, and there are two who have studied medicine and are now practising,—one in Madison, Wis.,—and they are commanding the respect of the white people. That, I think, should be encouraged. It is the only way to solve the Indian question.

President GATES.— How many Oneidas are there?

Mr. CORNELIUS.— There are about nineteen hundred Oneidas in Wisconsin.

President GATES.— Is the tendency of the stronger young men to leave the reservation?

Mr. CORNELIUS.— Yes.

A DELEGATE.— How about lands in severalty?

Mr. CORNELIUS.— Some have returned to take up allotments. Others have left them.

Dr. E. E. HALE.— How many of them speak their own language?

Mr. CORNELIUS.— Nearly all of them speak it among themselves.

Dr. HALE.— What proportion of them speak English?

Mr. CORNELIUS.— Nearly all.

Dr. HALE.— Did you speak English in your boyhood?

Mr. CORNELIUS.— Yes; but I never spent much time on the reservation.

The following extracts from a letter from Rev. Howard Billman, of the Tucson Indian Training-school, were read by Mr. Smiley:—

Had I an opportunity to address the coming Conference, I would specially direct the attention of that body to these considerations:—

1. The large Indian population contained within the bounds of this Territory,—certainly not less than thirty thousand.

2. The American people here, as elsewhere, have been, and are now, encroaching, and will continue to encroach, upon the previous possessions of the Indians.

3. Such is the scarcity of water, and the expense of developing it for the purpose of stock-raising and for irrigation is so great, that there is little or no hope that the Indian, even if educated, will ever be able to materially improve his worldly estate. Situated as he is, he is no match for the white man.

4. If the government does not speedily give attention to the matter of developing a supply of water for purposes of irrigation on the several reservations, and securing the Indians in the possession of it, our work of training will bear little or no fruit. An ever-recurring objection to our work is thus formulated: "What is the use of educating them? There is nothing they can do in this country."

5. This matter must be pressed upon the government by such friends as the Indian may have in the East. He has few friends here who can or will stand to plead for an inheritance for him.

If it were in my power, I would direct the attention of the Conference particularly to the Pima and Papago Indians in Southern Arizona: I would have a committee appointed (if the body has power so to do) to gather information relative to these two tribes, with a view to its presentation at some succeeding annual meeting.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The order for the evening was then taken up: The Government Administration of Indian Affairs,—can it be improved, and, if so, how? The discussion was opened by Senator Dawes.

Senator DAWES.—I have no desire to renew the discussion of this morning; but it occurred to me in the absence of General Morgan that it was due to him, and to the Administration which is responsible for what he does, that some one should have stated his position upon that question, that you might better judge of the wisdom of the course pursued by the Administration.

General Morgan was appointed in July, six or eight months before it was possible for him to be confirmed by the Senate; and yet, not having the fear of politicians before his eyes, he came out at once with a proclamation of his policy in this regard, announcing to the public that he proposed to divorce the government from all contract schools of the religious denominations of the country. At the same time he formulated his plan of the common or district school system to be applied to the Indian. This aroused at once great opposition, not only among the various religious denominations connected with the work, but in all the localities where contract schools had been established in the years past, they feeling that somehow or other it was going to affect their living. This opposition organized itself to such an extent as to imperil his confirmation. When the charges against him were referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, he stated frankly his own conviction upon the subject, but said that, upon further consideration and investigation of the status of the Indian schools and the difficulties surrounding them, it had been determined by those who were to guide the schools, and with his approval, to maintain the *status quo*; and, although he desired personally that it should be otherwise, he had determined to maintain the existing state of things, but to carry them no further; but, so far as there were increased appropriations and facilities for the education of the Indian, this increase should be applied upon the general ground that it was the duty of the government to take this work into its own hands. He was confirmed under that statement. But, when the Ind-

ian Appropriation Bill came before the Senate, this controversy was renewed, and an attack was made upon the whole system as well as upon him. It was then distinctly stated that the policy of General Morgan and of the Administration was to maintain the *status quo*, and give aid to each one of those denominations substantially as it had in the past; but the great increase of appropriations which we were able to carry through in that bill was carried upon the assent of all parties that it should be appropriated on the broader principle of the government's administration of the schools. So it is that General Morgan's honor and that of the Administration are pledged not to depart from the present condition of things, but at the same time not to increase the appropriations for denominational schools. That is his position. Whether right or wrong I do not argue.

In reference to the question before the Conference this evening I beg you at the outset to judge of it not as if you had to do with it here in this quiet room where all are of one mind and one purpose, but to put yourselves in the place of the Administration, and judge its course and its policy as if you stood there with the responsibilities, as well as the difficulties and obstacles, that confront those who administer public affairs; and then you will better judge whether the policy pursued by this Administration is wise, whether it can be improved, and where and how.

First consider that the administration of Indian affairs at Washington cannot, in the nature of things, be permanent. The government is so constituted that, however long any party may hold power, the administration of the Indian Bureau is precarious. Within the last six years there have been four different Commissioners of Indian Affairs, each one having his own policy and his own convictions of the best methods of administering those affairs, and bound to carry out those convictions. I knew one Administration that in four years changed the policy of the Indian Bureau three times. The Administration, therefore, is bound to adopt that policy which it can complete within four years, if possible, or at least so far advance in that as to secure its completion, and not trust to the chances of the future or to the policy that successors may take up and carry out.

The Indian of to-day is not the Indian who was in this country when the present policy was inaugurated. There is no Indian outside of Alaska such as were the Indians of ten or fifteen years ago. The Indian as an Indian has already disappeared in this country. He has partaken of the spirit of change. He begins himself to be uneasy. He is discontented; he is determined he will no longer stay in the places and ways of the Indian of ten years ago. He has caught the idea of selling his land. He has caught it of the white man. It has been found that the easiest way to negotiate with the Indians for a portion of their reservation is to propose to pay a part, if not all, of the purchase-money by distribution per capita among the Indians. Six hundred thousand dollars was appropriated last winter to fulfil the promise to the Cœur d'Alène Indians: that, if they would cede a portion of their land, this money would be distributed per capita among them. It might as well have been thrown into the Pacific Ocean, for any permanent good it would bring the Indian.

And the treaty Indians have caught this same idea. The comfort

of an hour or of a day, or so long as twenty-five dollars invested in whiskey will last, has come to be so fascinating that the treaty Indians are after their funds, coming in by delegations and pressing upon Congress to take their treaty funds out of the treasury and distribute them per capita, instead of keeping the funds twenty-five or thirty years and paying only the interest on them. The Delawares, with their chief at their head, came up to Congress, begging to have the ninety thousand dollars, which is all they have left of their funds, distributed per capita. The Osages, who have in their wealth depreciated and gone back year after year for twenty years, think the wisest way is to take the seven millions or more belonging to them in the treasury, and have a great feast with it as long as it will last.

Twenty-five years ago the Indians could not understand the idea of allotment. Now they are crazy to have allotment, because along with it comes the provision that they may sell to government the balance of their land. It becomes the friend of the Indian to look out for him in this regard. He is about to waste his patrimony and his heritage, if you will let him. The Indians in the Indian Territory have become landlords, and the white men from the neighboring States come in there and manage their farms while they rest or do worse. I saw a poor miserable fellow down at Talequah, and a man told me that three years before he was as earnest and enterprising a man as was among them, now a poor, idle, shiftless, worthless fellow. "What is the matter with him?" I asked. He had become a landlord, they said. He had gone into Kansas and got a white man to come down and take his farm for a third of what he could raise on it, and take two-thirds for himself; and now he need not work. There are many such, and their number is increasing every day.

The Indians outside the Territory have acquired this passion for giving up their land for money in hand. The allotment law, which had its origin in the idea that work on the soil was the one thing of all others necessary to civilize the Indian, is in danger of being itself undermined by this attempt to lease the land which the allotment compels them to occupy for twenty-five years.

I know there are instances of hardship under this inalienable allotment system, and instances of worthy young men who want to leave their allotment and go into some other business or get an education; and in an endeavor to meet those cases we are in danger of overthrowing the fundamental idea of the whole system, that controlling idea that work on one's own homestead is the most potent of all civilizing agencies for the Indian. We are trying to meet these exceptional cases by permitting the allottee to leave his land when the agent or the Secretary, or some one else, "may deem it for his advantage so to do." In all this we forget that the Indian, as a rule, won't work if he can help it, and that the white has never been known to take his foot off from an Indian's land, when he once got it on. A bill has already passed the House, and is now pending in the Senate, authorizing the leasing of allotted lands whenever the agent shall deem it best for the Indian. Such a law, in my opinion, would speedily overthrow the whole allotment system. The Indian would at once seek to let his land, and relieve himself from work; and there would be whites so

ready to take possession that all barriers would soon be broken down. Thus the allotment law would be gradually undermined and destroyed, and the Indian would abandon his own work, his own land, and his own home, which we have talked about as the central pivot of our efforts in attempting to civilize the Indian.

Another thing. Looking at the administration of Indian affairs, let me say to you, Do not trouble yourselves any more about the reservation system. The allotment law will disintegrate that system; and it will crumble to dust soon enough,—altogether too soon, I fear. I remember telling this Conference three years ago that, if they enforced the allotment law, the reservation would disappear of itself. It is going more rapidly than I thought it would. You could not keep it if you tried. It is like an old house coming down over one's head, and he is worrying all the time for fear it will not come down soon enough, instead of taking interest in building a new home for himself. What have you done to prepare these people for their new home and for their new state? Hardly anything can any of you call to mind,—anything that the government, that the friend of the Indian, that anybody, has done to prepare an allottee for life on his allotment. The only persons that I have met who fully comprehend the necessity of preparing a new home before the old one falls down are those women who, under the inspiration of Miss Fletcher and Mrs. Kinney, have accomplished so much in building houses for the Indian. What has been done outside of that has been little more than to set the wild Indian out on one hundred and sixty acres of land and leave him there. What is he to do? He has no covering over his head, no horse, no plough, no hoe, no seed. He never held a plough in his life, and still you put him there and bid him farm. No: the one thing which presses upon my mind more than any other, and has from the beginning, the one thing I have suffered criticism for in many places, not excepting my own home, is the necessity of preparing the allottee for the allotment. I sometimes think that you had better abandon the allotment altogether and keep him where he is, unless this is done.

When we opened the great Sioux reservation, eleven million acres, we provided out of the proceeds of his own land that every Indian who took an allotment should have a span of horses, a plough, a rake, a hoe, a pair of chains, twenty dollars in money, and seed for his one hundred and sixty acres for two years. But no such provision has been made for the other Indians.

I pity the allottee when I go out on the Plains, and think that probably I am going over some poor Indian's allotment where you cannot find so much as a dividing line to distinguish his land from his neighbor's. This is one way that the administration of the Indian Bureau can be improved.

There is another thing. You must take better care of the pupils you send out from your schools back into the Indian country. While I was greatly gratified by the statement as to the wonderful success of the returned pupils at Standing Rock and at Cheyenne, I could not but remember that there were good agents at these agencies; but there are too many of the reservations which I have visited where, I am sorry to say, there are not such good influences.

I cannot think Mr. Freeland has seen all the trouble, anxiety,

temptations, and backslidings that must necessarily follow the Indian student who goes back to those agencies. No Indian student should go from Carlisle or Hampton to the Indian reservation until after a place is found for him according to the education which he has received. If you send out young students from any college in the land to New York or to Boston, to seek employment, and expect them to find it without guidance, without help from outside, I venture to say that, if a large per cent. do not fall by the way, it will be because God has them in his keeping.

Dr. McCOSH.—I would like to have Senator Dawes suggest a remedy for these failings.

Senator DAWES.—Dr. McCosh wants to know a remedy. The remedy is *here*. Public sentiment for the Indian has been manufactured *here*. Power to carry legislation in Congress has had its inspiration *here*. This Conference it was that insisted upon it that the House of Representatives should pass the allotment bill, which had been twice through the Senate. There was a young lady in this audience who went home after listening to this Conference, and, by her personal influence with her father in the House of Representatives secured the passage of that bill; and she then came over to the Senate and told me what she had done.

A DELEGATE.—That must have been Miss Randall.

Senator DAWES.—Yes: Miss Randall, the daughter of S. J. Randall. She got the inspiration at that meeting here, went home, and told that great and leading man in the party who had control of the House of Representatives that that bill ought to be passed, and that it must be a law; and it passed. She came over to the Senate, and gratified me by announcing that it had passed.

That is the first thing to do. The next is that there be some way provided for taking care of the Indian on his allotment,—out of the money which comes from the sale of the surplus land. Enough of this should be devoted to that purpose instead of being distributed per capita among the Indians. See to it that every man who takes an allotment shall have everything necessary to maintain him upon his allotment for one or two years at least. Then let this Conference say to the generous public that it should help build little houses for the Indians. Let assistant farmers be sent to instruct them how to work. Let everything be done to raise them to manhood and womanhood, so that they can be absorbed as speedily as possible into the body politic of this country, as so much additional life and strength and power.

The census will, I think, reveal some startling facts in regard to the Indians. We have been under the impression for the last twenty-five years that the Indian has been increasing. That, I think, will appear not to be true for the last ten years. The aggregate will fall, I am informed, considerably short of what it was in 1880. The loss is mostly confined to the full bloods. Mixed bloods hold their own better, and are increasing in this land.

The Indian people will not remain as a separate race among us, as the black race must. These figures show where he is going. He is to disappear in the midst of our population, be absorbed in it, and be one of us and fade out of sight as an Indian. So you must administer

the Indian Bureau with that in mind. You must give up the idea of keeping Indians together. You must, as soon as possible, spread them out into the community among the people; and therein is the great value of the policy of Captain Pratt, who puts his Indians out among the farmers in Pennsylvania, and they disappear as Indians among the working men and working women of the land, and grow up among them, and are of them, as good as any of them. Their blood, their sinew, their strength, are needed, and will help us.

Let me allude to one more consideration. When you have set out these Indians, as you have in Nebraska, by themselves, another complication arises. By the severalty law, their farms cannot be taxed. No money for school-houses or roads or churches, or for anything, can be raised upon them. The people of the State in which they live say, "Where are these taxes to come from?" It becomes the wise men of this Conference to devise some plan that will meet that exigency. The people of the State will not willingly nor long bear the burden of taxing themselves and expending the money on these untaxed Indian towns, and what they do expend will be done grudgingly. Then, again, who will organize these new townships, choose officers, and set in operation all the machinery of town government among these new-fledged and full-fledged citizens, with no experience or knowledge of self-government? These and many more like complications, too many for my allotted time, are continually besetting the path of Indian administration. I commend them to you for solution. If they puzzle you as much as they have me, I think they will last.

Let me add a word more in conclusion. Do not set me down a cynic, always finding fault and looking on the dark side. Bear in mind that each one of us has a part assigned in this work. Mine has been rather more than yours to stand on guard, to defend the exposed points, and to strengthen the weak ones, if possible. It is much pleasanter and far more exhilarating to carry or follow the banner. Nevertheless, let me assure you the sun shines in on the work I have to do, as well as on yours, as never before. The administration of Indian affairs is in hands inspiring the confidence and giving encouragement to all workers for the welfare of the Indian. Never more than now has the spirit which has animated these Conferences pervaded the legislative halls and the administrative bureau. All reasonable practicable measures will meet with favor and support with legislators and the Executive. Be of good cheer, then, and tire not.

Rev. Dr. A. E. DUNNING, Editor of the *Congregationalist*, Boston.—Those of us who have been last called into these councils have been most fortunate. We are like the laborers who came at the eleventh hour, and were paid the same wages as those who had borne the labor and heat of the day; for, certainly, we come into a great inheritance, without having had the necessity of suffering thwarted desires. We inherit with you the hopeful tone that pervades this Conference. We shall all go away from this place, whether the Indians are any better for our coming or not, braver men and women, more ready to believe that it is worth while to help those who have little faith in themselves, because of what we have heard upon this floor. It is much easier after such a discussion as this to

see what remedies are needed than to tell how to get them. Two things, however, seem to me pre-eminently necessary. The first is workers of all grades for the Indian service, who shall devote themselves to the Indian cause with unselfish purpose, and such as are qualified to win the confidence of the Indian, and to instruct and inspire him to be a self-governing citizen. If we can have a few such men and women on every reservation, those less devoted and less competent, even those who have been appointed simply in payment of a party debt, will catch a nobler purpose and rise to a right conception of their work. All denominational lines under such inspiration will be swept away. Who cares to ask here to what denomination Bishop Whipple or Miss Robertson belongs? We know that they have dedicated their lives to the service of the red man, and that they are the friends of the Christ who gave himself for all men. That is enough for us to know. We want that kind of workers. We have a man at the head of all these affairs who desires that kind of men and women, and who knows where to find them and how to put them to work. I desire to express my gratitude to the administration for having given us such a man as the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Whatever our politics, we shall all agree that General Morgan gives us a policy which is fitted to solve the Indian question, and that policy has been greatly advanced by the present Administration. We have a plan outlined that all friends of the Indian question accept, which has already been put so thoroughly into practice that we can see large fruits from it. The second thing needed is that the Commissioner should have power to carry out this policy, and some assurance as to its permanence. No man can administer a great business unless he can have as his assistants and coworkers those who understand his plans and are in full sympathy with them, and who shall make it their business to carry out these plans to successful fulfilment. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs can appoint subordinates of his subordinates on their nomination, but his own subordinates he cannot appoint. They are appointed by the President on the nomination of the Secretary of the Interior, and often without any consultation with him or any knowledge of his estimate as to their fitness. It is most important that fuller power should be given to him in the appointment of inspectors and agents. I understand that by the Constitution that power cannot be formally placed in the hands of the Commissioner, but I think it is competent for this Conference to make an appeal to the President and Secretary to commit to him as far as possible the choice of the men and women of all grades who are to do the work, subject to their approval. I think that can be done by nomination on his part and acceptance on theirs. Then it is essential that there should be more permanency in the plan. Any plan which has been put before the people and accepted should have a fair trial. How can we get a fair trial for the plan that has been put forth? It is so simple that every citizen can understand it. The Commissioner can show his rules and regulations, and make it plain that he has fit men and women already chosen, not for party service, but for their adaptability for the work to which they are called. The people can be made to see that this is so practical, so certain to bring large results, that, what-

ever Administration is in power, it will not dare to thwart the wishes of the people. Editors, teachers, ministers, men of all professions, can keep this before the public mind. We can do so much, whether we are politicians or not. When you appoint men to the Indian service simply because of their party fealty, you teach the Indian a kind of politics that will hinder all honorable citizenship among them. But the appointment of men and women to guide and teach them because of fitness for their work is laying wise and substantial foundations for Indian communities who are to learn to administer their own civic affairs.

President GATES.—The need of permanency is very vital.

Gen. Charles H. Howard of Chicago, formerly Indian Inspector, then gave an address on Indian agents and the necessity for more care in their appointment. Many people, he said, think that the Indian agent is a thing of the past; but in his opinion the Indian agent still has the most important part of the work to do, and he has power and opportunity of doing much harm or much good.

INDIAN AGENTS.

BY GEN. C. H. HOWARD.

When Secretary Kirkwood gave me instructions for my first tour of inspection, he said, "I want you to be eyes and ears for me." He gave me to understand that he wished for something more than a report of the books, papers, and accounts of the agent. "I regard it as even more important," said he, "to find out and retain a good agent than to discharge a bad one."

Of course, it was necessary to have a clearly defined conception of what constituted a good agent. *What shall the standard be?* One reason for so many poor agents is that there are really no prescribed qualifications. This Conference has in times past pronounced unequivocally in favor of applying *correct civil service principles* to appointments in the Indian service. There are, to my mind, few matters related to Indian administration still deserving of more attention than this. Is it important that the agent be a good Republican or a good Democrat? Is it absolutely necessary that he be recommended by some member of Congress or Senator? Because he has served his country well as a soldier, is he necessarily fitted for an Indian agent? Is the fact that he has done fairly well as a physician in some country village, or has been justice of the peace or postmaster, or been a leader in local politics, sufficient recommendation? Is the more potent consideration that he has been a minister of the gospel reason enough for his appointment? Is the fact that he has been a clerk at the agency and aspires to promotion conclusive in his favor? Does the interesting fact that he has Indian blood in his veins settle it? Suppose the Indians are largely Roman Catholic, and the candidate is of that faith, and is urged by all the priests in the region and by the Romanist Bureau at Washington. These propositions and inquiries answer themselves, at once, in your minds.

And yet I have known agents to be appointed for each of these reasons respectively. Besides this, I have known some who seem to have been appointed because they had failed in business as merchants, or failed in everything else they had ever undertaken. I found one or two who were too old to be efficient, whatever they might have been in their younger days. To be sure, my opportunities of observing Indian agents have not been confined to the three or four years of my service as inspector. They have extended over twenty years. But I officially inspected twenty-three agencies. Of these, six of the agents were discharged for inefficiency, one for fraud, eight were pronounced passable and retained, with the idea that a change was itself bad, seven were fairly good, one was exceptionally efficient.

My first practical deduction from this experience is: *the agent should be appointed with special reference to the condition and requirements of the particular tribe for which the agent is needed.* An agent who was successful with the isolated small bands at Fort Belknap would not necessarily be capable of managing the eight thousand of the Pine Ridge Agency. Secondly, the standard, as far as any general standard can be given, seems to me to be shown by the question, *Is he adapted to do the work in hand?* What, then, is the task set for the Indian agent? Nothing else than the civilization of the particular tribe to which he is assigned.

The next practical deduction from my inspectorship is that there are too many and too frequent changes in agents and employees. Secretary Kirkwood seemed to realize this when he urged the importance of discovering and retaining every good agent. If this or any other body could lay before Congress and secure the enactment into law of a plan by which agents could be selected solely with reference to the standard mentioned,—namely, their fitness to do the best for the civilization of the tribe to which they are to go,—then the step would be easy to the adoption of a civil service rule to retain such an agent without reference to change of political administration.

The frequent changes are a positive evil. Indians, as a race, are not quick to make acquaintance. Confidence is of slow growth. And an agent can do but little until they learn to believe in and trust him. With this audience I need not dwell upon the accumulating advantages of retaining a good agent from year to year, from administration to administration, from decade to decade. And yet, of the sixteen agents retained under my inspection, only two were remaining three years later. The one exceptionally good agent mentioned was among the fourteen so soon removed. It is not safe to conclude that, if all agents were appointed according to the high standard named, they would be allowed to remain undisturbed during life or good behavior. One frequent occasion of removal is the visit of an inspector. It would not be fitting in me to set forth the individual characters of inspectors whom I have known. I may say this: that an inspector who was fond of whiskey was apt to judge harshly of a temperance agent. Probably the converse of this was equally true: that an inspector who was a teetotaller did not take kindly to an agent who was a whiskey-guzzler. But I am referring now to the liability that always exists of losing a really good agent.

An inspector who was profane and lewd was severe on all the agents who were retired ministers of the gospel. Inspectors who put great stress upon neat book-keeping, and a fine appearance of the office and office papers, often reported adversely upon agents who were comparatively veterans in the Indian service and otherwise well adapted to their work.

There is a temptation for an inspector to find all the fault he can. He usually meets dissatisfied or discharged employees who bring charges against the agent. Disappointed contractors frequently stand ready to fill his ears with complaints, if he will listen to them. Often some assistant or, as in two cases I remember, the agency physician wants the place. Sometimes there was local politics involved, and the leading men of the county had a candidate to recommend, and argued that an agent ought not to be sent from other States. These influences frequently were brought to bear, in one way and another, directly upon the Indian Commissioner or the Secretary of the Interior. Not seldom the Congressman of the district had undertaken to have the agent removed to make way for some one who had helped in his election. I know of United States Senators thus securing the removal of an agent and having a political favorite appointed. Lastly, the Indians themselves, in several instances, had turned against the agent because of some forceful policy or order they did not relish. With these influences, it is extremely difficult to get at the truth and to be sure whether the agent is or is not the right man in the right place. Of course, if actual frauds are charged, it is comparatively easy to ascertain the facts and come to a just conclusion.

Some of the changes occur from the inviting openings for business that are often presenting themselves in our Territories. . . . The difficulty of curing the evil of frequent changes in agents is very great, even when a good agent has unquestionably been secured.

The aid of Congress must be invoked. Every thoughtful observer of Indian affairs will say that one remedy must be better pay for agents. Business houses wishing to secure efficiency and permanency offer an adequate salary. Until better talent and higher character are sought in agents, and the salary is fixed to command such, the disappointments of frequent changes will be sure to continue. Exile from home, friends, all civilized social life, schools, churches, an isolation often measured by a hundred or two hundred or more miles from any railway or any white inhabitant save the government employees, having only degraded Indians and their children as companions for himself and his family, and, what is still worse, as with some of the agencies, there being no fit place for the family, or the personal danger being such that they must be left in the far-off Eastern home,—all these and innumerable other inconveniences, discomforts, and positive ills to bear make the pittance of \$1,500 too small for any man, with requisite ability, to consider for a moment. Such a man will take the agency, if he take it at all, from some other motive. If that motive be to watch for business openings, of course we can expect no permanency; if it be for change of climate, restored health or invalidism and death will bring the change; if it be to escape some disgrace or because of business failure, we have too

poor material for a good agent. *Why not ask Congress to raise the standard by offering a salary that will secure the men we need, with guarantees of law that they can retain the position for life as surely as appointments to the Supreme Court?* This must be one of the first steps looking toward both efficiency and permanency.

There is no difficulty in securing first-class men to superintend mines and mining operations in the same neighborhoods as the agencies, to manage the affairs of large cattle ranches and cattle companies, to superintend saw-mills and lumber interests, to manage great manufacturing or mercantile operations. But for such services in private business men pay from \$3,000 to \$10,000 salaries. A part of the contract generally is a degree of permanency. The government, by its meagre salaries, degrades the service, makes a bid for adventurers and every description of people who cannot make an honest living at home.

Let us look at the inconsistency by comparing the kind of duty and the responsibility of the position with the salary. Frequently, the agent's bond has been \$50,000 or more. This indicates something of the property responsibility. He is required to superintend the construction of large and costly buildings, including school-houses. He is expected to expend and account for thousands—yes, tens of thousands—of dollars. He constructs and sees to the running of grist-mills, saw-mills, by steam and by water. He builds canals for water-power and miles of canals for irrigation. I have known a \$60,000 appropriation to vanish like dew before the sun for such a canal. The agent must be an adept in agriculture, managing large farming operations with government funds, and using all the most costly implements,—conducting a model farm for the instruction of the Indians as well as for raising agency supplies. . . .

There is an immense variety of property, as already indicated, to be cared for, used, accounted for. The proper care and management of horses, mules, and oxen, the feeding, fattening, and slaughtering of beeves for from one thousand to eight thousand persons, the issuing of other rations of food every week or once in two weeks,—this is only a partial enumeration of the kind of work and business and a hint of the ability and capacity required.

But enough has been stated to show, in view of the duties and responsibilities, the utter inadequacy of the pay.

In conclusion, it remains to inquire whether this Conference can suggest any practical measure beyond the provision for an adequate salary and a permanent tenure of office, in order to bring about the application of true civil service principles in the appointment of Indian agents. No mere routine examination, it is evident, would secure the desired end. Certain high moral qualities, in addition to superior administrative and executive abilities, are required. Reverting again to our standard as already stated,—*fitness to promote the civilization of the tribe to which the agent is appointed*,—it is plain that mere intellectual ability, though coupled with force of character and even with experience in the management of affairs, is not enough. An important additional requisite would be an appreciation of the educational and evangelical work needed, or, perhaps, already undertaken on behalf of the tribe. The most palpable unfitness of the far

greater number of agents has been in this very thing. They brought to bear no proper co-operation with the school and missionary work. A want of unity in what was most essential to Indian civilization was the result.

General Grant endeavored to meet this difficulty by requesting the missionary and benevolent societies, which were conducting educational or evangelical work at any agency, to nominate the agent. This would seem to be an ideal method. It did result largely in taking appointments out of politics and securing a harmony before unknown between the missionary intent and the government administration,—at least during General Grant's first term of office. Possibly, had this method been united with an increase of salary and permanency in office, no further agitation of civil service reform as applied to the Indian agent would have been needed.

But, as a matter of fact and actual experience, Grant's method of appointment of Indian agents did not prove a success. . . . The facts and failures pertaining to that experiment may throw light on the present problem. The desideratum still is a good Indian agent. Witness the telegram read to this meeting yesterday from Dr. Dorchester. With a Commissioner of Indian Affairs such as the one who now honors the position, and with the moral support of the Mohonk Conference to keep the appointments out of politics, perhaps not even civil service rules will be required. But, unfortunately, we are not certain that Commissioner Morgan will remain in charge beyond four years.

It would be difficult to prescribe any examination which would insure the high moral qualities and the roundabout abilities so desirable in an Indian agent. Without having had any consultation with any member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and well aware that they seek no additional responsibility, I feel assured that, were that Board constituted a co-ordinate authority, together with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for selecting and nominating Indian agents, without prescribing to the Board any cast-iron rules except such as they might see fit to adopt in co-operation with the Indian Bureau, a degree of efficiency might be reached in this service far beyond what has hitherto been attained. This Board has for this important duty all the good points of the missionary bodies and some which they did not possess. The Board of Indian Commissioners, of which our beloved host has long been an honored member, and of which the President of this Conference is the Chairman, and whose Secretary from the beginning, General Whittlesey, is also an indispensable member of this Conference, has an experience of a score of years. They have observed and studied the subject in the most practical way,—in the field. The Board consists of successful business men and others, experienced in affairs, from various vocations. They would not be too tender-hearted toward applicants who were seeking an Indian agency for change of climate, or because they had failed to get a livelihood at every other occupation. In short, the members of this Board know what is wanted in an Indian agent, and would, I believe, have the judgment and good sense to apply their knowledge in a business-like way.

Can we do better, brethren of the Mohonk Conference, than to ask

7 Congress to empower our honored Board of Indian Commissioners to act as a Civil Service Board for the appointment of Indian agents? From the standpoint of an ex-Indian inspector and other ex-positions, —if I may coin a word,—in which experience at least has been gained, it seems to me this Conference could hardly do a better thing than to use its influence to obtain the requisite legislation, and so bring into the administration of Indian affairs a greatly needed reform.

Mr. JOHN B. GARRETT, President *pro tem.* of Haverford College.—Under the five-minute rule, I will confine myself to the question of permanence. If I understand the question as presented to us here, it is as to the effects of the governmental administration. If so limited, we might as well dismiss it at once, as it does not rest with us to change the Constitution of the United States. But we should see to it that, so far as public opinion is concerned, there should be no obstacles in the way of the Administration. If with every change of party there is to be change of occupancy of the office of the Secretary of the Interior and of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, we should see that we have men who are full of the spirit of progress, and who would inaugurate policies upon the best lines. Senator Dawes has called our attention to the fact that, when an Indian is allotted one hundred and sixty acres of land, he is found upon that tract alone, with nothing to distinguish it from the adjoining one hundred and sixty acres, utterly unfitted to take up the work of carrying on his farm. I trust that in all future legislation the methods adopted for the Sioux will be incorporated. We should also question whether the money realized from the sale of the surplus land on the reservations should not be applied to the erection of houses, appropriating \$200 or possibly \$100 for each home. We need to provide at once for instructors in industrial pursuits on many lines. There are many in this company who, if we were set down on one hundred and sixty acres of fertile land in the West, and were provided with a span of horses, a plough, a rake, a hoe, and pair of chains, would still be helpless as farmers. Our past life has not fitted us to take hold of the handle of the plough and use it judiciously. Some of the recommendations which we heard yesterday morning as to following out the lines of thought and progress already acquired by the Indians, and those that are due to environment, should be considered in encouraging Indians to select occupations. Any one of us, if he had a son to start in life, would wish to look about and see what his natural bent was, and should give him the necessary education and encouragement to follow it out. So with Indians, we have need to send to the reservations, so long as there are reservations, industrial teachers who will fit them for positions, not only as farmers and mechanics, but as tradesmen as well.

I think Senator Dawes has uttered an obvious truth when he says the reservation is doomed. It cannot last long. If it were not for that, I should ask careful attention to the diverse views expressed here as to the method of educating the Indian. Some hold that the Indians, when they have been educated in the East, should return to their reservations. Miss Fletcher says that the Indian ought to be

taken away from the reservation, and Mr. Cornelius tells us that he should never be allowed to go back.

Mr. A. K. SMILEY.—Something has been said here about agents. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has no more to do with appointing agents than we have. We must not expect too much of our excellent Commissioner. Reports are sent back to the Secretary of the Interior right over his head. We overestimate the power of the Commissioner. The Secretary of the Interior holds the power, and is responsible to the government for the Indian Bureau. If he chooses, as I think he ought, to delegate power to the Commissioner and consult him, it would be much the wiser way, and we should have a better administration. x

William H. Lyon, Chairman of the Purchasing Committee of the Board of Indian Commissioners, was asked to speak.

Mr. LYON.—The great importance of educating Indian children, and the different methods suggested, have been fully discussed; but very little has been said, except by Senator Dawes, about educating the adult Indians in a way by which they can become self-supporting. I think education for the adult Indians in agricultural pursuits is very important, and, in my judgment, it has been greatly neglected. Since my appointment as a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1877, the government has furnished the Indians with over 400,000,000 pounds of beef and nearly 100,000,000 pounds of flour, also large quantities of other kinds of meat and grain, a large part of which could have been produced by the Indians if they had been properly instructed in agricultural pursuits. I have been expecting for several years past that the requisitions for meat and flour would decrease, but they seem to be increasing annually. The following quantities are required for the coming year: 36,000,000 pounds of beef, 8,456,000 pounds of flour, 900,000 pounds of bacon, 368,400 pounds of beans, also corn, barley, oats, meal, and other agricultural products in large quantities.

Mr. SMILEY.—Is any tobacco furnished?

Mr. LYON.—No tobacco has been furnished recently. Among the luxuries to be furnished this year are 952,000 pounds best granulated sugar, 487,000 pounds coffee, and 9,000 pounds of tea. I think, if white people were put on reservations and furnished rations the same as are furnished to the Indians, they would soon become greater paupers than the Indians are now.

If the Indians were located on land in severalty, and all the necessary agricultural implements furnished them, they would not know how to use them. They do not know whether to plough an inch deep or a foot deep; and I would as readily think of building school-houses and furnishing them with all necessary books, slates, etc., but no teacher, and then say to the Indian children, Go in and get your education, as to furnish the older Indians with agricultural implements without sending a practical farmer to teach them how to use these implements.

The late appropriation by Congress for the education of Indian children the present year was about \$2,000,000, and, I am told, only about \$60,000 for additional farmers to teach the adult Indians farming, stock-raising, etc.

I think the appropriation for additional farmers as teachers should be largely increased; and, until more attention is paid to the education of the adult Indians in agricultural pursuits, it will be a long time before they will become self-supporting.

I was up among the Mandan and Arickaree Indians at Fort Berthold in North Dakota several years ago, and I found the government was building a very large barn, apparently large enough to shelter the cattle from a thousand hills. I supposed it was being built for the purpose of encouraging these Indians to engage in stock-raising, and I thought no more beef would be asked for from this reservation; but I was mistaken. For some reason, I think for the want of a good teacher, they did not make a success in stock-raising; and they are furnished this year with 1,500,000 pounds of beef, much more than at that time. I presume this large barn has been useful to shelter ponies when there were no cattle to be sheltered.

I visited another reservation in Montana; and the biggest Indian, so considered, owned 87 ponies, the other Indians owned about 10,000 ponies, and from the barking and howling during the night I should think at least 12,000 dogs.

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—The present agent has killed these dogs.

Mr. LYON.—I think, then, the Indians will insist upon his immediate removal. These Indians at that time were receiving from the government 2,000,000 pounds of beef and 400,000 pounds of flour. They were not obliged to work, but spent their time largely in racing ponies and having a good time generally. After many years' experience in Indian affairs, I have become fully convinced that, as long as the present reservation system continues, and until Indian families can have separate homes, the results in civilization will be very meagre.

President GATES.—Let us hope that the issue of beef will be changed to books, and of bacon to ploughs.

Gen. EATON.—I observe by the different statements that have just been made that only one-third of the Indian children are provided with schools, and that two-thirds are without them, and that we are still feeding a large number of Indians. How shall we reach the body of Indians still unreached? Is it not important that this Conference should bring squarely before it the limitations of the Administration among the Indians themselves? How is the Bureau to advance its administration, so as to include these other two-thirds of the children in schools? How is it going to advance its general administrative power, so as to bring this great body of Indians that are being fed under better influences? Further, as to the industries of the Indians. I recollect that once in Ireland, when the butter was very poor, a travelling creamery was sent about the country, and the people were taught how to make good butter. Those who are familiar with agriculture in other countries know that in certain countries there are doctors of farming, as we may call them, who go about advising the farmers on agricultural matters,—the quality of soil, what methods are best here and what there, and so on. Why can there not be a system devised by which there shall be correct ideas disseminated among the Indians who are now being fed by the government? Once it would have imperilled life to have lived

among these wild Indians, but that period is passing. Can there not be elementary ideas of industry taught to them? Is it not possible to find some bright, strong young Indians who can give this instruction? Cannot some of the young men and women who have been educated in the Eastern schools be employed to do this to great advantage? Is not this a direction in which the administration of the Bureau might be improved?

The following resolution was presented by S. B. Capen:—

Resolved, That the Business Committee consider the expediency of again expressing in the resolutions of this Conference our earnest wish that appointments to the Indian educational service shall rest wholly upon character and intellectual fitness, — teachers to be removed only for cause, and that political influence shall have no place.

Referred to the Business Committee.

President GATES.—I have the pleasure of saying that Miss Edna Dean Proctor has consented to recite to us her unpublished poem, "We are the Ancient People," a poem to a large extent descriptive of the beliefs and mythologies, not only of the Zuñi Indians, but of all the Pueblo Indians. It has been pronounced by Mr. Frank Cushing to be so true to their beliefs and so true in its painting of Indian life that almost any line of it might be taken as a description of the facts or traditions to which it alludes. Miss Proctor has written this poem with special interest in the Zuñi Indians, and she has consented to let many of us who have long known her by the beautiful work of her pen look into her face and listen to her voice. I take great pleasure in introducing Miss Edna Dean Proctor.

Miss Proctor then recited her poem, for which the readers of this report must wait until it is given to the public through her publishers, as it is still in manuscript.

President GATES.—What a gracious setting to our evening! Statistics and detailed reports cannot give us the Indians' life. When we would vividly see their life, and know its animus and feel the thrill of their strongest hopes and their black despairs, we must come to the poet, and see by the poet's gift of vision. And Miss Proctor has put us under a twofold obligation. The sweet lines of Longfellow only ask the friend to

" . . . read from the treasured volume,"
"The poem of thy choice,
And lend to the rhyme of the poet
The beauty of thy voice."

Miss Proctor has done the gracious work of both the poet and the friend, in giving us these beautiful verses of her own in the perfectly attuned music of a voice we can never forget. To us all Miss Proctor will always speak in *that voice* hereafter. We thank her.

Mr. SMILEY.—After all my long experience, that is the sweetest thing I ever heard about the Indians.

A rising vote of thanks was then given to Miss Proctor.

Adjourned at 10.15.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 10.

The Conference was called to order by the President at 10 A.M. after prayer by Rev. E. E. Hale, D.D.

The following letter from Miss Kate Foote was read by Mr. Smiley :

The thing which appalls one in going about Southern California, especially in the two counties of San Diego and San Bernardino, is that, after all the work Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson did, after her writing to Washington, and her other writing which stirred up so much feeling among us all, so little has really been done. The Mission Indian has had *his* rights secured on the Saboba reservation, thanks to the efforts of the Indian Rights Association; and at Mesa Grande there has been set off to them a reservation of good land. But the bane of the work everywhere is the absence of the surveyor's work for want of that Mission Indian Bill which hangs fire so in the House of Representatives. I come on this need of the surveyor's work constantly. It puts up its head from all sorts of difficulties. Mr. Smiley knows how it confronted him at Banning, on the reservation there, which is in difficulties with the railway. I saw the agent's face grow dark the day we drove away from the Conhuila Valley reservation, as we stopped at a house belonging to a white man, a house just built near the reservation,—the fence was put so as to include a fine spring of water. Mr. Rust gave it an angry, helpless glance, and said : "The fence is on the wrong side of that spring I am morally certain, but I cannot prove it for want of the linesman's work. If the United States would but survey this reservation, then I would have it fenced, and there would be no question of which side of the spring that fence should go." Then he went to find the owner of the house, to see that he paid a fair sum to the Indians for the cattle he wished to pasture on the reservation.

A little further on it came up again. We were still driving along the outer edge of the same reservation. The agent stopped his horses suddenly. "What are all those posts down for?" he muttered, with the same vexed look. Then he drove on, and a few moments later he again stopped, and this time he said, "What are those posts up for?" And I saw that here there was a line of post and wire fence, extending along the side of the road for some distance. Then he turned to me, looking on, puzzled at the sight of an equal vexation over posts down and posts up.

"There is the difficulty that besets one the whole time. I feel that those posts are thrown down to confuse the lines between the reservation and that infringing white man, and I also think that the posts set up are to give his views of where the reservation ought to be with reference to the land he wants. If I only had the surveyor's stakes driven every few feet!" And we went on.

Again I was disappointed in the lack of cultivation upon the Indian reservations. It was much less than I expected. I confided my feeling to Mr. Rust, who shook his head.

"There are two causes for that. One is a certain natural providence in the Indian nature. They have not learned yet to take the future into account. I would give a good deal for one or two practical farmers, accredited by the government, so having the weight of authority, who should go among them for a year or two, and *make* them plough and plant, and care for a crop at the right moment, giving them to understand that they *must* take care of it at the right moment, and let nothing else interfere. A little practical work of that sort would be needed only a short time. In three years the better sort among them would see the sense of it, and would go to work for themselves. As it is, and this is the other reason, the best among them are held down by the constant anxiety about their claim to

their lands. How can I have the face to reproach them for not planting and for not setting out trees, when they can turn to me and say, 'We do not know who shall gather what we plant.'"

At Pala, an old man came to me, hearing that I was from Washington. From what he said, as it was interpreted to me, I saw that he had confused my errand among the Mission Indians, which is in connection with the census, with that of Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, and he poured forth his anxiety about his little holding of land, a mile or so away from the mission walls. I could only say to him that I would see if there was anything I could do, and as soon as I could I asked about him.

They told me that he was secured, that Mr. Lewis had attended to it personally, and that, thanks to that and the precedent which the Saboba case gives now to an advocate for the Indians, his title was as secure as a white man's. The pathetic thing about it was that nothing could quite make him feel so. The blow struck when the Indians were driven out of Temecula and from San Pasquale went deep, and it is hard now to make any Indian feel that our law will secure him in his rights.

In one of the remote settlements of the Indians, called San Yeydro, I sat down on a little hillside, near the adobe houses, and the people gathered around to see the agent again. They were the quiet and respectful, well-bred sort of people we have seen everywhere. They told the agent their needs, which I will not repeat here; but presently one of them took out a little package, done up in a handkerchief. There were several papers; and most religiously preserved among them and pointed out to us with an air, as if it were a holy relic, was a paper which I unfolded and read. It was a request to all white people who should come in contact with these Indians "to be considerate and kind in their treatment of them." It was signed Abbot Kinney — and Helen Jackson.

"To think how they treasure that!" said I to Mr. Rust; "and yet how little she has been able to do for them, of the practical good she wanted to do! I see why Californians call us Eastern sentimentalists: we have wailed over the wrong of the Indians, and we have not forced a careless House of Representatives at Washington to pass the bill which would give them defined rights."

Mr. SMILEY.—When in California last winter, I had occasion to employ fifteen or twenty of these Indians, and more peaceable, quiet, industrious people I have never had. They are thoroughly trusty. They earned about nine dollars a week, digging ditches and so forth. One of them kept the time of the others, and I would take his word as quickly as I would Bishop Whipple's. I never knew them to tell a lie. We always handed to the man over them the money that was due them. In every way they seemed to be trustworthy.

President GATES.—It is said that their definition of heaven is the place where white people lie no more.

Senator DAWES.—The bill to which Miss Foote refers in her letter is the work of Helen Hunt Jackson and Mr. Kinney. It has been put through the Senate in three sessions, and has died in the House of Representatives. The last night of the session it was called up before the House, and but for the unaccountable opposition of one member it might have become a law. Everything had to be done at that hour by unanimous consent; and his objection prevented its becoming a law, much to the regret of those who had seen it through the Senate three times.

Mr. Green, editor of the Worcester *Spy*, said that he had received assurances that an opportunity would be found early in the next session for the passage of the Round Valley and Mission Indian Bills.

Senator Dawes said there might be such a possibility if they would not put them off till the last session.

Mrs. A. S. Quinton, president of the Women's National Indian Association, was invited to speak.

Mrs. QUINTON.—I have been asked to speak of our Association's work. Its latest department is that of furnishing reading matter to returned Indian students, and books for reading-rooms. Miss Sparhawk, chairman of our national committee for that work, will go on with that department. It has awakened a great deal of interest, and there has been large response. Many publications have been sent to Indian students and schools. This work is capable of indefinite extension, and she has shown herself capable of doing it ably.

The department adopted before that was called Indian civilization work. Miss Grace Howard has interested herself in the conditions and prospects of returned Indian students in Dakota, and has founded a home which is a sort of headquarters for them. It is such work as others are doing, as far as circumstances permit. They do as much as possible to furnish work for returned students, enabling them to support themselves by civilized work.

The department introduced before that was the Young People's Department, in the care of Miss Marie E. Ives, of Connecticut; and it has been opened successfully. Children and young girls are to be enlisted in the work they can so well do.

Just before that the department of Special Indian Education was undertaken. That is in the hands of Mrs. S. H. Bullard, of Boston, president of the Women's Indian Association of Massachusetts. That work is of great interest. Several persons have already been aided by it in education on special lines, who will work among their own people on their return home. The government has now also made some provision for this special work.

Miss Kate Foote is chairman of the Committee on Indian Legislation, and reports on current Indian law-making, and is doing excellent service. It is a department through which the Association has also expressed itself on general Indian affairs, but especially on needed legislation, and has done a good deal in the way of trying to influence it. I think the Association has never wrought better or more on this line than in the last year. For the confirmation of General Morgan, it was an easy thing to get excellent newspaper articles written and sent to the President, to the Secretary of the Interior, and to Congressmen. A good deal of that was done at the time the question of the removal of the Utes was under discussion. Personal letters and newspaper articles were written and distributed as far as possible.

The department inaugurated prior to this was that of Home Building and Loan Work, to which Senator Dawes referred so handsomely. That work has been in the hands of Mrs. Kinney,—a woman of whose work and of whose personal character we are so justly proud,—and it has been very earnest work. This line of work was begun by our Connecticut auxiliary, and was then introduced into the National Association with Mrs. Kinney as chairman of the department; and the latter has built forty or fifty Christian homes in whole or in part with loan funds, to be returned without interest, and the payments have been as prompt as could be expected. It is human nature for an Indian to think that, if he can put his money where it will bring

him 18 per cent. interest, it is better than to hurry to pay it back where no interest is asked. But, on the whole, this has been a successful undertaking.

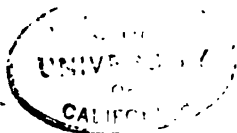
The work entered upon prior to all these lines was that of the Missionary Department in the great field left untouched by all denominational missionary societies. The latter organizations were doing all they could, and yet sixty tribes were without any Christian missions; and it was believed that such a body of women as ours, made up of all creeds, was just the one to undertake that work, and during the six years in which it has been serving the women of the society have had the joy of planting or helping to plant, directly or indirectly, twenty different missions in nearly as many tribes. It is a better success than we hoped for. The latest mission of this year has been started among the Digger Indians of California, where a Christian young man became greatly stirred for the help of the Indians. We loaned him two hundred dollars, with which a school-house was built; and General Morgan, after this young man had given the needed proofs of fitness, made him a government teacher, so that the government is now borrowing our school-house. It is also a Christian school in the way that all public schools can be made such, by putting into them Christian teachers. Another new mission is among the Saboba Indians, that group in which Mrs. Jackson took so great interest. At the end of its first year our Potrero Mission near there was transferred to the Moravians. Another new mission is, we hope, soon to open among the Seminoles of Florida. Theirs is a difficult field, as they are in terror of the government; and the only possible way to reach them seems to be through industrial providing. We hope to put on land which we have the means to purchase, a saw-mill or shingle-mill, and to win these Seminoles to work, pay them wages, overcome their fears, and so to win their hearts for Christian education.

Our annual meeting will be held in November in Boston, and we expect an interesting convention. We women have watched the progress of events and of this Conference with deepest interest, and we believe this is a body called of God to do a great work; and we believe, as General Armstrong once said here, that all that ought to be done can be done. We are interested in the two lines of thought that were followed here yesterday, one presenting ideals or principles, and the other methods of work; and we have great joy in recognizing the fact that Christians are idealists, and that our Lord was an idealist. We believe in it with all our hearts. And we believe in keeping right onward, going straight toward the ideal; and that is what we propose to do. We are rejoiced to see that the spirit of despondency which has sometimes for a moment appeared in these Conferences has utterly disappeared. Our lamented leader for seven years was a man of invincible hope, one who always believed that what was needed to be done could be done. He never flagged nor faltered, and his spirit is still in this Conference.

The discussion along the line of Christian expediency also greatly interested us, and that is just the thought in the policy of General Morgan, and we give thanks for him in the Indian Bureau, and are working side by side with the government in every line of true Christian expediency,—for that goes straight toward the ideal as fast as

possible. In the matter of the schools, General Armstrong, who is a Christian idealist if ever there was one, and therefore intensely practical,—for proof look at Hampton,—said a good deal about Christian expediency and moral obligation to Indians, and the necessity of paying our debts, to which we all said, "Amen." But all moral obligations must be adjudicated and formulated before payment can be made, and we must not pay one tribe with the money due another tribe. As Bishop Whipple said, it is *the people*, after all, who are behind *all* the school systems, whether they are public common schools or contract schools; and the people can make the ideal the practical. It is the people who bring to pass everything that comes to pass. These changes, these needed laws, will come straightway if the people are appealed to. What we need is to ask the people. The people will move government, and the thing will be done. The ideal has already got into the government policy, and is growing there. The government lives, and the people live; and, if we should lose Commissioner Morgan, another such must be had. Do not let us forget that. Do not let us forget that the thing that ought to be done must be asked for, and pressed for. I believe that every man and woman here will go away with such heart and hope as never before in these matters. We have reached the most interesting stage in Indian affairs. The most beautiful sight in all the world that any Christian can see is Christ's kingdom set up in souls, one by one, man by man. We believe that that kingdom is being set up in souls, and we see that savages are being turned into sons of God. That is the sum of it all. The question is, How shall all be changed? By Christian means, of course. We hope that every man and woman will do his and her utmost to push the work of the churches among the Indian tribes. In our own societies we have worked with the denominational boards as far as possible, and then have tried to supply outside wants as far as possible. There are now forty-four States. Suppose the women of each of these States should plant one new mission in a year. One year would supply the field. Our plan is to transfer our missions as soon as possible to the permanent societies. That we have done from the beginning. So we are helping all Home Missionary Societies. That is the work we plead for to-day, and that all Christian women will help us in this work. We should be delighted if we might never need to plant another mission, if all could be planted without our aid.

One word about needed laws. We need to ask what is the specific work to be done; for it cannot all be done in a race law, but must be done singly, tribe by tribe. And whatever is done must be accomplished through public sentiment, and this at first by personal pressure. Nothing can be done except as it is demanded by Christian citizens. Look at the case of the Apache prisoners. They are *still* prisoners, though but a small number are able-bodied men, and most are women and children; and they have been prisoners for more than four years. Is it not time that they were discharged and treated according to the general Indian policy? There must be personal help to achieve this. Then there are the twenty-one thousand Indian children not yet in schools. *What* is to be done with them, *now*? is the question, and not, How much government money shall



each denomination get, or who makes the best use of such money? But how can the work be best and soonest done? Let us specifically help to get the three millions of dollars that General Morgan says are needed for the education of the twenty-one thousand Indian children, and let us put personal work behind all the claims of the Indians.

President GATES.—If there are still to be found in any remote parts of our land any good, hard-headed men who speak of women as governed solely by their emotions, with no development of logical faculties and no strength of will or power of perseverance, I should like to corral a few such men, and send Mrs. Quinton to them, and let her tell them about the women's work for Indians. Heretofore the greater part of this work has been done by the women of this country. Wherever you go, you find that they have begun, first to think for themselves, and then to ply their ministers with innumerable questions on the subject. Since I have been here, one of the most popular clergymen present said to me, "I was driven up here because my women talked so much 'Indian' which I could not understand that I felt it a duty to come and learn." Their fund of hope is marvellous. I have seen Mrs. Quinton come from the train after a long and exhausting journey, hasten at once to a little hall half-filled with persons who doubted whether the Indians were worth doing anything for, and inspire and lead them on to good work for the coming year. These women's associations have "given us points" here as to how we may manage Congress. They get these marked papers, and send them to Washington from all parts of the country. Letters to Congressmen are literally inspired. When a Senator finds his desk covered with such papers and letters, he is more likely to look after these questions than he otherwise would be. Their work has been very wisely planned. I regret that Mrs. Kinney who is present is not able to speak about the home-building plan. It is a striking thing that Senator Dawes, the Nestor of Indian reform, should say that the home-building plan undertaken by the women is the greatest power at work settling the Indian question. .

The President then invited Miss Sarah Smiley to speak.

Miss SMILEY.—I have been doing so much thinking since I have been here that I have hardly anything to say. It is said that the fulness of the heart will give the lips full speech, but from an embarrassment of riches I do not know what to say. One thought, perhaps, is uppermost. As we have all grown wiser during these days, and each of us must see more clearly the scope of this great subject, and each of us must see more clearly both what has been done and what needs to be done, so we must recognize the fact that the *doing* still lies largely before us. I have been thinking of these beautiful lines of Archbishop Trench:—

"In doing is this knowledge won,—
To see what yet remains undone;
With this our pride repress,
And give us grace, a growing store,
That day by day we may do more,
And may esteem it less."*

* Poems (tenth ed. p. 148),—"This did not once so trouble me."

It seems to me that the one great hope for us in this work is that Christians purpose to work at it as they never have before. It seems to me clear that the work *must* be done through Christian missions and schools; and that, however the question may be finally settled as to the support given by government, or whatever judgment one may form meantime, all the different denominations ought to set to work with a zeal that they never have had hitherto, and that for each Christian school now in existence there should be ten. My own experience in working among the poor and among the colored people would lead me to this conclusion: that there is no hope whatever in mere secular education, which aims only to fit the Indian for citizenship; that we cannot even reach the fundamental laws of human nature, those that really shape and direct men, and make them such as we would have them, save as they become the children of our heavenly Father, and at least enough of them Christians to leaven the mass. For this, then, we should aim; and to its attainment it is necessary that the Church of Christ should do her utmost as she has never done before.

President GATES.—It has seemed to me that, in the deliverance we talk of making, we have been looking in the wrong direction,—not because I want to see the present system continued indefinitely, but because I think our exhortation ought to be addressed, not to the government, urging it to discontinue contract schools, but to the Christian churches, that they may take fire with zeal and redouble their efforts to Christianize the Indians. While we feel that the contract system must some time come to an end, we must be very careful that we make no deliverance that shall imply lack of faith in the great truth that Christianity must be the foundation of the elevation of this race, as of every race.

I wish now to invite Dr. Taylor, President of Vassar College, to speak; but before introducing him I wish to relate an incident.

Some ten years ago I was in the whispering gallery in the dome of St. Paul's, London, when the guide said to me, "There is some one over at the other side: if you will whisper something against this wall, you will get an answer." What should I say? One never knows what to say when thus asked to speak to a blank wall; but I repeated in a whisper some lines from Byron, just as our old Greek professor used to recite them,— "The Isles of Greece," etc. To my utter surprise there came back in the same tone the verses that follow, and the question, "Who is over there who knew dear old 'Kai Gar'?" I hastened to the other side of the gallery, and met Dr. Taylor. We had been friends in college, but we had not met for years. I now have the pleasure of introducing him to you.

Dr. J. M. TAYLOR, President of Vassar College.—Reference has been made to the embarrassment that any man must feel in speaking after listening to the addresses of two women who have spoken. Think, then, of the humble condition of a man who lives in the close neighborhood of between three and four hundred women, all of whom can talk well! I am in such a condition. And I never come to Mohonk Conference without feeling humbler than I usually do. I never look at the faces of those I have learned to know so well, I never hear the voices of those who have engaged in this work for

years, as they speak of their experience and what is essential to be done, without feeling how entirely unworthy I am to say a word on this important question. But I am deeply interested in it; and I believe that, if one came here without any philanthropic feeling, it would be roused in him. When men rise here and speak as to what is essential for carrying on the details of this or that policy I can only answer, "Yes, yes." I believe in this industrial system of education and in civilization and evangelization to the bottom of my heart. But, as I listened to Senator Dawes, two thoughts kept coming into my mind. One was that back of all these details of work, back of all these methods of industrial progress, there must be a fundamental reform, a reform in what we technically call the "civil service." What possible hope is there of instituting a good method of work and sustaining it, or what hope of getting good farmers where they will do well, unless there is something like permanence?

President GATES.—Absolutely no hope.

Dr. TAYLOR.—I have never heard so good a plea for civil service reform as Senator Dawes's speech in years; and I have heard some good speeches. It seems to me perfectly preposterous that a great government should pursue such a policy, or lack of policy. It seems to me impossible that a nation of sensible people should frame a policy which can be changed and changed again under a single administration. There is absolutely no hope of anything like a progress commensurate with the efforts made, unless permanence can be secured.

And then I thought of the absolutely bad notion of charity that has pervaded this whole work from the beginning. I do not wonder at it. The Christian Church has not rid itself of this utterly pernicious view of charity which prevails almost everywhere. It is almost impossible to get into the minds of the workers in the average church the idea that unwise charity impoverishes. And yet the whole government of this nation has been proceeding upon this old system of charity which has impoverished the nations of Europe, that was tried in the Roman Empire and all through the Middle Ages, and that all through Europe has beggared the whole of the lower population. On this same extraordinary and unwise method of charity this government has carried on its whole work in relation to the Indians, these savages, the so-called wards of the nation. I feel like blaming the government when I think of this lack of wisdom; but it pervades the charitable world; and I do not know that it is very surprising that the United States government, the representative of the people, has not surpassed the people of the world at large in this direction. There is everything to learn, and we must go slowly. Nothing builds so slowly as character. If we find that true with the best young men and women who have come from the best homes, what shall we hope for when we deal with those who have had no training, no homes, no good heredity? We must build slowly. We must hope, we must work; but, whether we hope or not, we must be patient.

President GATES.—I hope we shall not give up the habit of criticising the government, so long as we do it in a spirit of self-criticism. A Scotch elder had developed the trait of self-estimation to such a degree that he was advised by his minister to pursue a course of self-

examination. "I had the habit," said the elder, "for many years; but I gave it up, because it always left me in such a state of self-gratulation." As we look into this matter of government, we shall not have such a spirit if we remember that we must go to the people for reform.

The President called the attention of the Conference to an item in the morning paper, stating that a Sioux chief had just been chosen to serve on a grand jury in the West.

The report of the Law Committee was made by Mr. Austin Abbott.

REPORT OF THE LAW COMMITTEE.

In submitting the following report on behalf of the committee, it is proper for me to say that, under the circumstances indicated in the letter I am about to read, a quorum of the committee has not been present at this Conference, and our report is to be taken with the qualification that it embodies suggestions of the members of the committee present, for which the other members of the committee are not responsible, but which, we believe, are in the line of what they would suggest and approve, were they present.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., Oct. 3, 1890.

Dear Mr. Smiley,—Your kind invitation reached me yesterday. I regret most heartily that it is out of my power to come. The fortunate years when I was able to be at Mohonk were years when the meeting was held before the beginning of our term. Now I am head over ears in absolutely unavoidable work. Mrs. Thayer sends her thanks and regrets with mine.

I am the more sorry, because I am afraid that the Law Committee will have no report. Early in the year I wrote to General Fisk that I could not act as chairman, and suggested that, as Judge Strong had become a member of it, he should be chairman. General Fisk, after much difficulty, persuaded Judge Strong to accept; but afterwards he withdrew, and I know not what other arrangement was made. Perhaps, after all, another chairman was appointed, and my concern is needless.

I wish that some supporter of our Indian Bill could be raised up in Congress, that some comprehensive and final measure should be adopted. I am as fully persuaded as ever. And it was a satisfaction to hear from Judge Strong that he thinks "it much to be regretted that the Thayer Bill cannot be passed." "It is," he adds, "perhaps a little too complicated, *but I approve of it heartily.*"

Cannot the Conference persuade the Senate Committee to do *something*? I should be only too thankful if anybody would amend and improve the bill, and would begin by calling it by some other name than mine.

I should be glad if you would communicate to the Conference the substance of what I say, for I would not seem wanting in attention to the duties of the chairman. And will you please add that I cannot possibly serve as chairman of any new committee? My work here is too engrossing.

How strange it will be to miss General Fisk! I sympathize with you in the loss of that good man. With all kind wishes and thanks, I am,

Very truly yours,

J. B. THAYER.

In the absence of Professor Thayer and Judge Strong, the members of the committee present do not undertake to recommend any action at this meeting upon the Thayer Bill, hoping, however, to call forth some suggestions that may throw light upon the cause at the next meeting.

Pending Legislation.

Several bills are now before Congress, and have passed the Senate, thanks to the faithful labors of our honored friend, Senator Dawes, which remain to be acted on in the House of Representatives.

Senate Bill 2783 is an act for the relief of the Mission Indians in California. This act provides for securing reservations for those Indians, and for allotments in severalty.

Senate Bill 3043 is a bill further to extend the benefits of the Land in Severalty Law, a law better known as the Dawes Bill.

This bill, when it becomes a law, will accomplish three objects:—

1. It gives each married Indian woman a right to an allotment of eighty acres.

2. It modifies the twenty-five-year prohibition on contracts affecting land, by providing that, when it appears to the Secretary of the Interior that an Indian cannot with benefit personally occupy his allotment, he may lease it; if for farming or grazing, for not more than three years; if for mining, for not more than ten years.

3. It secures the right of the issue of Indian marriages to inherit the allotment.

The Senate Bill is a bill enabling the Five Nations, or any of them, or any Indian member of them, to sue and be sued in the courts of the United States.

We are of opinion that these are measures of great importance, and our representatives in Congress should be urged to pass these bills without delay.

Courts of Justice.

Justice among the Indians is now administered by two classes of tribunals. Graver crimes are justiciable by the United States courts; minor offences and civil controversies, by the Indian agent or his substitute, the Court of Indian Offences.

If an Indian within a reservation in any State or within any Territory, whether on or off reservation, commits murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary, or larceny, he can be tried in the United States court. Assault and assault and battery committed on officials of the United States, including Indian policemen, Indian deputy United States marshals, and others acting in aid of the United States law, are offences cognizable by the United States court.

Upon the reservations, theft or destruction of property, practices of medicine men, bribing friends or relatives of Indian girls or women, plural marriages, the orgies known as the "sun dance," the "scalp dance," etc., misdemeanors generally, if committed by Indians, and intoxication and violation of liquor regulations, are cognizable by the Indian agent or his Court of Indian Offences.

The punishments are stopping of rations, fine, imprisonment, hard work, and, for white offenders, expulsion from the reservation.

The law defining the offence or prohibiting the act, and the law fixing the punishment, are simply the will of the agent, except that, if he acts through an Indian Court of Offences, the departmental rules of 1883 prescribe certain general limits of punishment.

Civil suits where Indians are parties are also cognizable before these Courts of Indian Offences.

These courts, originally adopted as mere deputies of the agents, are now regarded by the department as having the direct sanction of law, because of appropriations for the pay of Indian judges and policemen, and regulations issued by the department to define the jurisdiction and limit punishments, as above stated.

They are not, however, bound by any rules of law in their investigation or decision of controversies, nor subject to any appeal, unless to invoke the interference of the agent. And they are not courts of record, and their proceedings can only be shown by calling on those present for information as to what was said and done.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising to hear increasing complaint that, as the Indians become more intelligent, their just dissatisfaction with such tribunals, as not having well-founded authority to fine and imprison them, increases.

In order that the Conference and your committee, in preparation for its next session, may have more definite information on the subject of the courts and administration, we present the following questions, on which we should like to hear, and to have the Conference hear at the present session, from those present who are familiar with the field.

Questions.

In the field of which you have had observation, whether on a reservation or off,—

(1) Is there practically a different law for the Indian than for the white man? and, if so, in what respect?

(2) Does the Court of Indian Offences afford reasonably convenient and fair justice for the Indians? or would it be preferable to send any class of the cases now coming before it to the United States court, or to give an appeal to the United States court?

(3) Does the distance of the United States court from any considerable Indian settlement result in such serious hardship to parties and witnesses as often to amount to a denial of justice?

(4) Do Indians having land in severalty have any adequate remedy in cases of trespass, removal of boundaries, and ejectment or dispossession of intruders?

(5) What, if any, further provisions of law do you desire to suggest as necessary to secure equal justice between Indians and between whites and Indians?

At the close of such remarks as may be made, your committee will ask leave to submit resolutions on the subjects presented.

AUSTIN ABBOTT.

PHILIP C. GARRETT.

DISCUSSION.

PHILIP C. GARRETT.—The Law Committee is placed in rather a singular position. It was appointed to urge the passage of the Thayer or some similar bill. After a great deal of work upon that bill,

the committee found, upon visiting Washington and conferring with the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, that it did not seem in their estimation to fill the need at all, or, at least, that there were such complications in it as submitted, and such difficulties in securing its passage, that it could not claim their support. They thought that, if things were in a transitory condition, it was not reasonable to expect that a great and complicated addition should be made to the judicial system of the United States. There were other difficulties. It happened that every member of the committee was a man who had approached the subject from the theoretic side. Professor Thayer said, when he presented the bill first, that he had never been interested in the Indians, but, in his studies of the judicial system of the United States, he had observed its inapplicability to Indian reservations, and had become interested in this subject. The other members of the committee are Dr. Austin Abbott, Judge Wayland, Judge Strong, and myself. We have none of us been brought into direct contact with the Indians, as Senator Dawes has, and as a great many field workers have; and perhaps we may regard ourselves as incompetent to judge of the difficulties, and likely, in drawing a bill, to make mistakes. The general impression is that the Thayer Bill should be abandoned. Whether any farther legislation is needed is the question. I think the fact that other bills have been introduced and received the support of the Senate Committee and of Congress is evidence that some other legislation is needed, in the opinion of Congress.

The only proposition of which I wish to speak is that contained in the suggestion of Bishop Whipple. I would like to ask the attention of Senator Dawes and of Congress, as well as of those engaged in work in the field who may throw some light on the subject, to the question whether it would not be expedient by act of Congress further to legitimate these Indian courts. The question has arisen whether it is constitutional to deprive men of liberty and property without due course of law; whether it is not worth while to remove this doubt by creating these courts of law for the reservations, as part of the judicial system; and whether it may not be possible to add to the duties of the judges of the present voluntary courts those of magistrates, with a jury composed of the Indians of whom the court now consists. My belief is that a bill of a simple character could be drawn, covering this ground, and that it would go a long way toward correcting the defect in the present provision for justice to the Indian.

Rev. E. E. Hale, D.D., who was introduced as "Dr. Hale of the United States," was asked to speak.

Dr. HALE.—I judge from what you say that you have now got hold of the point which, on the whole, most interests the general public of the United States. Indeed, without speaking disrespectfully of the Indians, it is the only point that does interest them. I know nothing about the details of the matter; but it is my business to try to interest the people, especially of New England, in the Indian question. They do not care a rap about this tribe or that reservation, but they do believe in America and their own country. They do not believe that the country means to be unjust, and they believe

that it can generally do what it wants to do. There is a pretty concrete case, which I have used before hundreds of audiences, showing that the nation has not, on the whole, failed in its dealings with barbarians. It has had, in the last fifty years, to deal with about seven millions of new people, the greater part of whom were as barbarous as are the Flathead Indians. The United States has not failed. It has met half these people at the door, whenever landed. It has asked, "What is your name?" "My name is Sullivan." It has not said: "Then you have got to live with all the other Sullivans. You will have beef and bacon and sugar given to you." Or, "What is your name, sir?" "My name is O'Neil." "All right. Then you will have to go down with the O'Neils in South-west Arkansas. You will have sugar and beef there; and, if you get off that reservation of the O'Neils, then God be with you. We will do nothing for you; but, if you are there, you are all right,—you will have your sugar, coffee, and all the rest." "And what is your name?" "My name is O'Shea." "Oh, yes: O'Shea. Well, the O'Sheas are off in North-west Nebraska,—the whole family of O'Sheas. You will have your corn and bacon and coffee. You must stay on the O'Shea reservation." The nation does not do that thing to these people. The nation says to these people, "Root, hog, or die." That seems a pretty hard thing to say. But at the same time the nation says to these people, "Every man of you, rich or poor, ignorant or learned, you shall have the eternal rights of justice against every other man." That is what it does not say to the redskin. That is the difference between the way the nation treats the Sullivans, the O'Neils, and the O'Sheas, and the way it treats the redskin. If a Bohemian lands here, and a fellow-Bohemian picks his pocket, he may catch him by the coat-collar and call for a policeman; and the whole power of the United States is called out, that that man shall have his pocket-book restored and justice done. On the other hand, you shall go up to an Indian reservation, the Poncas, if you please, or to any other tribal people. You have a mowing-machine to sell, and a Ponca wants to buy it. If he were a white man, living on the other side of the line, you would sell him that machine, say, on instalments, to be paid, a part in six months, a part in eighteen months, and a part at the end of three years. This is constantly done by dealers in those regions. The dealer does this because he knows that there is law to compel the farmer to keep to his promise. But the Indian, on his side the line, cannot buy the machine on any such terms. He cannot buy it at all, unless he has the money in hand, because the dealer knows that the Indian is not under the protection of law. And in more serious matters than mowing-machines, you have destroyed the old customs under which these people lived, and you do not give them the steady hand of even justice which you give to people of every other blood in your domain.

It is not merely that you are not giving these people a right to be hung if they have committed murder. That is not the only right to give them. But you are not giving them the general rights that American citizens have. I venture to say that this Indian Convention does not reflect in its prayers to God on the gratitude which we ought to feel that we are under the government of law. There are, I am told,—

President Gates touched the bell, which indicated that the five-minute limit had expired. Cries of "Go on! Go on!"

President GATES.—I hope Dr. Hale will go on. I only wanted to show that *I dared to do it*.

Dr. HALE.—I was only going to add that I am told there are one hundred and forty different reservations in the United States. I suppose that means that there are one hundred and forty different sets of laws. I think there should be but one system for every man, red, white, blue, green, or gray, between Alaska and the seaboard.

Mr. RIGGS.—There is probably a difference between the law for the Indian and the white man on the reservation. I do not think that the police courts always give fair justice to the Indian. They do not cover the ground. There is a great deal of injustice; but I would say by all means, Do not give them up, because they are one of the educational factors. They give the Indian a sense of power and training. Improve on them, but do not give them up. I do not know whether there has been any lack of justice to the Indian because of his distance from United States courts. I think it would be an advantage if there could be some further provision made, if it could be done without doing away with this court of Indians. If the agent could be a justice of the peace, it might be enough. My own feeling is that the reservation is done away with practically. We signed the death warrant of that before I was born. It is deadlier than any good Indian ever was.

I wish to read the two following minutes:—

1. A practical difficulty in the way of securing lands for the use and occupation of missionary and church work among Indians lies in the lack of uniformity and a seemingly arbitrary method of interpretation of the law providing one hundred and sixty acres for each location so occupied. For example, forty acres are so set apart for each of the churches on Sisseton Agency. To afford sufficient room for church building, cemetery, parsonage, and farm on which the pastor in charge—native in all cases—can partially support himself and family, calls for at least one hundred and sixty acres.

Thirty acres are offered to the missionary of the Reformed Church who recently proposed to open work on Rosebud Agency. Ten acres each are given to the Mission and Hospital of the American Missionary Association at Standing Rock Agency. This grant was made prior to the passage of existing law.

The claim for one hundred and sixty acres for each point occupied on the Cheyenne River Agency has been placed on file, but no action as yet published.

2. Under the present rules, by the enforced attendance of pupils at the government schools, contract and mission schools are made to suffer. Pupils of last year were taken out of the hands of contract schools; and, when once in the government school, no adjustment is allowed.

We claim for the Indian parents the right, and their full protection in the exercise of that right, to place their children according to their free and unrestricted choice, and the opportunity of readjustment at least as often as the beginning of the school year.

Gen. HOWARD.—An act has been introduced into Congress designed to do away with the twenty-five years' clause in the Land in Severalty Bill. I would like to read the following resolution:—

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that the twenty-five years' clause in the Land in Severalty Act, designed to prevent the alienation of the title and so protect the Indian from loss, either through his own inexperience or the rapacity of

others, *is a wise provision*, and that any proposed legislation, either generally or as applicable to specific cases, *intended to abrogate this feature of the law*, would be a mistake and attended with harmful results to the Indians.

Mr. Austin Abbott read the following resolution, which was referred to the Standing Committee :—

Resolved, That our representatives in Congress are urged to pass without delay Senate Bills Nos. 2783, 3043, and the bill to enable Five Nations Indians to sue, etc., in the United States Courts.

Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT.—The subject of yesterday morning was referred to the Committee on Resolutions; and that committee has formulated the following minute, which will be acted on separately, and the final platform will be presented later :—

That Congress be urged not to abrogate the twenty-five-year postponement of power to convey or contract away lands, any further than by a guarded power to lease on cause being shown, such as is contained in Senate Bill 3043.

This was unanimously approved. Dr. Abbott then read the following minute with reference to agents, which was also unanimously adopted :—

In view of the urgent need of good Indian agents in this transition period from the reservation system and a state of dependence on government support to a condition of self-help, and in view of the fact that as yet there is no proper system in the selection and appointment of those agents,—no prescribed qualifications, no examination, no special test as to their fitness in character,—

Resolved, first, That the salaries of Indian agents should correspond with what is necessary in private business to secure like talent and character and such as to remove the temptation to corrupt speculation.

Second, That the term of office be so fixed, either by law or by rule of the department, that an agent may understand that his service is to continue as long as he proves faithful and efficient.

The following resolutions were also adopted :—

Resolved, That the special recommendation of the Law Committee be referred to the Standing Committee.

That the Secretary of the Conference be requested to send a copy of the four questions contained in the report of the Law Committee, respecting the administration of justice, to those who are engaged in the field or have had opportunities of experience or observation there, with a request to send such information as they can to the Secretary of the Conference for the guidance of the further labors of your committee.

The following minute was read :—

We approve most heartily of the policy and administration of General Morgan as Indian Commissioner; and we strongly urge that Congress make the still more liberal appropriations required to furnish an adequate system of education for the Indians. It should be the policy of the government as speedily as possible to extend its public school system until provision is made for all Indian children not otherwise provided for. These schools should supply moral and religious as well as intellectual and industrial education. The development of this school system should be so conducted as, on the one hand, not to cripple the schools now maintained by the churches under contract with the government, nor, on the other hand, materially to increase the appropriations now made for that work, but should look forward to the time when the Indians shall be absorbed into the body of our citizens, and all need of any special system of Indian schools supported wholly or in part by the national government shall come to an end.

Dr. ABBOTT.—The suggestion has been made that there should be some continuing body between the sessions of this Conference that

should represent it and aid in promoting any necessary legislation or for other purposes. The following resolution is therefore proposed :

Resolved, That a standing committee of seven be appointed annually by the President, of which the President shall be *ex officio* a member, who shall represent the Conference during the year, shall have authority to raise and expend money necessary for their work, and shall take such action as may seem to them wise to arouse and inform public sentiment and to promote legislation in favor of the protection of the Indians.

Dr. Abbott suggested that it might be rather bold to assume that the Conference was to be invited year after year to Lake Mohonk.

Mr. SMILEY.—God willing, this Conference is going to hold on until every Indian has got his rights.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Dr. ABBOTT.—A resolution given to the committee by Mrs. Hiles has been referred to the Law Committee. Mr. Riggs has also handed us a note with reference to Indians placing their children where they choose at school. Your committee do not recommend any utterance on this subject at this time, because the subject has not been discussed, and there has not been any opportunity for conference with the officers of the government. I do not know that any action is required; but the committee acts on the principle that everything should be reported to the Conference.

The platform was then read by Dr. Abbott, and was unanimously adopted.

THE PLATFORM.

The members of this eighth annual Lake Mohonk Conference, looking back upon the past and forward to the future, thank God, and take courage. The workers in the missionary schools, who have been the pioneers of this movement, have, by the inspiring results of labors pursued with inadequate means and against great discouragements, demonstrated the capacity of the Indian for civilization, and created a public sentiment which demands his civilization. This growing sentiment has been demonstrated in the inauguration of the peace policy, the creation of the Board of Indian Commissioners, the gradual improvement in the *personnel* of the Indian Bureau, the organization and work of the Lake Mohonk Conference, the abandonment of the pernicious reservation system, the allotment of lands in severalty, the improved though still inadequate provisions for the administration of justice, the gradual discontinuance of the policy of feeding the Indian and making him a mendicant, the steady development of the policy of teaching him and making him a citizen, witnessed in the increased government appropriations for Indian education, from \$20,000 in 1876 to \$1,800,000 in 1890; and it reaches a fitting culmination in the admirable plan of the present Indian Commissioner for providing all children of school age with a common-school education, at government expense, and in schools under governmental control.

Turning toward the future, this Conference

Urges Congress to make such liberal and increasing appropriations as may be necessary to perfect and carry this plan into full operation ;

Calls for a further extension of education in all the industrial arts, as essential to preparation for self-support;

Protests against the removal of capable officials for party reasons, and emphasizes the necessity of permanent tenure and non-partisan administration in the Indian Bureau;

Urges improvement in the provisions for the regular and legal administration of justice both toward and among the Indians, and indorses the specific recommendations for this purpose laid before the Conference at this session by its Committee on Laws;

Urges the churches to larger gifts and greater zeal in their distinctive Christian work among the Indians, without which all the efforts of the government for their civilization will be in vain;

And reaffirms, as the fundamental principle which should control all friends of the Indians, that all work for them, whether by private benevolence or by government, should be done in anticipation of and in preparation for the time when the Indian races of this country will be absorbed into the body of our citizens, and the specific Indian problem will be merged in that great problem of building up a human brotherhood which the providence of God has laid upon the American people.

The next subject under discussion was "How to arouse Public Sentiment," and was opened by Dr. Strieby.

DISCUSSION.

DR. STRIEBY.—When I was a boy, there came from Ohio a venerable and cultivated man, who rode on horseback from the Indian country, where he was a missionary. He was so impressed with the rapacity of Indian agents and with the cheating and wrong-doing of the whites that he came to see if he could not arouse the people. He went through the country. We wondered at the state of things he described. We sighed, and he went back; and the scene closed, and it was all over. In 1830, the Indians were removed from Georgia to the Indian reservation. You remember the desolation along that route, the imprisonment of two missionaries, the appeal of the Supreme Court, when Chief Justice John Marshall gave a decision in favor of the missionaries, and when Andrew Jackson said, "John Marshall has made his decree: now let him carry it out." And apathy followed.

That has been the way all along. People have been roused, and then have sunk down to indifference again. But from the inauguration of General Grant's peace policy up to the present time there has been a rising tide of public opinion in favor of the Indian; and that feeling must be kept alive in the department, in Congress, at the agencies, everywhere. That quick public sentiment must be kept awake until all these questions shall be disposed of. The suggestion that I want to make is this: that there be organized here a Bureau of Information on Indian Affairs at the Mohonk Conference, that shall be selected from well-known workers from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington; that this Bureau shall have the work of securing the dissemination of information on Indian affairs through the papers. We do not want to start a new paper. Mrs. Quinton's

little paper is excellent, but we want to reach the other periodicals by constant pressure. This Bureau should have permanent place in New York or Washington, and appoint a Secretary. It should have lines of correspondence with the government, with all the agencies, with all who know and understand the facts. The Secretary should be able to print little slips containing all the latest information on Indian affairs, and send them to the editors of the principal papers, having previously secured their promise of co-operation in this matter. I think that might be done.

Of course, the difficult point is the pay of a capable Secretary. Whence shall the money come? I do not know, but there are wealthy men who might make it up right here; but that is the duty of the committee,—to get a man and pay him. I know that the Indian Rights Association is doing a good work; but this is designed rather to work through the public press.

Gen. ARMSTRONG.—I move that the minutes read by Mr. Riggs be referred to the Standing Committee which shall be appointed.

This was unanimously voted.

Miss Anna L. Dawes was invited to speak.

Miss DAWES.—I have four times refused to speak this morning; but, like Mr. Cornelius, I find that college presidents are not to be set aside. I have been asked to speak of the "Bureau of Information," an experiment which I undertook two or three years ago. General Armstrong at that time having dwelt upon the great need of assistance for individuals, and it being known that there was a fresh zeal among the Indian societies, I offered (for obvious reasons being in the way of securing information) to do what I could toward procuring such help through the women of the societies. The first year the plan proved quite successful. Of late it has dwindled. Last year I had less than twelve letters from the field, and the questions asked were on a much narrower line of subjects. This, I think, results from two causes,—one hopeful and one discouraging. The hopeful reason is that the women of the National Indian Association have recently taken up so many general lines of work that they are able to meet any special call for assistance, and there is no longer so much demand for amateur work in this direction. On the other hand, I am quite sure that, while it is true that the interest of the country in the Indian and the sense of justice among the people at large are greatly increased and the whole situation is better understood, it is also true that particular concrete interest is declining. At first, it was a very glorious work. There were earnest public meetings, and it was all quite exciting and very interesting. That time has passed by. With a few exceptions, the work is no longer interesting. That does not seem true up here; but, when we get home, we find the general public does not think or care very much about the Indians. The public cares little about details in the matter of help for the individual,—as to who has a house here, or a fence there, or a floor somewhere else. No one is willing to keep up the constant effort which is necessary to carry out such work. This, of course, does not apply to legislative details. The time has come, however, to consider the Indian, not tribe by tribe, but Indian by

Indian. It is no longer possible to treat the Pueblos and the Sioux, the Mission Indians and the Alaskas, in the same package. Dr. Hale to the contrary notwithstanding, "the blue and the white and the green people" must each be treated separately. We must take up the particular needs of the Indian.

I think perhaps it is necessary to consider this subject very carefully for the sake of our own interest as well as for that of our Indian societies. In my part of the country I know of four Indian societies that have died within the year. In Washington I find it difficult to get people much interested. Perhaps they will contribute money, but they do not otherwise show much interest. In Congress, also, there are a great many matters to be determined; and we cannot wonder if the Indian is sometimes neglected. But I want to emphasize what I have said by repeating that the time has come when our help must, very largely, be given to the individual Indian.

MISS CARTER.—If you want to know how to make the Indian people interesting, I give you an invitation to go on to an Indian reservation, and settle down there three weeks with them, and you will have something to talk about that every one will want to hear.

MR. FRANK WOOD, Boston.—As we have followed in this meeting the results of the past year, I think we must be conscious that the United States government is now, for the first time, far ahead of the churches in its work for the Indians. If the educational work goes on as it has during the past year, if this "idealist" who has been appointed Indian Commissioner is successful in carrying out his plans, the result will very soon be that we shall have as material for citizenship a large body of educated pagans, and nobody to carry the gospel of Christ to them; and, if we are to have pagans for citizens, I would prefer an uneducated pagan to an educated, as being less dangerous. I believe with Dr. Strieby that some method should be taken to reach the Christian churches; and it should be done at once. We need an immediate and large increase of mission work among the Indians. The reservations should be opened to all denominations, with a fair field and no favor; and, if proper steps are taken to arouse public sentiment, the gospel could be preached to every Indian in this country within two years. The different religious bodies that do missionary work among these people might each select an interested, sympathetic Christian man to secure information in regard to Indian matters, and to put himself in contact with the churches, gathering matters of interest from any part of the field. Let such a man connect himself with the pastors of the churches, and have reports made at the missionary meetings, and I am sure there would be no lack of interest, especially if they could get such information as we get from Miss Carter or Miss Robertson. With the needs and opportunities of the Indian field properly brought before the churches, there would be no lack of either money or missionaries to finish this work up at once. It is a shame that this people were not Christianized long ago. There are only about 240,000 Indians in the United States, of whom 22,000 are members of Christian churches. There are only 163 missionaries of all denominations working among them. There are only about 180,000 proper subjects for missionary labor, leaving out the five civilized tribes in the Indian Territory, who

can take care of themselves. Nearly ten per cent. of the 180,000 are already Christians. The evangelization of this number should not be a difficult problem for a Christian nation of 60,000,000. I believe in the American people ; but, above all, I believe in the Church of God. The Church will respond when aware of the facts. If it did not, it would not be worthy to bear the name of the Christ who said, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, my brethren, ye did it not to me." In the last great day, I would prefer to take the place of the Indian, ignorant pagan as he is through the white man's wicked neglect, rather than be a Christian man who would not help him when he knew his need. I do not believe that my suggestions are impracticable. I could tell you how a small body of determined men, fourteen years ago, determined that they would be heard ; that they would get legislation for the Indian, and that a great wrong must be righted. They aroused public sentiment through the platform, the press, and the pulpit ; they put themselves in connection with, and under the direction of the great statesman of the red man, they supplying the weapons with which this Samson might smite the Philistines of the Indian ring. Public sentiment was aroused, the wrong was righted, and the Dawes Bill was enacted. An agitation among our churches for increased missionary work among the Indians would, I believe, be equally successful.

Dr. MITCHELL.—Anything to interest the churches is in the right line. I fear that many churches are very much in the condition that Miss Dawes represented the benevolent people of the country to be in. Our attention is of necessity divided among a great number of missionary objects. We have the world on our hands. Our missions belt the globe. And it is to me only wonderful, when I survey the vastness of the field and the complexity of our work all over the earth, that we have been able to do as much for the Indian as we have. Other churches could say as much ; but I want to say that our Church has not only contributed millions of money, but it has sent over six hundred of its sons and daughters, more precious than gold, to live among the Indians, and often to lay down their lives there. We have not done all we ought, but sometimes I think that what the churches have done is not appreciated. It is not generally known that the ground swell which has lifted up public sentiment at last is really traceable to the quiet work that has been done for the past seventy-five years through the sons and the daughters and the funds of the churches. I sit twice a month at the council board of the Foreign Mission Society of the Presbyterian Church. We have poured out money for the Indians : we have sent out men and women to work for them. But what is it which the churches and the missionary boards most need to-day in their work for the Indians ? We need to see some settled continuous policy in the government's Indian affairs. We want a stable foundation. I know what the judges and the bank presidents and the business men and lawyers, and others who sit in our mission conferences, are saying. We urge certain enlargements in Indian missions. They reply : Gentlemen, give us something sure to build on. Wait until we have a permanent government policy, a permanent official body. Give us something continuous. Give us guarantees that the hopes that the Indian Bureau offer us this year

will not be taken back next year, that the buildings we erect this year will not by some election or other, by some new commissioner or agent, be left untenanted, the children ordered to some other school, or not an Indian left, perhaps, within twenty miles of us. We would go forward and do double the work if we could see a permanent official body, permanent plans, a permanent line of policy to which we could ally ourselves, on which as a foundation we could build our own plans.

Miss Robertson said that, though the Presbyterian Church had done much, she thought it might have done much more.

President GATES.—These things we ought to have done, and we ought not to leave much greater things undone.

Mr. Houghton called attention to the fact that the suggestion of Dr. Strieby had been anticipated by the action of the Business Committee. He thought the Conference had put things in a practical shape by voting that a committee should be appointed whose business it should be to act in lieu of the Conference during all the time intervening between the Conferences, and to employ such agencies as they thought best for the work and to raise the money. He had perfect confidence that the President would select judicious men.

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—Senator Dawes called our attention to one important matter, which I thought would have been recognized by the Business Committee and some deliverance upon it included in the platform; and that was that in the purchase of lands from the Indians, which is now going on very rapidly, there is a great desire that the money shall be paid over per capita to the Indians. That is their own desire, and the desire of many of those who surround them, who know how soon such money disappears. It seems to me that this Conference might well urge upon the attention of Congress the importance of providing hereafter in all such purchases that the money shall be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior for beneficial objects, and that it shall not be paid over per capita. I will therefore move to add to the platform something like this: Whenever lands are purchased from Indians, provision be made that the funds paid for such lands shall be expended to aid the Indians in opening farms, building houses, procuring stock and implements, for the payment of taxes, the opening of roads, and, in general, for the promotion of their own civilization. I move that this be referred to the Business Committee.

Senator DAWES.—I would suggest the change of a word,—“in lieu of taxes” instead of “for the payment of taxes.”

Gen Whittlesey accepted the change.

It was voted to refer it to the Standing Committee.

Mr. AUSTIN ABBOTT.—I would like to say a word upon a subject which ought to engage a good deal of practical attention in the coming season. I do not speak for the committee: I speak entirely on my own responsibility.

The United States stands in two capacities in this matter, as governor and as guardian. It cannot, as guardian, evade or disavow its duties as governor: it cannot, as governor, repudiate its duties as guardian. The discussion yesterday threw great light upon this ques-

tion. The treaty obligations, in form, correspond to those which one nation makes with a foreign nation. But in reality there is this difference: that the treaty obligations of the United States toward the Indians are necessarily qualified by the fact that the United States is the governor of those with whom it is engaged, and not only of them, but of a vast community including them, and that it cannot, by treaty obligation to a few of its members, take away its sovereignty over the whole country, nor withdraw from its duty as a governor in the interest of a few. If, therefore, the United States had made these treaties with a small community of white citizens, those white citizens, while they would have had the name of ward, would have had the obligation to submit as governed to the governor. If we make covenants between ourselves involving specific obligations which we promise to perform "forever," as men frequently do in real estate transactions, we do not realize that *forever* is a long time; and the time comes when it is not reasonable—indeed, when it is inequitable—to require performance. But that does not relieve the man from the obligation of that covenant, though it enables the court to say: We will no longer require the covenant to be specifically performed in the language in which it is made; but, if you cease to perform it, you must pay damages. Instead of compelling you, for instance, to go on and maintain a party-wall when it is no longer necessary, or to maintain buildings free from business purposes, we say that you are bound to pay damages for ceasing to perform this specific covenant. The question I want to put before you is this: The United States government has covenanted to furnish rations forever to a diminishing tribe. Is it requisite equitably and in law to go on doing that forever? Can it not say, in virtue of its capacity as governor as well as guardian: The time has come for us to make a different but equal provision. For the future we will no longer specifically perform that formal covenant, though we do not seek to evade its obligation. We are going to do the same thing in another way. We are going to aid you, but we are not longer going to give you rations.

These treaties are made with tribes. You have already signed the death warrant of the tribal relation in disestablishing the reservation system; and, when the reservation has gone, the tribe has gone. The party of the second part no longer exists.

I suppose these treaty obligations are of three classes,—rations, aid to education, and aid to agriculture. We have seen that the United States has been applying the income of trust funds for education admirably. They are going on with rations. But the question of aid to agriculture is one of the most important. How far ought the government to change these methods and aid agriculture, by aid in making highways and providing, when necessary, boundaries and fences and those things that the new allottees cannot do for themselves, but which are essential to any profitable attempts at agriculture?

Have we not the power and the right, and is it not soon going to be a duty, to stop the ration system? I do not underestimate the gravity and significance of this question. It is no easy task to stop buying thirty-one million pounds of beef and flour, and bread and bacon to match, even if you are going to spend the same money

in laying out roads and putting up fences and irrigating lands. But this is a question that has been pressing itself more and more upon my mind: Ought we not to have some decided views about it? The United States holds in its treasury thirteen millions, at least, of money, of which it is spending the annual income, at five per cent., for these three classes of aid to the Indian in some form. When the tribe is extinct, who is going to claim these funds? Ought not provision to be made now for the future, so that aid shall be given not only, as is so well done now, for education, but for agriculture, so that the taxes on these lands for the twenty-five years to come may be forthcoming so that roads may be opened, and the farms worked? There is no civilization without roads; but here we are laying out farms by the hundred and thousand, with no provision for them.

There are two very serious difficulties in making citizens of the Indians. One is the distinction which the fact of ability to pay taxes makes between the Indian and the white man. You never can get justice on the American system in a mixed community of whites and Indians if there are class distinctions made by the law by which one class is exempted from the burdens that rest upon the other class. You cannot get justice, not even Justice of the Peace justice for the Indian villages, if the Indian lands are not in some form charged with their share of the burdens of taxation, so as to keep up their part of the county treasury. Could it be made possible for the United States to provide for these taxes? It seems to me that there must be some way of finding a solution of this question. You hear all kinds of counsel with reference to it. One person tells you all about the land trouble. Another tells you about the reservation and its character. Another description seems to contradict that. There are something like one hundred and thirty or forty reservations. They are of every kind and character. Some have fine agricultural land, on some agriculture is hardly possible. There are twenty or thirty not larger than a township. Others are as large as a State. There is every variety. One advantage of such a gathering as this is that it brings together a mass of information which at first staggers us by its contradictions, but which gives us a mass of details from which we have got to make a wise generalization.

Now, there is this same diversity in treaties. There are tribes that have had their lands allotted, and there is no treaty with them. There is no provision made for aiding them in agriculture. There is another tribe that has millions available. There are large reservations with small provisions, and small reservations with large. There are large tribes with nothing, and small tribes with a great deal more than they need. It is a difficult question to deal with as a whole.

I think, if we may depart from the practical, and consider the ideal for a moment, we may say that these Indians ought to begin and help each other. They ought to "pool their issues," to do something for each other. That may not be practical. It may be only an ideal; but I think the Christian spirit that has been disseminated in all these schools ought to have something of this idea in it, if they are going to do the best they can. If it were practical for the Indians to concede, as a body, that the best thing to be done for all the Indians on

all the reservations should be done for them without distinction, the question could be settled easily. I was told of an educated Indian of noble spirit and purpose, of whom excellent service is expected, that he had received his allotment, and that he was anxious to have this bill pass which would allow the Indians to sell their land as soon as they please. This man lives in the East. His land is of no use to him. But, when it was pointed out to him that, if the bill should pass which would allow the Indians to sell their land, his fellow-Indians at home would squander all their allotments, he said, "I have never thought of that: I am willing to deny myself, because that liberty will be ruinous to the people at home." If that spirit should prevail among the young and educated Indians, we might have material assistance in the settlement of these questions.

Andrew D. White, ex-President of Cornell University, was called upon next.

MR. WHITE.—Mr. President, I have no speech to make. At various times Mr. Smiley and the Chairman have done me the honor to ask me to say something; but I have had to confess to them the truth, which I now repeat to you, that I came up here entirely ignorant and, if the whole truth must be frankly confessed, somewhat hopeless on the subject of the Indian question in general.

In calling on me to speak, then, you do me great injury. Thus far I have been absorbing knowledge in all my pores, and your calling upon me to speak is like opening a window upon a man with all his pores open. It checks the process of absorption.

Strange as it may seem in view of this confession that I know nothing of Indian affairs, I have been for several years a member of the Onondaga tribe, who have been spoken of somewhat harshly here. Years ago, while a professor in a neighboring State, I was suddenly taken up by my old neighbors in the county of Onondaga, in which the tribe of that name resides, and pitchforked into the Senate of this State. Having taken my seat, I looked about to see what was to be done, and found, among other things to be considered, the condition of the Onondaga Indians. Two men in my district exerted themselves continually on behalf of these aborigines: one was that noble and lovely man, the Rev. Samuel J. May, the friend of the oppressed everywhere; the other was John Griffin, a Seneca who had married into the Onondaga tribe, and who was a good Indian, if there ever was one.

Arrangements having been made, Mr. May and John Griffin came down to Albany with a party of Onondagas, to plead the cause of an allotment of the lands in severalty to the Indians. I went into the matter heartily, though against many prophecies by the older stagers in State politics. It was represented by men who seemed to be of good judgment that the final result would simply be that the white people would gradually get possession of the reservation, and that the Indians would be transferred to the county almshouse. The great day came, and we began the movement. It was a great deal of trouble to get the Committee on Indian Affairs together. Evidently, its members had never expected to do any

work on that committee, and each of them was abundantly occupied on other committees. But we finally succeeded in getting a quorum, and so the effort began. The first and worst stumbling-block we met was at the very outset, and this was Indian oratory. My Onondagas brought down with them one of their great orators, and he knocked our scheme in the head within ten minutes. I never shall forget him, nor will any member of the committee ever forget him. He rose, spoke with great solemnity something which seemed to be very eloquent, but which, being in the Indian language, our committee could not understand. He then solemnly sat down, and the interpreter rose and held forth to us as follows: "As long as grass grows and water runs, so long will the red man of the forest be glad to meet his white brothers at Albany." Then the interpreter sat down, and the orator rose solemnly and impressively and spoke again at greater length. Then he again sat down solemnly, and the interpreter rose and spoke as follows: "As long as grass grows and water runs, so long will the red man of the forest be glad to meet his white brothers at Albany, to consider things of the greatest importance to both of them." Then the orator again rose and spoke solemnly and impressively. Then he again sat, and the interpreter spoke as follows: "As long as grass grows and water runs, so long the red man of the forest will be glad to meet his white brothers at Albany, to consider things of the greatest importance to both of them, and to obtain justice."

So it went on, and on, and on. It was simply the House that Jack built in new phrase, with the most enormous exordium. Long before we reached the land question, the committee had leaked out of the room, we lost our chance to get any report, and the Indians returned to their reservation.

The next year the same thing was repeated. It seemed of no earthly use to suggest that this exordium, after the manner of the House that Jack built, could be omitted; and again we lost our chance to accomplish anything. And yet one thing was accomplished: these sons of the forest showed themselves grateful. They adopted me into the Onondaga tribe, and gave me a name which, as far as I know, no white man could speak or spell, and which I have now entirely forgotten. And I must confess that, ungratefully, I turned away from the subject, rather inclined to believe the famous dictum that there are no good Indians except dead Indians.

But, having come here, the scales have fallen from my eyes. You have given me knowledge, hope, and courage; and you now see the promising condition of mind which you have disturbed by calling me to speak. I was absorbing knowledge and courage, and you have simply stopped the process. All my real information upon the Indian question I have gained here, and what I have learned has interested me deeply and filled me with hope. It seems to me that the platform which has been laid down is one which is likely to do great good. It has obviated my one difficulty; for in my first hours after arriving here, when I saw the vexed question before you as regards the interference of church effort with national effort in this great field, and saw how well defined and earnest the opposing sides were, my courage began to sink.

But you have met that question, and the two sides have come together in recognizing the fact that this is a transition period. In the distinction made by Mr. Ward, that the nation is *in loco parentis*, and that therefore the same rule does not apply as regards the religious education of the Indian which applies to the education of citizens of the United States, you have a principle on which we can all agree.

In the noble work, too, in all parts of the field, from the splendid success of General Armstrong down to the simplest labor of the teachers who have gone forth with such devotion and self-sacrifice to the remotest corner of the Indian domain, there is everything to encourage us. There is also much to encourage us in the hope that the American people will not always be so blind to the necessity of a better civil service as they have been, and that when they shall see more clearly on this subject, and act in accordance with what they thus see, the dealings of our government with the Indian question will be infinitely improved.

These scattering remarks I trust you will accept as my substitute for a speech; and now, if you will allow me, I will listen to the other speakers and continue to improve my mind.

Miss ALICE M. ROBERTSON, Indian Territory.* — As our friends who stand in high places have laid on the bier of Clinton B. Fisk their palm branches and their laurel crowns, I bring from the far-away prairies of Indian Territory a humble spray of everlasting to lay beside them; for his was a nature that reached out to the humble and the lowly. I knew him sixteen years ago, when he did a great kindness to me, at that time an ignorant, awkward girl, with great desire to do something for the Indian, but with very little idea how to do it. He helped me then, and helped me many times in the subsequent years; and I remember gratefully not only his help in matters relating to work for the Indian, but his kindness and thoughtfulness as shown to me personally.

It is hard to turn away from this life and to think, standing on this spot where he has so often stood to speak for the Indian, that we shall see and hear him no more; but, if he were here, he would say, "Let us consider what can be done for the Indian," and so let us follow as he would lead.

General Whittlesey has alluded to the settlement of a difficulty among the Creeks. This was not a mere sudden quarrel, but the culmination of a national feud of many years' standing. During the week of council of which General Whittlesey has spoken I was with them, acting as stenographer. The agreement prepared by General Fisk and General Whittlesey I copied for signature, and I helped in singing that doxology. The peace then made has been lasting, and harmony has ever since prevailed among the Creeks.

To-night I come to you from the Five Nations of the Indian Territory, that are not much longer to exist as Nations; for the constantly increasing pressure of the white man is so strong that it will become irresistible, and the Indian must pass out of existence as an Indian. We all realize this, and that the question now is, How shall we best

*Miss Robertson's address was given on Wednesday, but, owing to delay in receiving the revised manuscript, is for convenience inserted here.

prepare the Indian for the coming crisis? For a long time I was opposed to giving the Indian land in severalty; but now at last I say, "Let us have citizenship; let us have lands in severalty for the Indians of Indian Territory." It has not been easy work for me to take this ground, and by doing it I have brought much severe criticism upon myself. . . .

White people are coming into the Indian Territory more and more. Already there are more white people than Indians in the Territory,—probably three times as many. The population of the Chickasaw Nation is almost wholly white, and the time has come when their lands should be allotted. In this Nation I have been told that one white man with a Chickasaw wife has a farm of sixteen thousand acres. Many others hold very large farms, and these farms are cultivated by the labor of white renters. The educated, well-to-do Indians are becoming a landlord class. The poor and ignorant ones are growing each year poorer and poorer, and the question is how to save them from becoming vagabonds after their lands shall have been allotted to them. How shall they be fitted to hold their own when they shall come in competition with the white man?

Last year, when I was here, I was urging the increase of jurisdiction for the court in the Indian Territory. Since then two new courts have been established in the Indian Territory, one at South McAlister and one at Ardmore; but these courts have only limited jurisdiction, and power to deal only with offences punishable with a penalty of less than one year's imprisonment. The courts at Fort Smith, Ark., Paris, Tex., and Wichita, Kan., continue to exercise jurisdiction in all but minor offences. Hundreds of people are compelled to go to these places as witnesses, and are brought under the evil influences of the saloon and the gambling house. The right of the Indian to a trial in his own country is denied him because of the powerful influence exerted by the saloon and boarding house keepers and the petty lawyers, who derive pecuniary benefit from the attendance of these people at the courts. The courts of the Indian Territory have jurisdiction in civil cases and where either or both parties are white, having, however, no jurisdiction between Indians.

Much good work is being done among these people in the way of education. In most of their national school work the great mistake was made in the beginning of omitting the industrial feature, and this has proved a very grave mistake indeed. The graduates of their schools are lacking in practical knowledge.

I am very proud of having added a kindergarten to our school at Muskogee. Last year I tried to get some one to take up this work; but every one whom I tried to interest in it declined to do it. Our missionary society, the Ladies' Indian Association, acquaintances, and personal friends, all alike said it was a good thing, and they hoped I could do it, but they could not help. And there were the little children, both white and Indian, who needed this training; for it is quite as important to educate white children in the Indian country as it is to educate the Indians themselves. At Christmas time I received as a present a check for a hundred dollars, and with that I started my kindergarten. It has paid its own way from the first outlay. The kindergarten teacher is admirably fitted for the work, and she

has now about thirty pupils. The good people who would not help me made a great mistake, for they might have saved both their credit and their money if they had been willing to help.

I am trying very hard to make the school of which I have the care self-supporting. Many of the people are now able and willing to pay for the education of their daughters, and it is very encouraging that this is so. All of the pupils are required to work, in order that they may learn the various domestic arts. Some of those who have gone out from the school are now teaching, others are married. Nearly all of them are doing well, although one or two are doing very badly. I could not have been at this meeting but for the help of one of the older girls, who has taken charge of the household during my absence. Another is now making her modest trousseau, and is to be married as soon as I return.

Let me read to you from a letter received from one of my girls who is teaching one of the Indian public schools out among the full-bloods:—

My little school-house is so small that, if I had desks, I would not have any room for them. I take great pride in sweeping my puncheon floor. It is wonderful how much dirt is brought in. I have pupils from four years old to eighteen. I have quite a bit of trouble making three of my boys keep quiet, but I do not think they mean to be bad: they are just so full of fun. They are very bright and quick, and I miss them when they do not come. I love all my scholars. One day my oldest little girl asked me where my home was, and I told her that I had not any here, and she said, "But you've got one in heaven"; and another time she said, "Your father and mother will come with God when he comes." . . . I am glad I came. I love all of these folks. I do not know whether they like me or not; but Katy said the trustees liked me, because I was a good teacher, and her mamma liked me better than any teacher they ever had, because I helped in the work. I do not do very much, but I like to help: it keeps me from getting lonesome. I do not have a room to myself: the whole family sleeps in the same room. I do not mind it much when we haven't company, for Mr. Mulkose turns his back to us when we begin to undress. These people have the purest thoughts: they never think of bad things like other people. It seems as though I live closer to God here: I never trusted him as I do now. I always had friends to tell my trials and sorrows to, and I have no one here to tell but God; and I depend upon him more, and he grows dearer every day. That calendar is a great help: each verse seems just the one suited to that day and just the one I need most. . . . Don't worry about me; for I have a Friend with me that is able to do all things, and he will keep, watch over, and stay with me.

Do you not think the joy of receiving such a letter would pay for years of work?

The following is an abstract of the address given on Wednesday (see page 13) by Rev. C. W. Freeland, commandant of the Hampton (Va.) Normal and Industrial School, the manuscript of which was lost in transmission through the mail:—

Mr. Freeland spoke of the impression which he had received during three trips made through the Sioux reservation, two of them extending over five weeks, and one shorter one which he had extended so as to take in the Omahas and Winnebagoes. One of the chief objects of these trips was to visit the returned Hampton students, of whom, with those from other Eastern schools, the statement is so sweepingly made that "they return to the blanket." Out of an approximate one hundred and twenty such Hampton students now on the Sioux reservation, Mr. Freeland had personally visited ninety-

three in their own homes,—and of that number he had seen only four whom he would regard as hopeless,—and only one had literally “returned to the blanket.” The day for such “returning” was over. Ten years ago it might have been, and probably *was*, a common thing; for the returned student, with short hair and civilized clothing and improved manners, stood absolutely alone,—and it was blanket or social annihilation. But to-day each camp in each agency contains its nucleus of Hampton or other Eastern students, toward whom the newly arrived student gravitates through dire necessity, and who together form a leavening mass which is wonderfully leavening the lump. Mr. Freeland spoke in detail of particular homes which he had visited,—of serious embarrassments which await the would-be housekeeper on the plains,—and of the eminently hopeful condition which everywhere confronted him. He then gave his testimony as to the government schools (both day and boarding schools), and particularly as to their marked improvement during the past year. With the contract schools on the reservation to supplement their work, the prospect seemed a sure one that the work of Eastern schools would within a very few years narrow itself down to the specialized task of training industrial teachers for the reservation schools. In one point which was often mooted by those on the reservation and off, Mr. Freeland begged to differ materially. It has been urged by many experienced speakers on the Indian question that work should be supplied for those students who return home. But such a plan would be merely an adaptation of the old ration system, which drops the food into the Indian's mouth, and has done as much to retard his advancement as any plan upon which the government has happened. The student who returns must seek his work, and, perhaps, make it, as has been done. Any other plan would surely tend to weaken his independence, and should be most earnestly deprecated.

Bishop Walker, of North Dakota, was asked to speak of the Turtle Mountain Indians.

Bishop WALKER.—Four years ago, when I spoke in behalf of these Indians, they had nothing to eat and nothing to wear. A number of ladies were kind enough to influence the organizations to which they belonged to send us a lot of clothing, and the consequence was that that winter they were made happy and comfortable to a degree. About thirty boxes and barrels were sent by the ladies, and were distributed by the agent. Some time after the distribution had taken place, I went on a visitation; and, when I reached the little town on the verge of the reservation, I was met by some people who said, “Bishop, do you know that those Indians up there really have no gratitude? for some of the clothing which has been sent to them through your kindness has been sold to *us* for a mere song.” I did not say what I thought of the white people who accepted for “a mere song” what they knew was sent as a gift to the Indians. I was disappointed, and felt that our good friends would think that unworthy cases had been presented to them. I therefore secured the calling together of a large number of the people, and we held a council. They sat around me, and I stood in the midst. My custom had always been to let them

begin the councils, and I closed them. But this time I began. I told them I was sorry to hear that they had shown ingratitude to those who were their dear and faithful friends in the East. I said that I knew it would reach some of them, and it did. "They will know," I said, "that you have taken the clothing sent to you out of the kindness of their hearts, and abused their confidence by selling it to the white people."

A dead silence fell upon them. Then an old chief arose and shook me by the hand, as is the custom, and said: "We are always very glad to welcome the high-priest of the black robe [their name for a bishop], but to-day he made our hearts sore. He has told us what the white people who have forked tongues [those who do not speak the truth], have told him. We feel that he should have more confidence in us who have straight tongues."

I felt rebuked at the outset.

"It is the law among our Indian tribes that, if one Indian presents another with a gift, he never asks that Indian what he has done with that gift. I do not know if that is a law among white people; but, if it is not, it ought to be. I have to speak of what I received. A garment was presented to me. It was a pair of trousers. They had six patches on them. I simply cut out the patches. It was beneath the dignity of a chief to wear patched trousers."

I felt inclined to agree with him. He shook hands and retired.

Another came forward. "I have also to speak of what I received," he said. "I had a suit of clothes given to me. I could not get the trousers on, and they were useless to me. I sold them to a man who was *lean*, and with the money I bought flour for my children in the wigwam."

Another came forward, and said: "I have to speak about what my squaw was presented with. It was a little hat. It covered only one-half of her head, so she asked the agent to give her another, so that she might cover her head with the two. He had not another, so she sold it to a white woman, and took the money for food."

Another rose and said: "I have also to speak of my squaw's gift. It was a dress; but it had nothing here [laying his hands on his arms], and nothing here [drawing his hand around his shoulders], but there was a great deal behind." (Evidently, it was a decayed ball dress in its sere and yellow leaf.) "It was useless to her,"—our temperature is thirty or forty degrees below zero in winter,— "but she found a white woman who thought it would do for some occasion, and she took the money that she sold it for and spent it for cloth for her little papoose."

I thought it was becoming rather serious for me. One more rose, and that capped the climax. He said: "I have also to speak of my squaw's gift. It was rounding, and had in it something like an owl's head. She did not know where to wear it, and so she sold it." It happened to be a *tournure*! I pitied the poor Indian woman. I felt it was my duty to make an apology to those Indians. They were red men, and some of them were savages; but, as a Christian man, I owed them an apology, and I made it, and we shook hands and were friends.

I can assure you that the Turtle Mountain Indians are still needy,

and my hat is in my hand, figuratively, in their behalf. Bishop Whipple told me some years ago that their wrongs had been the most outrageous suffered by any Indians in the United States. For several years they have been thrust off on a little reservation, three-fourths of which is not arable. One said to me: "If we had taken the tomahawk in our hand, as the Sioux did, the government would have considered us. Because we have been good and peaceful, we are allowed to suffer." It is too true. I hope that all who can promote legislation in their cause will do so.

Birth Session.

Friday Night, October 10.

The Conference was called to order by the President at eight o'clock. President Gates read a newspaper item, which he said would have delighted General Fisk, of the convention of the temperance league of the Six Nations of New York, in session on the Onondaga reservation.

The report concerning the Mission Indians of California was made by Mr. Joshua W. Davis, of Boston.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGAL AID TO THE MISSION INDIANS, 1890.

In the work of the two previous years great advantage had resulted from the personal observations on the reservations and the close contact with the people of Mr. Lewis, our field agent.

To continue that advantage, during the last Conference the chairman and treasurer of your committee made plans to meet Mr. Smiley in California, and as far as possible in his company (and without drawing on the committee's treasury) devote two or three weeks to the examination of reservations, and especially of the more urgent pending questions, of which the complicated case of the Banning lands is one of the most prominent.

By the direction of the Indian Commissioner, Mr. Lewis, now a government special agent, was deputed to co-operate with us. But, on arrival in California, the intended circuit among the reservations was found to be impossible, owing to the destructive floods which broke up so seriously and for so long a time both rail and county roads. And Mr. Lewis was also suddenly ordered by telegraph to New Mexico, in consequence of the death of an Indian agent.

Banning was, however, reached by your three representatives, and Mr. Rust, the Indian agent, who met there Mr. Barker, the agent of the Banning Land & Water Company, in whose hands all claimants to the lands assigned by government to the Indians, except the Southern Pacific Railroad, had placed their interests.

A close examination was made of every tillable section in the reservation, and of the plan submitted by him for an exchange of land, to secure for the Indians a tract around one source of water supply clear from all adverse claims.

The delay of years, during which the rights of both whites and Indians had remained undefined, and those of the Indian unde-

fended, had allowed a growth of conflicting claims and bitter feeling, which would be relieved by the plan under consideration.

It will be by no means an ideal settlement; but, in view of all the circumstances, your committee united with Mr. Smiley, Mr. Rust, the Indian agent, and Mr. Ward, the government attorney, in a report of the investigations and a recommendation of the plan to the Indian Commissioner, in February last.

The present journey of the Commissioner to that field will, we trust, lead to the application of his prompt business methods to the removal of such hindrances to a settlement as lie within the reach of his department, after which the action of Congress may be required.

The legal work of the government (for these Indians) was, up to April 1, 1890, in the care of Mr. Shirley C. Ward, as in previous years, with a qualified commission, under which any claim for services must, after submission to the Attorney-General for approval, be laid before Congress for a special appropriation. Since April, 1890, his commission has been revoked; but in July a provision was made in the Indian Appropriation Bill for employing legal services the coming year.

The knowledge of Spanish and Mexican law, and the experience and acquaintance with the Indians already acquired by Mr. Ward, make a continuance of his services especially desirable, the transfer of pending cases to a new man involving inevitable delay and injury, the delay already experienced on all this Mission Indian legal work having been serious.

Your committee, therefore, requests authority to ask, in the name of this Conference, for the employment of Mr. Ward upon this work.

The attention of your committee has also been closely given to urging the passage of the Mission Indian Bill, which has for three successive years passed the Senate, and still lies in the hands of the Committee of the House, having been again refused opportunity to pass. The effort in its favor by Hon. Benjamin W. Perkins, Chairman of the House Committee, and several friends of the bill in the last hours of the recent long session, is gratefully acknowledged, when it required unanimous consent for its admission, but one member objected. But for its postponement year after year, and into these last hours, which are always a time of struggle or indifference, your committee asks the further authority of this Conference to express in its name its respectful but most earnest protest, and to appeal for the passage of the bill at the approaching session in December.

Among these Indians we have long noted the depressing effect of the continued uncertainty of the extent of land which may eventually become theirs by allotment, restricted as it must be in many cases by the limited area of arable land; also, of the uncertainty of boundaries and of the tenure of land until these are established by surveys and by law. Against any procrastination by government which prolongs and deepens this depressing influence upon the Indians there cannot be too earnest a remonstrance.

But, even in spite of all discouragements, a few are giving proof of ability and earnest purpose. With uncertain title to their lands, they

are cultivating from five to fifty acres each. One man has twenty-seven acres under fence, and every rod of it under cultivation; another ten acres in trees, five acres in grapes, and about fifteen acres in corn, beans, etc. One Indian has sold dried peaches to the amount of \$100, and raisins \$375, besides peaches, pears, figs, etc. It seems doubtful whether a white man would have done any better at the same place. These are but signs and promises of the future. Under the stimulus of an incoming Christian hope and motive, as seen in a few cases, and of a settled, confirmed homestead, with inducement to labor, the present dawning improvement in a few of the people will unquestionably increase and extend.

The treasurer's account is as follows:—

Balance on hand, as reported to the last Conference,	\$685.45
Balance of subscriptions collected during the year,	360.00
Interest received on the funds,	30.00
Total,	\$1,075.45
Without disbursements during the year.	

PHILIP C. GARRETT,
MOSES PIERCE,
JOSHUA W. DAVIS,

In behalf of the Committee.

It was then

Voted, That this Conference authorizes its Committee on the Mission Indians to petition urgently in its name for the continued employment of Mr. Shirley C. Ward's services in the legal work for those Indians on behalf of the government; also, for the passage of the bill for their relief (Senate Bill, No. 2783) long pending in Congress, agreeably to the Report of the Committee now received.

Mr. SMILEY.—I think the Conference and the country generally must be under great obligation to that committee which went out to California at their own expense. I was witness to the labors they performed, and I know they would have gone much farther but for the washing away of railroads. I was with them part of the time, and saw what they did: it was important work, and it was well done.

President GATES.—We all think that gratifying progress has been made in the hands of this committee, and we have every reason to hope that still further progress will be reported next year.

Rev. J. Loomis Gould, missionary to the Hydahs of Alaska, was invited to speak. He was introduced as living "eight days from anywhere, except by canoe."

Mr. Gould placed upon the table a number of articles made and used by the Alaska Indians. Taking up one of them, apparently an amulet, or charm, he said: "With this we get our courage up. If some of you had been for a great number of years where you had seen only dusky faces, and had then been permitted, as I have, by the courtesy and kindness of Mr. Smiley, to meet with this Conference, you might need something to give you courage. I represent 30,000 people who have no representative in the country to which they belong. They occupy 580,000 square miles of the territory of the United States. Let me show you one of these men as he used to be."

One of the clerks of the hotel was then brought in, dressed in the costume of an Alaska Indian. Mr. Gould explained each part of the dress in detail. A number of curious and interesting carvings and articles representing the totemic system of the Indians were exhibited, and their relation to the folk-lore of the people was explained. "In all their stories," said Mr. Gould, "there is a moral; but you sometimes get very much chaff before you come to a grain of corn." "In this object," he continued, pointing to a carving, one end of which represented a human head, the tongue of which was being plucked out by a raven, "you see the representation of what they tell concerning lying. A little boy gets into a difference with a mate, and tells a lie. Because the boy tells a lie, the bird pulls out his tongue: therefore, boys and girls, do not lie, because the birds will pull out your tongue. That is the lesson to be taught."

Among the other things which Mr. Gould exhibited were some beautiful baskets. From the sale of these baskets the Indians derive some little revenue. They are so closely woven that they can be used as pails for carrying water as well as for the ordinary uses of a basket. "I have seen them used," said Mr. Gould, "as kettles. They put whatever is to be cooked into these baskets, with water, and heat stones and put in until the water is boiling hot. They are woven of the root of the spruce-tree, and are ornamented with grass. The designs are their own. Some of the products are made from the inside bark of the cedar-tree. The various kinds of mats that they make are used for many purposes,—as coverings for small houses, mats, and coverings for beds. They have a great many uses also for ropes, which they manufacture. All the travel is done in canoes, and many ropes are used in connection with the sails. Basket-work is also used to cover bottles and utensils. If an Indian woman is given a bottle or a box of any shape, she will make for it a close-fitting cover. These Indians have a very clearly defined mythology."

Several emblems representing mythological beliefs were shown, and also totem posts of the raven and the eagle. Mr. Gould said that, if he passed a house, he could read many of the family relations there by the representations on the totem post. The women are not the slaves that is sometimes supposed. The son of a man is not his heir. A man is not much of anybody in his own family. His eldest son takes his mother's clan and his mother's name. That is women's rights among the Hydahs. Few people appreciate the extent of Alaska. It is one thousand miles north and south, twelve hundred miles east and west. Fish, timber, and the yellow gold which men go everywhere to find, invite capital and enterprise. Thousands and hundreds of thousands will find their way there within a few years. A word as to the thirty thousand people whom I represent. I ask you that you may help us to keep from becoming Indians. We do not ask for reservations. I will tell you what my own men and women ask. They say, Go down and ask that we may start fair in the race with the white man for our place in the community, the Church, and the State. That is all we ask. If you give to these people the Bible and the school, the opportunity to work with their hands and heads and hearts, they will take care of themselves. If you know of any people who want to invest money where it can do

good missionary work, let them give employment to these people. It will at the same time yield a very handsome per cent. to those who will make the investment.

A paper on the health of Indian students by Dr. Martha M. Waldron, of Hampton, Va., was then read.

THE INDIAN HEALTH QUESTION.

BY DR. MARTHA M. WALDRON.

The Indian health question is one of acknowledged importance, not only touching our sympathies for the race, but, in a practical way, the question of what it is possible and best for us to do for the Indian, to make his future hopeful, or, perhaps, to insure his having a future.

The experience of the Eastern school physician touches the subject at the interesting and often repeated question: "What is the effect of education and civilized training, Eastern training in particular, upon the Indian youth? How does it find him, and what does it do for him?" The question is vital, for the hope of the youth is the hope of the race.

Since taking the medical charge at Hampton, ten years ago, four hundred and ninety-nine Indians have been under my care, from many different tribes and agencies, chiefly from Dakota, and of ages varying from infancy to twenty-five years or over. One encouraging point may be noted, to begin with: the condition of Indian pupils on arrival at Hampton has greatly improved within the past ten years. This is due chiefly to the following causes: greater experience in selecting material and less difficulty in obtaining it, greater thoroughness on the part of agency physicians in some localities and the fact that blanket Indians are now seldom brought.

In the first party, of forty Indians, which I was called upon to examine at Hampton, in October, 1881, there were three boys in confirmed phthisis,—one so far advanced that he was never able to enter school. There were many other cases of incipient phthisis and active scrofula. It is not probable that such a party could now pass inspection and reach Hampton. It is now exceptional for Indians in confirmed phthisis to be sent to Hampton, although in every party there are many who show an unmistakable tendency to the disease, and others in whom it has just begun.

As a rule, students who are sound on arrival at Hampton do well; and many instances might be cited of individuals, who have arrived unsound, who have improved constantly under treatment, and who have finished the course satisfactorily.

Immediately on the arrival of a party, after baths and clean clothes have been given, each new comer passes through a careful medical examination, with special reference to condition of heart and lungs and evidences of scrofula. No Indian is marked unsound unless a condition of actual disease exists, though in some cases, in which the family history has been known, consumption could fairly have been predicted: as, for example, in the case of one student, all of

whose near relatives, as far as known, had died of phthisis. In such cases, phthisis would undoubtedly develop, sooner or later, under any circumstances.

According to the condition of the Indian, as determined by examination, his trade is assigned, and special diet, when necessary, prescribed. From the time of arrival, instruction in the hygiene of every-day life is carefully given,—to the girls in their homelike “Winona Lodge,” to the boys in their building, called the “Wigwam.” It is easy to forget how great a problem to the Indian, common, every-day matters, which are second nature to us, may be. To learn to eat, drink, and sleep correctly, to wear clothes, and learn to adapt them to changing seasons, seems at first a simple matter; but it ceases to seem so when we have seen an Indian eat enough at one meal to last him all day, when we have seen him lie down, with his head tightly wrapped in a blanket, put on over all the clothes worn in the day, to sleep in a room admitting as little air as its construction will permit; or when we have known a boy, in some warm day of winter or early spring, to take off all his extra winter clothing, and lie upon a wet bank to sun himself. As for changing the clothing because it is wet, the idea is not a natural, but an acquired one.

Provision has been made for the comfort and welfare of the sick by a convenient and pleasant hospital, given and furnished by King’s Chapel Society, Boston, which also makes the gift perpetual by its promise to keep up all supplies of furniture, bedding, etc. The building is an inestimable blessing to the Indian and all concerned in the care of his health.

It is an exceedingly encouraging and significant fact that students in our normal school classes have firmer health than those in the Indian school. The normal school Indians, usually from thirty to forty in number,—the present year fifty-seven,—have either been a long time at Hampton or have been in some Western school before coming East. Having learned in some measure to take care of their health, and having borne the transition period, they are able to bear any ordinary strain.

A question often asked the doctor is, “What are the distinguishing characteristics of the Indian temperament and nervous organization?” The much vaunted stoicism of the Indian under pain I have seen, but it has not impressed me as being especially a race characteristic. Indian boys and girls are much like white boys and girls in this respect. Some are real heroes, while others will hardly bear the prick of a pin. Wounds are no mystery to them, and do not usually alarm them. They have witnessed many wounds and recoveries. Their stronger nature is not touched by such accidents; and superficial, personal peculiarities are what we observe. But serious illness and approaching death touch deeply the central fatalism of the Indian character. Here they show a really characteristic disregard of pain and the approaching change; and their peculiar stoicism, superstition, and fatalism step in, and play an important and sometimes decisive part in a serious, but not necessarily fatal, illness. For the Indian does not cling to life. “What is to be, will be,” he thinks; and, not fearing to die, he gives himself up to death without

a struggle. I have, however, seen an Indian, in whom was no superstition or fatalism, but the purest Christian faith and longing to live, face death consciously for weeks without flinching, saying, simply and bravely, "I am on either side: just what God wills."

An Indian boy's "hysteric fit"—as, for want of a better term, we call it—is a unique phenomenon. These nervous paroxysms into which the victim is swept or into which, as it sometimes seems, he throws himself, vary in detail; but in all cases there are pronounced hysterical symptoms. The patient is sometimes violent,—howling, and hurling himself about the room, regardless of danger to himself or others. In this state, he may seize any object, thrust it into his mouth, and try to swallow it. I have seen a glass in which water had been brought crushed and chewed like a cracker. At other times, or alternating with the violent phases, the patient will lie in a state of apparent unconsciousness for several hours. A boy in the hospital, with a convalescent's appetite, refused to begin his breakfast unless four slices of bread and butter should be put upon his plate at once. A new nurse who happened to be in attendance told the boy to begin with the two thick slices which he already had, and more would be brought. Whereupon the boy, with scarcely another word, turned his face to the wall, and did not speak, eat, or drink, and scarcely moved, for thirty-six hours. The temperature and pulse were normal during this period, though previous to it and after it there was a daily rise of temperature. On coming to himself, the boy was as well as he had been. He asserted that he had no knowledge of anything which had happened or the efforts to rouse him. Nervous excitement from any cause may bring on these attacks, which seem practically the superlative degree of want of self-control. When they occur from nervousness induced by a pulmonary hemorrhage, the complication is especially unfortunate, and frightful to witness. I have never seen one of these seizures in an Indian of the better class. They indicate an unstable nervous equilibrium. They also indicate a direct need in the education of the Indian. Perhaps the Indian life of peril and uncertainty has left this blot on the brain for the processes of civilization to efface.

These fits are looked upon with great awe by the more superstitious Indians, and, indeed, with more or less awe by nearly all Indians; and in their camp life those who are able to throw themselves into such conditions are revered as having peculiar relations with the spirit world, and, as "medicine men," exercise a pernicious influence. No doubt the subjects are to some extent self-deceived, feeling the explosion of nerve force and impulse to chaotic action and unconscious of the subjective part played by themselves. The paroxysms usually occur in students of noticeably nervous temperament, and are often associated with weakness and instability of character. These students need a quiet and symmetrical physical and mental training, by regular exercise, together with strict mental discipline. They are interesting cases to subject to the Elmira Reformatory method of treatment by building up character by physical development.

Within the past four years, but four boys have died at Hampton. All of these have died of phthisis, after long and painful illnesses. Three of them were unsound on arrival. Two had had severe hemor-

rhages before coming East. During the same period, one delicate little girl has also died of phthisis. She was not marked unsound on arrival; but, as symptoms of tubercular disease developed within a few months, her soundness at that time is very improbable. The girls in school are less subject to sickness than the boys, probably owing to the fact that in their own homes they have been accustomed to more regular exercise, have suffered less from exposure, and therefore have a sounder development. The full-blood Indians have less endurance than the half or mixed bloods; and, when attacked by tuberculosis or any form of scrofula, they perish more quickly. This is the reverse of the condition seen in the Negro race, in which pure bloods are less subject to phthisis than mulattoes and lighter shades. The Negro, whether full-blood or not, has greater physical stamina than the Indian, though much less than the Anglo-Saxon.

The well-attested fact that consumption is the scourge of the Indian in the climate of Dakota, where pulmonary diseases among whites are almost unknown, points conclusively to the fact that there has been and is that, in the peculiar conditions of the Indian life, which engenders the disease. Those who best know what the home life of the Indian is do not think that it is school or civilization, Western or Eastern, that kills him, but rather the cumulative effect of the vice and ignorance of generations. Christian civilization is the only cure for that inheritance. Yet when an Indian dies at the East, or a returned student dies, the fact is spoken of as if the effort to civilize and Christianize had destroyed.

This is the testimony of Miss Collins, for ten years missionary in Dakota, writing from there in regard to this matter. "I think," she says, "if the matter is looked into fully, as many die in and from boarding schools and day schools at home as from Eastern schools. In my village, one returned student has died in three years. In that time, three children have died who attended the day school, and twenty-one persons who never attended any school. Five of these were grown young men, and one young woman, and the others of school age. Now, my experience is this," she adds, "that it is not the school nor the climate that kills. Fanny Crossbear (from Hampton) is dead. She went to school. While away, one brother here died. Since she returned, another died, and now a third half-grown brother is suffering from epileptic fits, and will soon die. Those three never went to school. Harry Little Eagle returned from Santee school and died; but, while he was away, two nearly grown cousins and a five-year-old brother died, who never attended any school. It is now plain, to our Indians who think, that it is not the school nor the climate that kills."

The late Dr. Given, for years resident physician at the Carlisle School, and of wide experience in the West, says, "From extended observation, it is safe to say that one out of every ten, or four thousand of the forty thousand children of school age, are disqualified, either mentally or physically, from attending school, and the large majority of these are hopelessly diseased." Under the conditions, such testimony is not surprising. The testimony of intelligent Indian parents at Hampton is that a very large proportion of feeble infants are born only to die, in the camps. Others, less feeble, survive, to become diseased adults.

A marked deterioration in strength from the oldest to the youngest child is often seen, as the result of want of proper care of the mothers, who are early broken down and aged.

If the Indian were not physically what he is, all the accepted theories in regard to the generation and development of scrofula, tuberculosis, and other forms of disease, would be practically disproved. The semi-civilization which has been forced upon him has given him the close cabin or hut, with tight box-stove, in place of the airy wigwam and open fire. It has given him squalid poverty in place of a practical abundance. No wonder if all are tainted with constitutional weakness, if not disease; that even the best physical specimens of the race succumb, and that disease often lurks under an apparently magnificent physique. This last fact is of not infrequent occurrence. To it may be attributed many mistakes in bringing East unsound Indians. The outward appearance is often completely deceptive, the fine proportions inherited from some stalwart ancestor having survived the health of an organism poisoned from babyhood.

The conditions of the Indian life have also developed physical peculiarities of another nature. The muscular strength of the Indian is far in excess of that of his vital organs, as the death of many a boy who has won in a race or wrestling match, and then paid the penalty with his blood, in a fatal hemorrhage, could testify.

Other conditions pave the way for disease. The skin of the camp Indian is seldom bathed for purposes of cleanliness, and whether with or without the careful painting, which is occasional, it can but imperfectly fulfil its share in the function of excretion which skin and lungs legitimately perform together. The Indian reminds me of the child which was covered with gold-foil to personate an angel, and died in a few days from pulmonary inflammation, caused by stopping the action of the glands of the skin. The Indian has been slowly poisoned, generation after generation, by the same cause, and is daily dying from it. What the effect of this partial loss of function of the skin may be upon the lymphatic system is an interesting question.

The skin of the Sioux Indian is naturally delicate and of fine texture. Its treatment by filth and paint has reduced it to almost pathological sensitiveness. Sensitiveness of the mucous membrane follows, as a natural consequence; and congestions from slight causes pave the way for disease.

There is reason to rejoice in the suggestion of General Morgan, that elementary physiology and hygiene should be taught in the government schools. If such instruction is given and practised in all Indian schools, among the children and growing youth, the present generation will possess a weapon of defence against the inherited enemy.

Education in living, correct moral standards,—this is what the Indian needs, this is what he is dying for the want of, and this the Indian educated at the East is carrying back to his people.

In Eastern schools, with their full staff of workers and all agencies for good, embracing the summer outing in an intelligent family, there is, in addition to the regular discipline and instruction of the school, a sort of education by insensible absorption of ideas and the common sense of every-day life, which to the Indian pupil is of inestimable

value. Those who come from Western schools are on a plane where nothing is lost. Western training enhances the value of every opportunity at the East, and the Indian, on his part, at the East, has wonderfully taught and interested thousands, whose ideas, kindly, but vague, would otherwise have borne no fruit of helpfulness.

With the majority of Indian pupils there is an earnest desire to help their people. How rapidly they may be fitted for their work, the number and excellence of Indian schools will determine. Many are already equipped, and doing with their might what their hands find to do. The fact that forty-two Hampton girls are already well married—twenty-five of them to Hampton boys—suggests a solid foundation for and impetus to the Indian work such as it has never had before. The first thought of these married pupils is for their children, and they know how to think.

The more thoroughly the contagious nature of tuberculosis is established, the more terrible the present condition of the Indian appears. It is stated on good authority that tuberculous cattle are constantly sold to and consumed by the Indians. Their only hope is in a common knowledge of every-day affairs, which shall protect them from their enemy, the unscrupulous white man, and in knowledge of physical and moral laws, with the improvement of home conditions which must follow. To withhold education is to condemn to death.

I believe that the Indian has shown sufficient capacity, not only for mental and moral, but also for physical improvement, to stimulate our best efforts. The doom which threatens his extinction is the same which swept from the earth the ancestors of our race, by hundreds of thousands annually, by the Black Death,—no mysterious providence or predestination, but ignorance of physical and moral laws and the strain of a transition period. Having forced upon him the evils of civilization, we owe him its good part. As has been truly said, "The only expiation of an old crime is a new virtue."

Hon. H. O. HOUGHTON.—It is fresh in the memory of many persons here that within a short period an easy-going Secretary of War from the State of Massachusetts allowed a general of the army, whose army regulations did not necessarily require him to respect the good faith of the United States or the welfare of the Indians, to seize a number of Indians, who ought to have had the safe conduct of the government on their return home from Washington, and sent them as prisoners to Florida. They were confined in close quarters, and died as the grass dies under the scythe, until they were removed to Mt. Vernon Barracks in Alabama. Some of these men had been employed as scouts by General Crook, the bravest of Indian fighters when on the war path, and the gentlest and truest of men. He expressed his indignation whenever he thought of the infidelity of the government to these scouts, who had been of very great assistance in subduing the hostile Indians. To the latest moment of his life, he tried to get the United States to do justice to these Indians. In this effort he was aided by members of this Conference, and others who knew the facts.

The present Secretary of War and others interested have visited these Indians, and have tried, so far as possible, to have justice done

to them. There has been an effort to remove them to some place where they could have allotted lands, and where they could have a chance to make themselves homes, as other Indians are doing. Congress failed to provide such a place for them, because, apparently, the whole great West seems to be afraid of the dozen or twenty heroes who baffled the army of the United States until aided by these very scouts, who helped our troops to capture them. As a reward for thus aiding our army, they are held as prisoners of war!

The present Secretary of War, however, has taken very decided interest in these people. Legislation having failed in Congress to secure their removal and settlement upon land where climate and soil would be adapted for their health and self-support, he has undertaken to make the best of the situation as it exists. He has appointed an army officer as superintendent, who has set himself vigorously about improving their condition. He proposes to remove their habitations from low ground to high ground, and has improved their sanitary condition. He has furnished both men and women with occupations; has given them interest in it by paying them wages. The result is that the Indians are healthier and happier than before, and are more contented with their condition. The superintendent expects, by giving variety to their industries, to make them eventually self-supporting and self-respecting citizens. Besides, the ladies of the Massachusetts Women's Indian Association support two teachers among these Indians. These young ladies—sisters and residents of Alabama—are taking great interest in their work, and making rapid progress in educating and civilizing the Apaches. They also have the hearty co-operation of the superintendent appointed by the Secretary of War. On the whole, therefore, by the joint efforts of the government and private benevolence, the Apaches are now making as much progress on the road to education and citizenship as the circumstances of the case will permit.

Dr. Henry Foster, Clifton Springs, N.Y., was invited to speak.

Dr. FOSTER.—It seems to me that the Conference has been put upon a sound basis by the adoption of this platform; but it is not going to work out the results that we want, neither are we going to work them out through human skill and effort alone. We must have more of God in the work. There must be more prayer and faith. We must recognize that our God hears the prayer of faith, and that that is one of the forces by which he proposes to govern this world. If we recognize that fact, there will be mighty results in God's own time. There will suddenly come a solution of all these difficult questions. There are two things that we want. The first is the prayer of faith: the next is personal work, personal responsibility. There are men and women present who have put themselves into the front, and are working to accomplish these beneficent results; and they have done a noble work. We who stay at home must feel a like responsibility. We must all work in harmony with God's plan; and then the work will move on, and not until then.

Rev. Thomas L. Riggs was asked to speak on self-support for the Indians.

Mr. RIGGS. I have had to pinch myself several times to feel sure that I was not attending a meeting of the Missionary Board; for we are all coming to that position which alone we can occupy,—that in the gospel of Christ is the salvation of these Indians, and that there is none other name given among men by which they can be saved. But I stand here to say something to you about the question of self-support. I will put myself in the witness stand, and invite questions. You here in the East have before you most emphatically the question of law for the Indians. We in the West have a different question. It is the question of how we shall get rid of the burden of support. I do not know as you feel it as we do. We are supporting the Indians. We are taxed for their support. The people say, We will not stand this sort of thing; and I cannot say but they are perfectly right. I think they are. And yet the Indian is made just what he is, a pauper, by our dealings with him. He was not so at first. When he was a hunter, he was abundantly able to provide for himself and his family. This ration system has been in the past a matter of necessity. It has been a method that we have gone into with our eyes wide open.

We undertook to make paupers of the Sioux, because we were forced to. We had no other way by which we could conquer them. We had to, to save our scalps. The result has been just what we might have expected. They are emasculated; and the question before us, what we feel as the all-important question, is, How shall we get them out of the pit into which we have thrown them? How shall we make them self-supporting? One of the great difficulties is that the Indian does not want to take care of himself. They are sharp fellows. They say, The treaty which we have made with the United States government provides that we shall have food so long as we need it. They say, It will be a long time before we shall not need it; and it *will* be a long time. I know cases where men have been stopped in planting, because, if they raised too large crops, the agent would come, and the rations the next year would be cut short. There are some Indians who do not want rations; but the most of them do not want to take care of themselves, and do not propose to try to.

Another difficulty comes in this direction. We have tried to teach them self-support, but we have tried to teach them without taking any special pains to find out the line in which they would soonest reach self-support. We have tried to turn hunters into farmers. We have tried this not only in a good country where it would be difficult enough to teach agriculture to an Indian, but on the plains, in regions where out of five years we may possibly have a good crop one year. Had we gone into this matter intelligently, had we thought what we were attempting to do, what it is that the Indian is best adapted to do, as well as the conditions in which he lived, we might have done better. It may be possible to teach them stock-raising. For the last two years our Cheyenne River Indians raised much of the beef which was to be issued to themselves. They have made money by it. It shows that they are capable of helping to take care of themselves, and it gives us a hint of the direction in which we shall train them.

President GATES.—How much beef did they sell?

Mr. RIGGS.—At different times the full issue.

Gen. ARMSTRONG.—How many Indians are there on the Cheyenne River Agency?

Mr. RIGGS.—About three thousand.

Gen. ARMSTRONG.—Do you know the experience of Major Anderson in reference to issuing rations to the Indians and in saving money in that direction?

Mr. RIGGS.—I know only that he has done it.

Gen. ARMSTRONG.—I think it is worth while to give that experience. Major Anderson was a most capable man. He told me that he had saved six thousand dollars in one year's issue to twelve hundred Crow Indians, in hopes that the government would allow him the money for seeds and implements; but the department ruled that it must be covered into the United States Treasury.

Mr. RIGGS.—That has been tried time and again.

President GATES.—Will you state what has been done at Standing Rock in the same way?

Mr. RIGGS.—I believe they have done the same thing there. The Indians there have been successful in raising cattle. They have many bunches of fine cattle.

President GATES.—What is the condition of the houses of the Indians at the present time, as compared with two or three years ago?

Mr. RIGGS.—There is a great advance, owing largely to their own efforts.

QUESTION.—Do you find soap and towels and wash-basins now?

Mr. RIGGS.—Sometimes.

QUESTION.—What proportion?

Mr. RIGGS.—I do not know. I never averaged it up.

QUESTION.—How about chickens and pigs?

Mr. RIGGS.—There are a good many chickens, not so many pigs. The pigs eat too much.

Senator DAWES.—Do you know that every agent is authorized by law to change the rations into agricultural implements and seeds?

Mr. RIGGS.—I have understood that they were; but I have never known of an instance where it was done.

President GATES.—When did that law pass?

Senator DAWES.—Two years ago.

QUESTION.—Is the grade of houses steadily improving?

Mr. RIGGS.—Yes.

QUESTION.—How many of the three thousand Indians at Standing Rock live in houses?

Mr. RIGGS.—Probably nine-tenths. A few live in tents. They sleep in the tent or in the tepee at night, spend the day out of doors, and cook in the house.

Mr. SMILEY.—Do your Indians burn up the house after the death of any person?

Mr. RIGGS.—I have known very few cases lately. Formerly, after a death occurred in the house, the house would be abandoned or burned up.

QUESTION.—Do these houses consist of one room?

Mr. RIGGS.—Almost all of them do.

QUESTION.—What are you able to do about that?

Mr. RIGGS.—Very little.

QUESTION.— Do you try to overcome it?

Mr. RIGGS.— Yes. In building out-stations, we try to give our native teachers two rooms; and, when they build their own houses, we always advise them to make two rooms. One of the returned students has recently finished up a house very nicely, without any direction or advice. When I came away, it was ready for the flooring to go in. That was a two-room house.

QUESTION.— How do the houses, as a rule, compare with those of the white people?

Mr. RIGGS.— They are better.

QUESTION.— Do they use knives and forks and plates?

Mr. RIGGS.— Some of them have used them for a long time.

QUESTION.— Do they use tables?

Mr. RIGGS.— Not largely.

QUESTION.— Do the men work in the fields?

Mr. RIGGS.— The men do the most of the work in our part of the country. There has been a great improvement in agriculture and in the crops raised.

QUESTION.— Do they not buy agricultural machines a great deal?

Mr. RIGGS.— In the eastern part of the State they do, not in the west. In our part of the State we have not had a good crop for five years.

QUESTION.— How do you think the pecuniary obligation of the Indian compares with that of the white man in the same place?

Mr. RIGGS.— It is precisely as good as any white man's; but the Indian has no idea of time. He lives in a portion of eternity. He does not conceive that the payment of his note is any better if done when due than a year after.

QUESTION.— He always means to get there?

Mr. RIGGS.— Yes.

QUESTION.— When the head of a family dies, do the mourners carry off all the things?

Mr. RIGGS.— Yes: everything is stripped right off.

QUESTION.— Do they have sun dances now?

Mr. RIGGS.— No: there has not been one in sixteen years.

QUESTION.— Do the children stay with the widow after the father's death?

Mr. RIGGS.— In almost all cases.

QUESTION.— Do the widow's relatives come to her assistance?

Mr. RIGGS.— No: she goes back to them.

QUESTION.— If the rations were stopped, what would they do?

Mr. RIGGS.— A great many would starve.

QUESTION.— How would you make them self-supporting?

Mr. RIGGS.— I would train those who showed themselves fitted for stock-raising in that business, if they were in a region adapted to it. Some of them could be trained as agriculturists. Some of the tribes followed agriculture in the time of Catlin.

QUESTION.— If you were to scatter the Indians on farms, how would you keep the schools together?

Mr. RIGGS.— Just as well as we can now. They are scattered now. Children often come two and three miles to school.

QUESTION.— If the rations were stopped, the people would starve,

you say. If they cannot be taught until they starve, what would you do?

MR. RIGGS.—I fear we should practically have to starve them until we got them taught.

QUESTION.—Would it be an advantage to the agent to abandon the ration system?

MR. RIGGS.—I think it would be an advantage to him to stop giving regular rations. That is, he would be free.

QUESTION.—General Lyon stated the amount of supplies issued to the Indians. What proportion of that do you think ever reaches the Indians?

MR. RIGGS.—There is very little lost. The improvement since I was a boy is wonderful. The system was perfectly rotten then. None of us dared say anything about it. If you find fault now on any such grounds, you are finding fault with a condition of things that existed fifteen or twenty years ago.

GEN. WHITTLESEY.—That is true.

QUESTION.—Suppose a bill was passed saying that the rations should be stopped in three years, and that the Indians should be notified that that was the case: could not they in that time be taught, so that they would come to a degree of self-support?

MR. RIGGS.—I think many of them could, but the practical effect would be this. They would reason that the government had lied to them so many times before that they would have no reason to believe them this time. They would say that, when the 'three years' period was reached, they would have an extension given to them.

QUESTION.—If the ration system were stopped, how would the agent fill up the schools?

MR. RIGGS.—I do not know.

QUESTION.—When these Indians get money, how do they spend it?

MR. RIGGS.—For sugar and coffee, often.

QUESTION.—How do they get money?

MR. RIGGS.—By cutting hay and wood, by doing bead-work, and by doing jobs for herders.

QUESTION.—Is any tobacco given to the Indians?

MR. RIGGS.—Not that I know of.

QUESTION.—How about houses for the Indians,—does government issue lumber?

MR. RIGGS.—Government has issued lumber to the Indians. They usually build their own houses. They are very skilful with tools. I have seen some wonderful work done by them.

QUESTION.—Will an Indian carpenter do as good a day's work as a white man?

MR. RIGGS.—He will for a day's work, but he will not do a job that is weeks long as well as a white carpenter will. He has not any heredity in that way.

QUESTION.—Is the ratio of conversion increasing rapidly?

MR. RIGGS.—I should say that it was. In our own field, conversions have been quite satisfactory during the last ten years.

QUESTION.—Is polygamy practised?

MR. RIGGS.—Not to any great extent. It is a thing largely of the st. I speak of the Dakotas.

QUESTION.— Are there any squaw men now?

Mr. RIGGS.— Lots of them.

QUESTION.— What is meant by that term?

Mr. RIGGS.— A white man who is living with an Indian woman. The squaw men in the past, among the Sioux at least, have been an element of civilization. I know that theory is not generally accepted; but we should never have succeeded in getting so far with so little effort but for the presence of these despised squaw men. Some of our best friends are among them. They would do anything or bear anything for any one of us.

QUESTION.— Do they not sometimes grow manly, under the influence of having a family to work for?

Mr. RIGGS.— Yes.

QUESTION.— Do they live in tepees?

Mr. RIGGS.— Almost always in houses, and in houses much in advance of the ordinary Indian houses.

QUESTION.— Does the attitude of a full-blooded Indian change toward the squaw man as he gets more civilized?

Mr. RIGGS.— Yes: I think he gets more jealous of him.

QUESTION.— What is the proportion of squaw men?

Mr. RIGGS.— I could not say.

QUESTION.— What language do the half-breed children speak?

Mr. RIGGS.— Almost always the language of the mother; but I know some cases where the father has taken the matter in hand, and the children do not talk any Dakota.

QUESTION.— What has been the effect of the recent law providing that, if a white man marry an Indian woman, she takes the status of the white man?

Mr. RIGGS.— I do not know that it has had any effect among the Sioux.

QUESTION.— Have there been as many marriages since?

Mr. RIGGS.— I have not observed any difference in relation to the Sioux.

Senator DAWES.— Under the present law, if an Indian woman marries a white man, he takes her to his status, and she becomes a white woman, so to speak.

Mr. RIGGS.— Under the old provision and under the treaty provisions, the head of the family is the woman.

QUESTION.— Do these wives of white men still draw their rations?

Mr. RIGGS.— In most cases.

QUESTION.— After they have taken up land in severalty, how can children go to school?

Mr. RIGGS.— Very often they live with relatives who are near the school. Sometimes they go five or six miles to school.

QUESTION.— You said that for five years the farms had not yielded well. Is that due to meteorological causes or to want of fertilizers and bad farming generally?

Mr. RIGGS.— It is owing to natural causes. We have had no rainfall.

QUESTION.— Is there any reason why the Flandraux should have succeeded better?

Mr. RIGGS.— Yes: they are in a better region, and they have the

advantage of longer training. They are practically self-supporting, but they represent the result of training by years and years of work.

QUESTION.—Will Mr. Riggs repeat the Lord's Prayer in Dakota?
Mr. Riggs did so.

QUESTION.—Has the time come to stop issuing the rations to the Dakota Indians?

Mr. RIGGS.—I think not for the full stopping, but for a reduction of it.

QUESTION.—If the starving process were tried, would not the people of the United States speedily send help?

Mr. RIGGS.—I think they would.

QUESTION.—If the plan of stopping rations were adopted, would it not be better to carry out the plan of sub-issue stations, so that those who are trying to farm land would not be obliged to go to headquarters for rations?

Mr. RIGGS.—That would be a great step in advance, but you do not remove the evil itself. The evil is that we pauperize the Indian by supporting him.

QUESTION.—How is beef delivered,—on the foot?

Mr. RIGGS.—In some cases.

QUESTION.—Are the Indians allowed to shoot the animals?

Mr. RIGGS.—I do not know how it is to-day, but they have been allowed to until recently.

QUESTION.—How does that strike you?

Mr. RIGGS.—It is a heathenish piece of work. They speak of it as going down to the buffalo hunt. It is usually issued now in some other way.

QUESTION.—I understood you to say there had been a great improvement in the character of Indian agents. How far has your observation extended?

Mr. RIGGS.—I have knowledge of Indian agents for some forty years.

QUESTION.—In how many agencies?

Mr. RIGGS.—All through the Sioux agencies and in some others.

QUESTION.—Do you include the Crows?

Mr. RIGGS.—I do not know so much about the Crows.

Dr. HALE.—Dr. Bacon said, twenty-five years ago, that in the history of the progress of civilization the pastoral age preceded the agricultural, and that, if we wanted to do anything with Indians, we must make them stock-raisers before farmers.

Mr. RIGGS.—That is good gospel.

Gen. ARMSTRONG.—General Terry is of the same opinion.

General J. F. B. Marshall, of Boston, was invited to speak.

Gen. MARSHALL.—The cheering tone of this meeting is confirmatory of my own impressions in a recent visit to the Pacific Coast, and to the Crow school in Montana, established by the Unitarian Church, which I represent here in place of Rev. Francis Tiffany, who was prevented from coming. We organized that school some four years ago. We Unitarians have not been celebrated for missionary work, and have heretofore scattered our fire in what we have done; but we have concentrated on the Crows. There had been a government school there which had only a name to live. The teachers were

government employees, who came for their salaries. They did not profess any interest in their work, and they had very few pupils. We began our school there; and while the superintendent, Mr. Bond, was appealing for aid from our denomination for buildings, furniture, and bedsteads, and trying to overcome the indifference of some who thought Indian children might just as well sleep on the ground, we found wagons were going by loaded with bedsteads for a school-house not yet built. Father Prando, of the Catholic Mission, who, with great self-denial and devotion had been for several years among the Crows, working for them, living as they lived, doing his best to convert them, perhaps stimulated by us, had decided to build a school; and it was built and furnished before ours was ready. I visited our Unitarian school last June, and was very much pleased with the changed prospects, not only of the schools, but of the Crows. Our school is full to its utmost capacity, mainly through the efforts of the agent, who has taken great interest in the schools there. I rode out to the agency, some forty miles from our school, and I was well pleased with the school I saw there. It was well officered in every way, and filled to its capacity. The industrial work and the class work seemed to be of the best order, and I felt greatly cheered by the change. I was told by Agent Wyman that Commissioner Morgan had decided to build a large industrial boarding-school, which would accommodate all the Crow children not otherwise provided for; and so this tribe, so long neglected, is now likely to have every child in school before the close of Commissioner Morgan's administration.

I went as far South as the Mexican boundary, and visited Major Rust, who is doing his best, under great disadvantages, on the scattered reservations under his charge. From there we went to Alaska, and saw the grand work that the Sitka and other schools are doing. I think that we have cause to feel grateful and hopeful about the progress of Indian educational work, and especially grateful for the part women have accomplished in it. I have not been heretofore a woman suffragist; but, when I got into this work of raising money and getting the people interested, and saw the energy, ability, and intelligence of our women and the apathy of the men, I became satisfied that the women ought to have the suffrage, and almost satisfied that the men ought to have it taken away until, in the opinion of the women of the Mohonk Conference, they were better fitted for its duties and responsibilities.

Wherever I went in Alaska, I heard the praises of Mr. Duncan's work at Metlakatlah; and wherever I met one of his men I met an Indian of superior intelligence, able to cope with any white man in the ordinary business of life.

Mr. Gould was asked to speak a few sentences in the language of the Alaska Indians. He gave a conversation which he had with a man recently in Chinook.

Miss Alice Robertson was asked for a sample of the Creek language, and she repeated a verse of "There is a happy land," in that tongue.

Mr. J. Evarts Greene, editor of the *Worcester Spy*, was called upon.

Mr. GREENE.—Dr. Holmes has said that, if you want to make a man who is altogether desirable, you should begin two hundred years before he is born. My interest in the Indian was begun a good many years before I was born; for my grandfather was one of those who were greatly interested and did much work in behalf of the Cherokees before their removal to the West, and my father was for many years connected with the Indian missions of the American Board, and used to visit the missions in the Indian Territory yearly.

President GATES.—Was your grandfather Jeremiah Evarts?

Mr. GREENE.—Yes. Therefore, I am naturally interested in this question, and should be glad if I could do something to help the Indian; for I am not conscious of having helped him yet very much. My first personal acquaintance with him was earlier than that of most of those who are here. It began thirty-three years ago. I was in the Indian country in Kansas and Nebraska in 1857; and I saw two things that I would speak of, and which I thought of as we were hearing the discussion on Indian education. In the summer of that year I was in the eastern part of Kansas, and I frequently passed two missions to the Shawnees, conducted by two religious sects. I never saw about either of them any signs of schools or of missionary work. There were two large frame houses, with shiftlessly tilled farms about them; but I saw no Indians and no sign of a school or of Indian instruction. A few months later I was farther West, and one Sunday morning I was riding through the Pottawatomie reservation. It was rolling prairie. There were no signs of human life. As I rose to the top of a little prairie ridge, and was able to look into the valley below, I was surprised to see a village spread out before me, such as you may see about Quebec or Montreal. It looked as if it might have been there a hundred years. I was perfectly amazed. There were a few little cottages, built after the French manner, and a church with its tinned spire; and, as I sat on my horse, looking down, the bell in the steeple of this church tingled, the door opened, and a priest came out, clothed in cassock and with a shovel hat on his head. Behind him was a procession of about one hundred Indian children, marching two and two, that perfect gravity and demureness in their dusky faces that is so fascinating in these Indian children. They were all neatly clad in white aprons; and they moved with perfect decorum and sobriety as they turned into the door of the largest building, which I supposed was a school. I saw no more of them. I made no inquiry as to what was done; but I had seen for myself that at this Jesuit Mission of St. Mary's *something* was doing for these Indians. They had learned something and were at school. This tribe at that time was wholly uncivilized, living in their lodges in a primitive fashion, and supporting themselves by hunting. They dressed entirely in Indian fashion. There was no evidence of civilization about the adult people of the tribe, but the children were such as I have described.

One thing more I want to say. We speak often of the Indian problem. To my mind there is no Indian problem. That is to say, we have difficulties before us, but they are not peculiar to the character and condition of the Indian or the relations of the Indians to us. If we could put even a moderately competent man at the head of the

Indian Bureau, and keep him there, with such assistance and advice as he could command, and with a reasonable support, these difficulties would all easily and certainly and speedily disappear. They would have disappeared long ago if we could have done that. It is not that the thing is so difficult. The problem is the problem of our political methods, not an Indian problem at all. It is a problem of civil service.

Mrs. O. J. Hiles, of Wisconsin, was invited to speak.

Mrs. HILES.—Were it not that I think I am cognizant of a case which will serve, perhaps, to illustrate the necessity of the great care that should be exercised in the allotment of land, I would not take the time of the Conference. But I am the only one here who can speak of that particular point; and, as I have to carry the thought of eight thousand Wisconsin Indians in my heart, my head must do what my heart dictates. To be clearly understood, I must reiterate what has been said concerning the allotment of lands to the Oneidas. When a bill to that effect was first introduced into Congress, it included a provision whereby the land might be sold within five years. The attention of the Wisconsin Indian Association was called to it by the fact that the constituents of Representative Clark were urging its passage, and we decided that they wanted the lands of the Oneidas. Some of our representatives were strenuously opposing the bill, and we worked through every available means against it. They offered a compromise, allowing ten years for privilege of sale, afterward fifteen; but, receiving no encouragement, they gave it up. Then the friends of Indians applied for the signing of the order of allotment under the Dawes Bill, and it was issued. As secretary of the Wisconsin Association, I received a letter from Rev. Mr. Good-nough, a missionary among the Oneidas for thirty years, in which he stated that his people were much opposed to allotment; that the representative Indians of the tribe had not signed the petition asking for allotment, did not even know of its existence; that they were satisfied with their present position under government; and that the industrious Indians who had cultivated farms were afraid of losing their homes. If not allotted, we feared another bill hazardous to their interests; and we were not sure of another success in another combat.

I went to see the Oneidas, hoping to be able to convince them that their only safety lay in allotment. I told them in what danger they stood from the persistency with which white men were seeking to get their lands. I asked them, instead of opposing allotment, to appoint a committee to confer with the special agent, and in that way try to secure to each man the land he had cultivated and the home he had established; and, as their greatest fear was that some future legislation would enable the whites to get their homes, I assured them that the friends of the Indians would be watchful over their interests and prevent any such future legislation. My promise cannot be broken, because it was given from a believing heart; but the danger in which they believed is already upon them.

Brown County, in which a part, if not the whole, of the reservation

is located, does not want them, because they pay no taxes ; and the agent who allotted their lands has written a letter from Washington, advising legislation which would give them full ownership at once, with, of course, the privilege of sale. That was what they feared ; that is the state of the question to-day. And all Indians who have received or who shall receive allotted lands are and will be in the same danger, and I believe the danger to be imminent. I call upon all who are working in these directions to see to the allotments, that they shall be made with care ; and most especially to see that no future legislation shall abrogate in the least degree the twenty-five years clause.

I know that Mr. Dawes, about whose head the luminous halo of good deeds has already gathered, will sustain the cause of the Indians, and will not allow the allotments, by any future legislation, to be made of no avail ; and I hope that every member of the Conference will keep his or her lookout well lighted.

I know there is danger before these new citizens of Wisconsin ; and, if they are in danger, all Indians with allotted lands are equally in danger.

If the constituents of the representative from the Brown County district urged the passage of the bill with the five years clause for ulterior interested purposes, they may say that the government has control over the Indians only so far as they hold their lands in trust. Justice Strong one year ago in the Conference gave it as his opinion that, excepting this trust control, government has no more power over Indians than over any other citizens. But, just because of this trust, Congress can pass bills which will abrogate any part of the provisions of the Dawes Bill. An educated Oneida Indian has told me that, if such a provision should be enacted,—allowing sale,—he could buy every farm in Oneida.

Miss CARTER.—At the request of a great many who want to help with the lace-work for the Indians by purchase or otherwise, I will say that my address is the Bible House, New York City. May I also add that, when I invited you to come out and do some work among the Indians, I really meant it ? I had in mind the fact that we had summer schools to learn Hebrew and Latin and Greek, and dear Miss Smiley has a summer class to learn the Bible. If some of our good Eastern friends would take a summer trip, not to visit the Indians, but to sit down upon a reservation and help those women a little, why, they could do a world of good in a month or six weeks. I want to add my word of encouragement to one or two who have seemed a little down-hearted. I am sure that the interest in the Indians to-day is more intense than when I went away, two years ago.

The following resolution was presented by Rev. Dr. Edward W. Gilman, of New York :—

The members of the eighth annual meeting of the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference desire before their adjournment to express their deep gratitude to their kind hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley, for the generous hospitality and thoughtful consideration with which all the provisions for this meeting have been made ; and also to put on record their high estimate of the service rendered to the Indian race by the annual gatherings of their friends for a free comparison of views respecting the methods which ought to be pursued, in accordance with the demands of justice,

philanthropy and patriotism, to secure the education, civilization, and evangelization of all the red men. Thankful for all that can be recognized as the outcome of previous Conferences, this meeting adjourns in earnest hope that the coming year will witness still further advance toward the desired consummation.

Dr. GILMAN.—A resolution like this needs no advocacy. We all want to give our thanks to the kind friends who have so generously and royally entertained us,—I do not know how we can say enough on that point,—and we also want to show our appreciation of the objects for which this Conference convenes. For myself, I have admired both its constitution and its methods of procedure. Our kind hosts show rare skill in the selection of their guests, inviting so many of large experience in Indian affairs to sit by the side of others who come avowedly to hear and learn rather than to advise. We meet in close converse with representatives of all the organizations which in so many different ways are seeking to promote the welfare of the red men, together with missionaries fresh from the field, including some who were born of missionary parents and have spent their lives on the frontier, and who come to tell us what they have seen and known. The Indians are here to plead their own cause, and even the Onondagas have a representative of whom any people might be proud. There is a goodly array of those who occupy the editorial chair and do so much to influence public thought, with college presidents, teachers, and clergymen, on whom we rely to disseminate wisdom. It is of no small advantage in such a conference to have the presence and counsel of men experienced in legislation and charged with personal responsibilities for the public welfare. We have talked freely about the problems presented; and, having unanimously adopted our platform for the year, we are to go down from the mountain, that in our own spheres we may do all in our power to make these plans effective.

We have had a good deal to say about the mutual relations of the churches and the government in the matter of the education of the Indians; and I am sure there is wisdom in the conclusions formulated, and especially in that emphasized by Miss Smiley,—that in addition to all that the government can do, or ought to do, the work of Christian evangelization must be earnestly and persistently prosecuted by the different missionary organizations. Over and above all elementary, industrial, and secular education, the welfare of the republic requires that we give these poor ignorant pagans access to higher truths relating to man, his duty and his destiny, and put into their hands the Scriptures which tell of Christ and his salvation. Only thus will evils be averted which have been so appalling in the past, and these wards of the nation become fitted to share with us in the privileges and responsibilities of the citizens of the United States.

Rev. Dr. J. M. Ferris, editor of the *Christian Intelligencer*, seconded the resolution, and added:—

Seldom does one receive kindness so thoroughly worthy of gratitude as the hospitality we receive from Mr. and Mrs. Smiley. One thing I like very much is that we are left to do as we please. Mr. Smiley says to us: "Here are thirty-five hundred acres, with roads and paths;

and you can walk and drive wherever you please. You can go out in the boats or come into the house. You may sit up as late as you please, and rise in the morning when you please. You may do as you like." This freedom is one great reason for thankfulness. But I would like to read into this resolution a little broader meaning. Our dear friends have the very happy faculty of transferring their own benevolent spirit to those who are engaged with them in conducting the affairs of this house. I wish our thanks to flow out of this room down to the office, to Mr. Daniel Smiley and Mr. Le Roy, and to the young men associated with them at the counter, and to the nimble-footed boys who have so promptly answered to our calls, and into the room of that smiling porter who takes a trunk up three flights of stairs as if he rather enjoyed it, and down into the dining-room where we have been waited on so promptly and so well, and out to the stable, to the intelligent, civil drivers who have been patient under a thousand questions, and told us everything that we wanted to know about this wonderful country. I hope that is what we mean to put into our thanks, and it is also a way of thanking Mr. and Mrs. Smiley; for they are to be credited with all these kind offices, because it is simply the diffusion of their own disposition. And as to the last part of this resolution, in regard to the worth of this meeting to the cause of the Indian, why, there is just one thing to be said: that is, that the organization of the Mohonk Conference is the best thing that has ever been done for the cause of the Indian in the history of this country.

Dr. CUYLER.—I trust that the Negro and the Indian both may receive rich benefits from our conferences held here; but, whatever benefit the black man or the red man may have, I am sure there has been an unspeakable joy and delight to the Caucasians who have taken part. In former years reformers and philanthropists were rewarded with prisons and persecutions. Now our philanthropy is fed on peaches and cream, and rides out in a coach and four! Who would not be a philanthropist? And all this wonderful evolution we owe, under God, to the hospitality of the lord and lady of Smiley-land. Certainly, it was a good Providence that twenty years ago directed the modest president of a Quaker school in Providence up to these most picturesque heights, and led him to transform a rustic inn into this castle on the rocks. And he builded better than he knew. He only aimed at a large and popular summer hotel: he founded a Christian institution of social culture that has made "Sky-top" visible over the land, and Mohonk a household name among all the good people of the continent.

You may remember how Bunyan's Pilgrim, when he climbed the Hill Difficulty, found at the top the "House Beautiful," and the door was guarded by a damsel called "Discretion." When we climb these heights, we, too, find the House Beautiful and the damsel Discretion, who shuts out the sins and the shoddy, the plagues and the pests, of show and fashion, of vanity and frivolity. And you may remember how in the House Beautiful they had profitable talk all day; and, when the night came, the Pilgrim slept in the Chamber of Peace that looked out to the sun-rising, and awoke in the morning and sang. So we on these hills and by these placid waters have had our sweet and pleasant songs of praise. And, as Pilgrim was reluctant to leave the House

Beautiful for the rest of the journey, you and I with lingering footsteps are reluctant to leave beautiful Mohonk, loath to leave this dear old room whose walls for a score of years have enclosed more distinguished men and more refined and lovely women than any other walls I know of in the land. And when we remember who have met here and have now departed,—President Arthur, William E. Dodge, Clinton B. Fisk, and others who have departed never to come again,—the place is full of sacred memories.

But you and I, if God spares us, mean to come back again. That we will. And distant be the day when the guest that lands at yonder threshold shall fail to meet the sunny face, the cordial greeting, and the big-hearted welcome of our dear friend, Albert K. Smiley, and his beloved wife. *Thank you!* We do more than that. We *love* you, and we will look for you in heaven.

Rev. WILBUR F. WATKINS, Philadelphia.—It has been my great delight to be a listener and, I trust, a learner here. This is my first Conference, although I had before visited the place, and learned to love it,—the woods and waters, the mountains, and, most of all, the company and the host,—and I feel like subscribing to what Dr. Cuyler has said. We want to come again. I think the influence of this Conference was beautifully symbolized by the illumination this evening. Not long ago there was a darkness pervading the country on this question, not unlike the darkness that hung over the lake and the hillside when first we saw the beautiful light as it flashed among the trees and sent its rays across the waters. That was a symbol of the first Conference. Pretty soon we saw yonder a light higher and still higher up, and that was the symbol of the second and third and fourth Conferences. All the time the light gradually increased in elevation until it reached the top! So year after year the light from this Conference has dissipated darkness, and awakened hope in the hearts of those who love the Indian and are working for him. I pray God that for years to come increasing light may be kindled by these Conferences, and that those who gather here may rejoice at last in the glad fruition of hope fulfilled and of work accomplished.

The resolution of thanks was then unanimously passed.

Dr. TAYLOR.—I am sure we looked forward anxiously to see who would fill the place of our friend General Fisk as presiding officer of this Conference. No one could surpass him as a chairman, and the geniality of his heart, his mind, and his presence, seemed to penetrate every meeting. But we feel that the choice of his successor has been wisely made. In accordance with that feeling, expressed by many, I beg leave to present the following resolution:—

Resolved, That this Conference put on record its appreciation of the courtesy and decision which the Chairman has exercised in such happy proportion throughout its meetings, and that it express to Dr. Gates its thanks for the service which has done so much to increase the efficiency and the pleasure of the Conference.

Dr. KING.—Some classical writer has said — George Francis Train, I think — that “doubtless the Lord might have made a better berry than the strawberry, but doubtless he didn’t.” Doubtless he might have made a better president for this Conference, but doubtless he did not. With all the calls that Dr. Gates has had to numerous presi-

dencies, we are happy in having retained him for an interregnum with us. When I was a school-boy, attending district school, we once had an election as to who should ring the cracked bell to call us in from recess. We chose the sweetest-voiced girl in the school, whose voice came from back of a sweeter face; and the condition we enjoined was that, whenever she rang the awful bell destined to interrupt our joys, she should sing in sweetest tones at the same time, and this would sweeten our sorrow. The bell of this Conference which rings at the end of the five minutes allowed for debate, and which seems to some of us to sound worse than any cracked cow-bell, has had all the discord taken out of it by President Gates, by the pleasant tone with which he has accompanied the stroke of the bell, and notified us that the time allotted for the ventilation of our eloquence had expired. I think you will all agree with me that he has presided with unaffected dignity, with grace and gravity, with courtesy and courage, imperially and impartially. I second the motion.

The resolution was then put by Mr. P. C. Garrett, and was unanimously adopted.

President GATES.—Ladies and gentlemen, it has been a great pleasure to preside over this Conference. The only difficulty has been to know just how to bring before this audience all the good things in store for it. There was such a store of good things that it could only be done by the use of the unfortunate bell to which allusion has been made. I am delighted to know that one whose eloquence was so harshly interrupted by that bell was so ready to speak well of it. You must let me say that the courteous feeling which has been shown here continually, and has made the cautions of our host unnecessary, has been manifest in your treatment of me; and I thank you for it.

With regard to the work, feeling how incompetent is the best machinery that we can bring into play for its promotion, it is a satisfaction to feel, as we go down from this "House Beautiful," that we leave this cause, after all, under the care of One who has supremely at heart just this kind of work,—of the Master whom we all love and seek to serve.

I remember the story of an old man who had come under the power of that Master. He had broken the chains of his old evil habits and was leading a new life. An old friend met him and said: "How is it that you don't do those things any more? You used to steal watermelons." "Yes," he said. "You used to steal chickens from the roost." "Yes." "And you used to swear and drink." "Yes, but I don't do it any more." "What's the secret? I should like to have you tell me." "When I find the old temptation pulling hard, I look straight up and say, 'Lord, take care of your goods, or you're going to lose 'em.' *And he does!*"

If we do our best, we can leave the cause that we love with the supremely satisfying consciousness that we may trust ourselves and the Indian cause to One who is abundantly able and willing to "care for his goods."

Mr. SMILEY.—I thank you very heartily for your kind words, and still more heartily for coming here in response to our call. The moment the Christian community gets hold of this work thoroughly,

every wrong will be righted and every Indian will be educated. We have no fear of the future whatever. We hope to meet you next autumn; and I wish the house were twice as large, that we might have more.

A verse of "My Country, 'tis of thee," was sung, followed by the doxology. The benediction was pronounced by Dr. Cuyler, after which the Conference adjourned, *sine die*, at 11 P.M.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTER FROM ALICE C. FLETCHER.

I am deprived of the pleasure of meeting you and the many friends at Mohonk, being still in the field, and must send greeting from my tent pitched in one of the cañons leading into the Clearwater. . . .

Each year as I work among these people I am more and more impressed with the futility of relying upon legal enactments or broadcast measures or policy, to raise them out of ignorance and habits born of conditions now almost swept away by our advancing settlements. . . . The Indian cannot be lifted as a race out of his present condition solely by outside aid, but by his own individual efforts: he must find his way forward through experience and tribulation. His progress will be slow because of an isolation of language and of habits formed by old reservation lines and precedents, which not only affect his acts, but his modes of thought; and this isolation is increased in his own mind by the race prejudice he meets from the majority of white people, and tends to check his small endeavors to become a part of our national life.

If the Indian is to be saved as a man, the reservations must be broken up, and civilization be allowed to enter in among the people. Even the rude form found in the sparsely settled West is better than the stagnation of mind and labor caused by barren, profitless acres and the arbitrary methods which necessarily belong to the agency system. Education in a wider sense than merely getting children into school to learn of "the three R's" should be enforced, to the extent of removing every one of school age having sufficient physical and mental vigor to schools beyond the reservation lines. The Indian can never understand the need of work, the need of haste to know English and all that a knowledge of English brings, until he has had a chance not only to see, but to imbibe something of the world in which we live and which stimulates our thoughts and actions. The great school of self-government and experience should be at once opened at home, that young and old may realize that each one must rise or fall according to his own efforts; suffer want, if idle, and find prosperity only through persistent labor; that the law both protects and punishes, and holds each person equally amenable to its rule; that the past is irretrievably gone, and that the tribe is lost in the State. . . . I beg of you to believe few things are so needed to save the mental and moral life of the Indian as this change of government on existing reservations from the old agency order to that of the incipient country organization, into which they must be carried on the receipt of their trust patents.

NEZ PERCE AGENCY, IDAHO, September, 1890.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

- ABBOTT, HON. AUSTIN, 71 Broadway, New York.
- ABBOTT, REV. DR. LYMAN, Editor of the *Christian Union*, 148 Willow Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- ABBOTT, MRS. LYMAN, 148 Willow Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- ARMSTRONG, GENERAL S. C., Principal Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Va.
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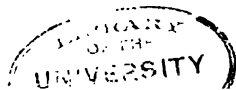
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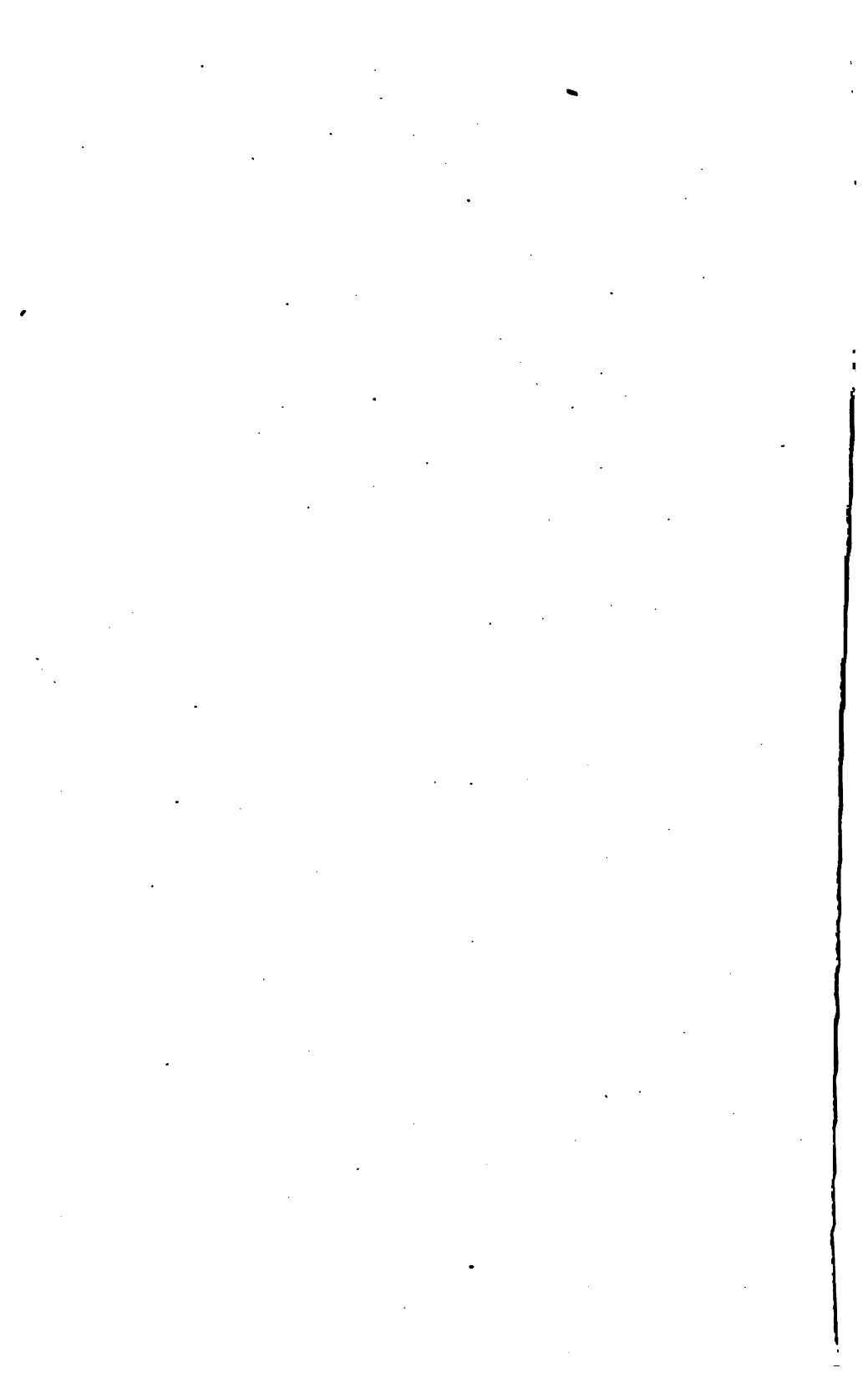
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PREFACE.

THE ninth annual session of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian was held, through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley, Oct. 7, 8, and 9, 1891, at the Lake Mohonk House, Ulster County, New York.

The attendance was large and the interest unabated. The discussions were reported verbatim, but under the instructions of the Publication Committee have been condensed for this pamphlet.

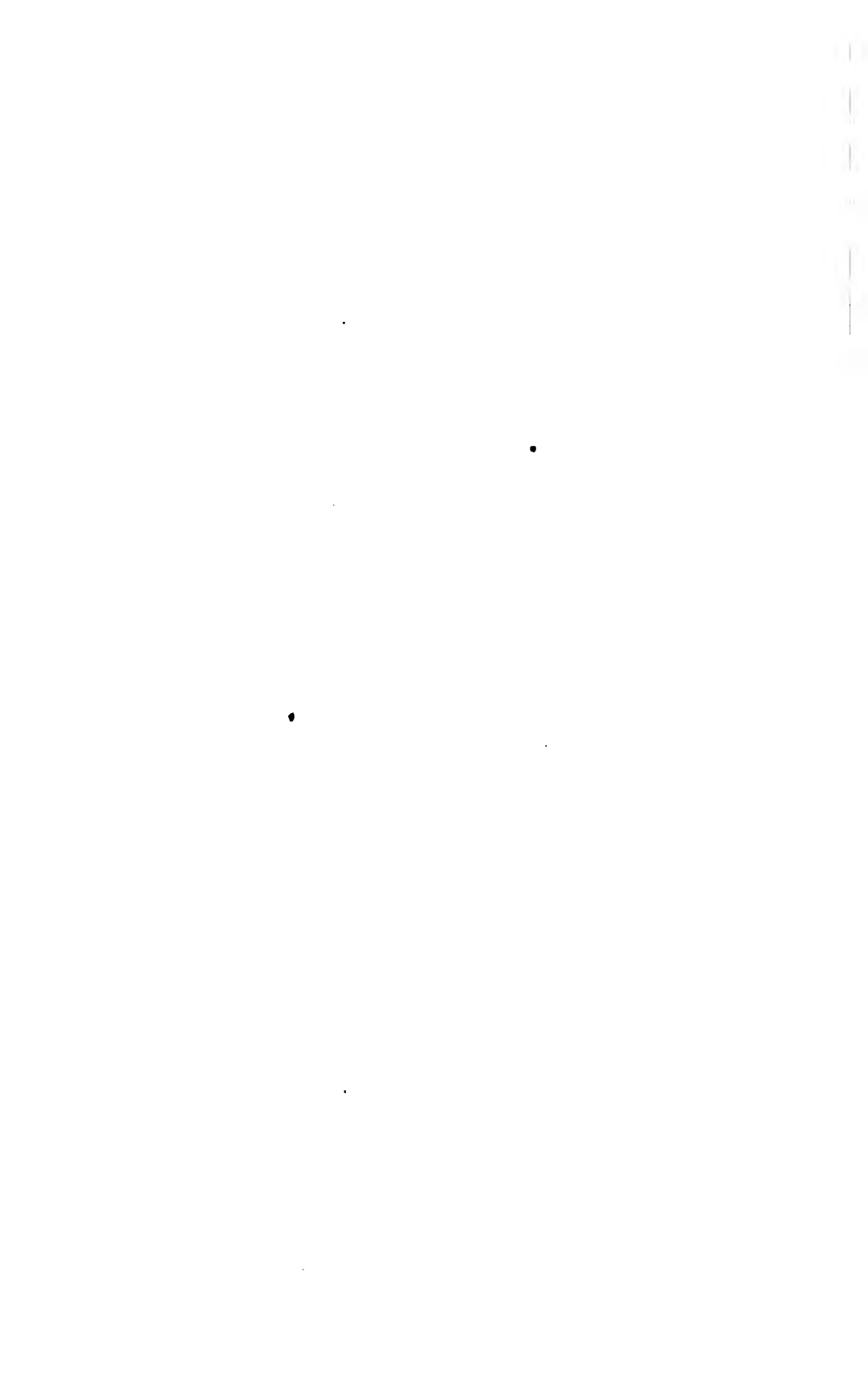
A copy of this report is sent to each member of the Conference. If other copies are desired, application may be made to Mr. A. K. Smiley, Lake Mohonk, Ulster County, New York.

BOSTON, MASS., Dec. 21, 1891.

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THE NINTH LAKE MOHONK INDIAN . CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 7, 1891.

THE ninth annual Conference on Indian affairs was held, through the hospitality of Mr. A. K. Smiley, at the Lake Mohonk Hotel, Ulster County, New York, Oct. 7, 8, 9, 1891.

The Conference was called to order by Mr. A. K. Smiley, at 10 A.M., after prayer by Rev. R. S. MacArthur, D.D.

Mr. Smiley thanked the members for their attendance. He had sent out invitations to four hundred and fifty persons, one hundred and sixty-three of whom had responded, and were all present, or would be during the week. He expressed his desire that the spirit of the Conference should be right. While the largest opportunity would be allowed in the expression of opinion, he hoped they would arrive at some harmonious conclusion. The influence of the Conference depended on the unity of action. Last year, said Mr. Smiley, we were favored in having as President one who ably took the place of him whom we so much loved and honored. We have always had as President here the Chairman of our Board of Indian Commissioners. Dr. Gates is the chairman of that board; and, as he presided last year, I will nominate him as chairman of this Conference. Mr. Smiley then put the vote, and Dr. M. E. Gates, President of Amherst College, was unanimously elected President of the Mohonk Conference.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT GATES.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends of the Indian,—If I were to ask you, as I assume the duties of the trust which you impose on me, the customary question, "What is the pleasure of the meeting?" you would answer as one voice, "Our pleasure is the immediate and full preparation of all Indians for the duties and privileges of Christian citizenship in the United States." That, it seems to me, is the point in this reform at which we have now arrived,—substantial unanimity in the conviction that there must be immediate preparation (even if it be preparation through some necessary failures and mistakes),—an immediate preparation of the Indians for citizenship in the United States.

NO MORE "WARS" WITH INDIANS.

As we look over the events of the last year, there are two facts that seem to me to be sources of especial encouragement. You may be surprised that the chief event from which I draw encouragement, as we look back upon it, is the outbreak in Dakota. The history of that event shows that it was managed as nothing of the kind has ever been managed in the history of this land. The time for any talk about a war between the Indians and the United States has forever passed. Hereafter we may deal with the Indians as rioters or murderers, if we must, by the forms of law. We may deal with the red men who are murderers and rioters by the same forms of law which we use in dealing with white men. The time has come when the United States government is no longer to allow itself as a great power, on the one side, to *declare war* against a tribe of Indians as a foreign power, on the other side. The time for that method of dealing with Indians has forever passed. We can hereafter deal with them as they should be dealt with, not with each tribe as a little *imperium in imperio*, but with Indians as men and women dwelling upon our soil, subject to and supervised by the central government, where they are not yet intrusted to the States, and *to be governed by law*. I think that the Dakota disaster shows that we shall not need to have taught us again the lesson of the difference between savagery and civilization. As we watched the progress of the dances that began these disorders, as the reports of eye-witnesses came to us, we saw the evidences of that peculiar narrowness in the field of vision that must attend upon savagery. We saw, when the passionate, superstitious sense that they had been wronged took possession of these men, it shut out everything else. We saw that for one brought up in the atmosphere of Christian civilization to enter the consciousness of the savage at such a time is almost as impossible as it is for us to get behind the great, blue, limpid eyes of the ox as he chews his cud in the pasture, and know how the world looks to him. There is a tendency in the savage mind to dwell on one idea, especially on the thought of wrong that has been done to him, until this idea dominates the whole being in a way that we, who are open to higher ideas, cannot understand. If we have a little piece of ice to deal with, we say that artificial means may be used to melt it off, and get it out of the way; but, when we meet such great masses of snow and ice as the blizzard left about our houses a few years ago, we say, "It is of no use: we must let *the sun* do this work!" So, when we see the latent power of resistance in savagery, the latent power for evil so easily kindled into action, we feel that there is but one hope: this mass of savagery must be broken up and dissolved. Light and heat must be got into it. It has become a profound conviction that the only way to deal with the Indian question, the way to solve it, is by the education, the Christianization, of the whole race. In that war in Dakota,—if you call it a war,—the heroes were not the young braves who were anxious to take scalps, nor the men of our own regular army, not General Miles nor his assistants, thankfully as we recognize the wisdom of their strategic movements and their wise decisions to prevent bloodshed by firm delay in attack. The heroes, after all,

were Dr. Eastman and his wife, Mrs. Elaine Goodale Eastman, as they cared for the wounded, and the Christian Indian men and women who held faithfully to their principles and to their convictions of duty through that period of intense excitement. It is these actors in that drama that we need to honor.

A "STANDING ARMY" OF SCHOOL-TEACHERS !

Therefore, it seems to me that there are two points which we want to keep constantly before us during this Conference. First, the time for *fighting* the Indian tribes is passed. There may be Indian riots to be quelled : let us have no more Indian "wars." We do believe in a standing army ; but it should be an army of Christian school-teachers ! That is the army that is going to win the victory. We are going to conquer barbarism ; but we are going to do it by getting at the barbarians one by one. We are going to do it by that conquest of the individual man, woman, and child which leads to the truest civilization. We are going to conquer the Indians by a standing army of school-teachers armed with ideas, winning victories by industrial training, and by the gospel of love and the gospel of work.

The supreme question is the question of education. Napoleon said, "The only victories worth winning, the only victories of which we need never be ashamed, are those won over the domain of ignorance by the dissemination of ideas." Wonderful testimony from a man who knew the victories of force, who talked of "cannon's meat," as he called for the husbands and brothers of the French women. He summed up the experience of his life in that saying, "The only victories worth winning are those won over ignorance," by the progress of ideas.

A COMPREHENSIVE POLICY OF EDUCATION.

How are these victories to be won ? What reason have we to hope for more substantial progress now than past years have seen ? We have often said, as we have met here, "If we only had something like a comprehensive, far-seeing, progressive policy of education, an adequate system of schools for these Indian people ! We now have such a system ; and it is directed, I believe, by a wise, a clear-headed Christian man, who has the courage of his convictions, who does not fear to express them everywhere, who is showing marked qualifications for his work, and is developing that power of patience and forbearance which is so essential in dealing with the working out in administration of a great moral question, when you come face to face with legislative and executive delays. He is getting a wonderful development from experience along these lines, as any man must who works through our "circumlocution office." We can speak of our gratification that such a man is in this position, and our hope that there may be a permanent carrying out of a firm policy. We have before had superintendents and commissioners who were men of broad views and comprehensive plans ; but, when they were well started in carrying out their plans, too often they have been put out of office, in the interest of spoilsmen, and all the good that had been accomplished has dis-

appeared. All their attempted reforms have fallen into ruins like a toy castle built of cards, until (excepting General Whittlesey and General Fisk, neither of whom I ever yet heard express a sentiment or a thought that was not full of high courage in this reform) there was hardly any other man of experience in our work who has not at times felt that it was useless to struggle, and that, if we held on in the work, we did so as a work of stern duty, and not with high hope or ground for encouragement.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN THE INDIAN SERVICE.

Under these circumstances, we have repeatedly petitioned the Executive and Congress to give us Civil Service Reform Rules in the Indian Bureau. You will remember a Conference here some years since, when that was earnestly debated, and a special commission went to Washington to urge it on the President. Every administration has promised much, but we have not seen anything actually accomplished until quite recently, when there centred at Washington requests from many sources. At the close of the last meeting of the Indian Commissioners at Washington, in January last, at a conference with President Harrison, he expressed to us his sincere desire to do the right thing in this matter, and his purpose to act soon. We have now the beginning of reform in the service, and a promise of permanence for good men and good measures. In this there is great cause for hope. Our superintendents of schools, teachers, matrons, and physicians, since October 1, come under the classified civil service. The examinations provided show how completely wise regulations may disprove the assertion that civil service reform means a school-boy examination which calls only for quickness of wit in answering conundrums in geography and arithmetic. The whole reform has begun hopefully. Less than a week ago these rules went into effect.

In these two things,—a broad, comprehensive system of schools, and application of Civil Service Rules to the appointments,—I see a larger hope than ever before. We may enter on our Conference with this larger hope throwing its light over our deliberations.

"EMBARRASSMENT OF RICHES" IN THE NUMBER OF SPEAKERS HERE.

We have before us such a body as it is a delight to preside over. The only trouble is the embarrassment felt by the man who knows a good deal about electricity, when he stands in a room full of Leyden jars, fully charged, and wonders how he can safely unload the jars and conduct to use the electricity stored there. There are so many accomplished speakers here, charged with enthusiasm and high ideas, that, with our limits of time and space, I shall have to claim your kind indulgence if all have not an opportunity to speak.

THE SPEECH THAT "STRIKES IN."

We want first to hear what has been done this year from one who stands at the centre, General Whittlesey. Then we hope to hear from workers in the field. Are we not driven more and more to the

conclusion that the inductive method is the best method in dealing with this intricate question,—to *get our facts* first, and then to discuss the principles discernible when facts are compared? There are workers here whom we know, and who have had it suggested to them that they should speak. There are others who are not known to us all, but whose work our Master knows. Do not hesitate to let it be known that you have a message for us; and, if you are one of the happy mortals who know how to *put a message into five minutes or ten*, we shall be doubly glad to get the message. But there will be some whom we cannot hear. The finest things I have ever heard in these Conferences have been said in speeches that “struck in,” the first year, because they did not get themselves delivered. The speakers came again, and did not get rid of the speech that second time. And again it “struck in,” until the single, central idea dominated the speaker day and night; and *the third time* we got it, and it was red hot! We want some of *those* speeches to day. I think I see before me men who have gone away from earlier Conferences feeling almost wronged because time failed for their intended speeches. We want the essence of these undelivered speeches to-day.

THE WORK DONE BY WOMEN.

It has been said that no reform has ever been carried to a successful issue in our country without the aid of noble-hearted women and of Christian ministers. It grows upon me profoundly, from year to year, the sense of what our sisters and wives, our daughters and mothers, have accomplished since they took up this matter of Indian reform. This is essentially a philanthropic and Christian reform. Whatever may be our views, our slight differences of view or differences that may seem to us profound, we all gather here believing that the Lord of the world is the Lord Jesus Christ; believing that, ever since God himself became incarnate, for a man to see God truly, he must learn to see something of God in his fellow-man, and to work for his fellow-men. We come in the spirit of service.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.

What do we ask for the Indians? We want an unsectarian but a Christian education. We want to see Indians,—I say it with reverent love,—we want to see Indian men and women not held aloof from Christian life by a strange tongue, but lifted into our American civilization, and into a strong Christian life as American citizens, through the medium of our own language. Thank God for his redeeming power made known in strange tongues! But we do want to see Christian Indians—all Indians—speaking the English language, and clothed with the educating responsibilities of American citizenship. I am impressed with the fact that there is no safe way to civilize the Indian except by letting him make some blunders. When we first met at these Conferences, many came in that spirit of sentimental romance which has too long obscured our views of the needs of the Indian. There was much talk then about broken treaties, and about God's curse for their breaking; and the record is a shameful one.

But it is not possible that one hundred and eighty-one thousand miles of territory, more than all the New England and the Middle States, a territory almost as large as France or Spain, shall be forever kept out of civilization. It is too much to ask that the teeming life of America shall be shut out of this great territory, in order that the Indian may remain a savage and roam over it. The Indians have never had a proper tenure of that soil, such a tenure as leads to their full occupancy of it or to their self-support in other ways than through hunting. We have come out of the spirit of romantic sentiment, and have substituted the honest sentiment that the Indian must learn to walk by walking. But we must give him law on the reservations and off the reservations. We must remember the true doctrine that the law is a schoolmaster, even for Christianization. We will take the law as a schoolmaster that shall lead the Indian from the lodge to the gospel. Regarding carefully their treaty rights in their essence, paying into their educational funds a fair equivalent for the land we have assigned them, we will help the Indians to walk on into Christian manhood and citizenship in the United States. That our deliberations may tend to this end, I ask your cordial co-operation.

On motion of P. C. Garrett, Mr. Joshua Davis, Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, and Miss Ellen H. Bailey were elected Secretaries.

On motion of Dr. M. E. Strieby, Mr. Frank Wood, of Boston, was elected Treasurer.

On motion of General E. Whittlesey, it was voted that a Business Committee of twelve be appointed by the Chair. The committee was appointed, as follows: Dr. William H. Ward, Mrs. Amelia S. Quinton, Dr. M. E. Strieby, Mr. Philip C. Garrett, Mrs. Clinton B. Fisk, Mr. Frank Wood, Mr. Herbert Welsh, Miss Kate Foote, Dr. Charles L. Thompson, Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, Dr. R. S. MacArthur, and Mr. A. K. Smiley.

The opening address was "The Survey of the Year's Work," by General E. Whittlesey, of Washington.

SURVEY OF THE YEAR'S WORK.

BY GENERAL E. WHITTLESEY.

Our meetings are always so crowded with interesting matter that I must not occupy much time. I will therefore confine myself to some bare facts, and leave unsaid what I do not know about Indian matters.

The year since we last met has been a year of very substantial and gratifying progress. It will take but a few moments to show this. It has been signalized by very important legislation,—more important than anything previous, except during the year 1887, when the general allotment bill was passed.

One act of legislation during the past year amended that general allotment bill in some important particulars, equalizing allotments and declaring the rights of inheritance of Indian children.

Another measure of great importance was the bill for the relief of the Mission Indians of California; and still another, a bill for the relief of the Round Valley Indians in California. Both measures had been carried through the Senate again and again by our honored friend, Senator Dawes; but last year it was carried through the House by the efforts of the Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, Mr. B. M. Perkins. Those measures have now become laws, and commissions have been appointed under them for the examination of all questions that have been in dispute for years, and for the survey of the various reservations occupied by those Indians, and the allotment of their lands. They also bring before the United States courts all questions of title that may come up with regard to the rights of the Mission and Round Valley Indians.

The Indian Appropriation Bill passed last winter makes appropriation for the fiscal year 1892, which began the first day of July, 1891. It contains ratifications of agreements with Indians, some of which have been lying unacted upon for several years. The agreement with the Pottawattomies of Oklahoma, with the absentee Shawnees, with the Sac and Fox, the Cheyennes and Arrapahoes, the Cœur d'Alène of Idaho, the Fort Berthold Indians of North Dakota, the Sissetons of South Dakota, and the Crows in Montana,—all these have been ratified by Congress, and appropriations made for carrying them out involving several millions of dollars, a small part of which only is paid in cash. Where cash payments have been provided, it has been to carry out old, previously made treaties with the United States. Certainly, that was the case with the Sissetons. There was a treaty made with them in 1851, just forty years ago, by which the United States bound itself to pay to these Indians certain money per capita. That was suspended on account of the outbreak in Minnesota in 1862,—the whole of it,—the innocent suffering with the guilty. The agreement with the Sissetons provided that those annuities should be restored to the Sissetons, on the ground that they had remained loyal and firm friends of the whites during that terrible time. By these ratifications all the agreements are completed that have been made, and which were remaining unratified until the last Congress, excepting one with the southern Utes, which many of us hope will remain pigeon-holed for a good many years to come.

The allotment of lands has been going on during the past year with increasing success. The number of patents issued is 2,104. Allotments have been made and approved and patents ordered to 2,830 in addition. Allotments have been made, examined at the Indian Office, and are ready for approval by the Secretary of the Interior to the number of 1,520. Allotments have been received at the Indian Office, but not yet taken up for examination, to the number of 314 during the past year. I may say that, looking back during the years since the Allotment Bill was passed in 1887, a large number of Indians have become citizens of the United States. That bill made at once 10,122 Indians full citizens of the United States, because, under the provision of previous acts, they had received allotments and patents to land. It also made citizens of 3,072 who had been previously freed from tribal relations, and had taken on the habits of

civilized life. So that under the provision of that bill we have **now** at least 16,000 citizens of the United States who were not citizens before, and there are some 4,000 others besides those of the Indian Territory waiting the completion of the work who will, within another year, become citizens.

Now, the effect of this work of allotment has been, as you know, to bring up many perplexing questions to answer, many difficult problems to solve, regarding rights, justice, authority, and jurisdiction; and it has thrown upon the Indian Office a vast amount of labor in addition to what it had to perform in the regular routine of its work, and has given to our honored and able Commissioner a work to do which no one previously holding that office has had to do. There is, therefore, an urgent demand for a large increase of force to help him to meet the present needs of his position. The effect also of this allotment has been to reduce the areas of Indian reservations. Two years ago there were, counting all the little Mission Indian reservations in Southern California as one and all the Pueblos in New Mexico as one, 138 reservations, comprising 104,314,349 acres of land. During the year 1890 these reservations were reduced to the amount of 12,000,000 acres, and during 1891 they have been reduced 8,000,000 more. I quote round numbers only. So something over 20,000,000 acres have been cut off from reservations and added to the public domain, and these have been or are soon to be thrown open to the settlement of whites.

In education very substantial progress has been made during the past year. In the first place, the appropriations made by the last Congress for the current fiscal year, which began July 1, 1891, and extends to the end of June, 1892, for education are \$2,216,650,—an increase over the present year of twenty per cent. Of this amount \$601,000 are allowed for the support of contract schools. The rest is expended for the support of Indian schools of all grades. Since the administration of our present Commissioner five new industrial schools have been organized and are in operation, and five more are under way and will be organized in the present fiscal year. The total enrolment of the schools now of all grades, including mission schools, is 17,926; that is, about one-half the school population. This is an increase over the previous year of 1,549. The average attendance has been 13,568,—an increase over the previous year of 1,336. 100 Indians are now attending public schools under a special arrangement, by which the schools receive \$10 per quarter for their tuition.

I intended to say a word about another matter which indicates substantial progress, and that is the extension of Civil Service Rules into part of the Indian service, but it has been sufficiently alluded to by our Chairman. These brief statements speak for themselves. No comments of mine can add to their interest or value. They certainly show that the year has been full of work, and indicate marked progress; and they furnish us a hopeful outlook for the future.

Mr. Wheelock, an Indian from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, was asked to speak. The following is an abstract of his remarks:—

Mr. WHEELOCK. — There is one point upon which I cannot agree with your President.

President GATES. — We welcome debate.

Mr. WHEELOCK. — He tells us that we have a far-seeing policy. I do not question that, but I question whether it is a complete policy. It is like making a dog-house with a big door for the big dog, and then shutting the door, and making a little hole, and then having to squeeze the dog to go into that hole. It seems to me that is exactly what we are doing with the Indian. The United States government claims to have facilities for educating all its people, that it has a wide door through which its subjects can pass, to become citizens of this republic. Then I ask, Why does it not let the Indian come in at that door? Why does it close that, and make a smaller hole and expect the Indian to squeeze through that? That is what we are doing when we establish Indian schools. That is what we are doing when we try to educate the Indian by putting him aside and treating him as a special being. That method will never succeed. If the Indian is squeezed through that little hole, some of his limbs will be left out. If we want the Indian to be a good citizen, we want him to have the use of all his limbs. The United States government does not want educated Indians, but it wants educated citizens. If the Indian boy starts out and stops at the day-school, the benefit that the United States gets from that Indian does not amount to much. But if he goes through the day-school, through the boarding-school, through Carlisle or Hampton, and then becomes a citizen of the United States, the solution of the Indian question, so far as that man is concerned, has been effected. That is what we want,— to have the Indian become an individual. We must teach him to have a conscience which will respond to the voice of duty and responsibility. We must teach him the first principles of this free government. We must teach him that, in order to be a good citizen of this republic, he must know the power that lies in the elective franchise, he must know how to think, he must know how to make his ballot think. In order to do that, the Indian must be taught beside the white man who knows what it is, who has patriotism and devotion to his country, and who knows how to act in a free republic. We must put him by the side of the white school-boy. We must put him into the public school. You find the solution of the Indian problem only when you condescend to have your children with the children of the red man, educated together, and trying their metal together.

A paper was then read by Charles Francis Meserve, Superintendent of the Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kan., entitled "The Present Status of Higher Education for the Indian."

THE PRESENT STATUS OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR THE INDIAN.

BY CHARLES FRANCIS MESERVE.

It may seem presumptuous to those of you who have been a long time in the work, and have borne the burden and heat of the day, that a late comer and comparative novice, who has seen only two years in the service, should dare to address this Conference on the above subject. It is, however, one of grave importance and deep significance; and, although much has been said upon it, there is still great need of public enlightenment. I realize full well that not only you, but the intelligent, philanthropic Christian people of this broad land, are my auditors. And, further, since our genial and generous host, only a jot of whose geniality is in his name, has bidden me to this wedding feast, where the contracting parties, on the one hand, are warm-hearted Christian philanthropy, and, on the other, a not fully awakened public sentiment, how could I come without having on the wedding garment of preparation, lest I be cast into outer darkness, amid wailing and gnashing of teeth such as we experience when conscience-smitten because duty is undone and opportunity neglected?

The term "higher," as applied to Indian education, is used only in a comparative sense, to designate the training that is given in the large industrial schools. It is not, in reality, proper to designate it even as *high*; for these schools in their literary departments have seldom attempted anything in advance of the studies of the highest grade of a well-organized city grammar school. Scarcely any of these institutions have been in existence long enough to prepare pupils for graduation. The public schools of Springfield, Mass., are equal to the best in the land. The course of study from the time of entering the primary until leaving the grammar school covers nine years, and, if Harvard or Smith is the goal of youthful ambition, four years additional in the high school are required. From the time Carl and Alice leave the nursery until they proudly learn that Harvard and Smith have received them without conditions, thirteen long years have elapsed. They have been guided during these years by skilful, interested, and in many instances highly educated and cultured teachers, whose every effort has been supplemented and seconded by counsel, encouragement, admonition, and every proper incentive that could be suggested by a mother's love and a father's pride. Not one of these industrial schools has been in operation for thirteen years, and only one of them has sent out a graduating class; and yet, now and then, we read in the public press what miserable failures the graduates of Carlisle University and Haskell College prove to be, that these institutions are anything but successful, and that the money spent for their maintenance is worse than wasted, because the so-called graduates are sent back out of harmony with the reservation life, discontented, and unwilling to resume their former modes of living. Would you think it just to pass unfavorable judgment upon the baker's loaf, when you insisted upon his taking it out of the oven before it was half done? These statements have

been made so frequently and are repeated with such persistency that it is but just for those who stand in responsible positions as heads of these institutions to state the facts as they exist. Pupils are received at these training schools for a period no longer than five years. It is true they can enter for a second term, though, as a matter of fact, the majority do not. They come to us, even the older and larger, as a rule, attaching slight importance to virtue, chastity, honor, truthfulness, and abstinence from the use of narcotics and alcoholic stimulants. The majority of those who now come can read and write, yet in five years we are expected to turn them out well educated and fitted to support themselves. Is not the demand absurd upon the face of it?

That the average Indian boy and girl can master, with comparative ease and readiness, the rudiments of an English education, including the speaking of English well, and also acquiring considerable skill in all the mechanical arts, has been proven beyond the shadow of a doubt. If there are to-day any doubters, their doubts can readily be removed by visiting any of these schools where the cultivation of the mental powers and the training of the hand, the ear, and the eye are all carried on harmoniously and simultaneously. In comparing the Indian with the white child in his school life, it must also be borne in mind that in the industrial schools only half of the day is given to work of a literary nature, the other half being devoted to various mechanical pursuits, such as farming, gardening, shoemaking, harness-making, and many others.

The problem that is presented to the superintendent of a large government industrial training school is how to get his pupils, what to do with them after he has them, what will become of them after they have gone out from under his control, and the estimate that the public places upon his work. There is little difficulty in retaining Indian pupils after they have once been enrolled in the schools and become accustomed to the necessary restraint and the routine that the performance of daily duties invariably calls for. Although the contrast between their former and school life is very marked, yet, after they have passed through a period of homesickness such as white children are accustomed to when they leave home, they fall readily into the new ways, the new life, and the new methods. Let us see for a moment what this means to them,—frequently an entire change in wearing apparel, living conditions of an entirely different and sanitary nature, regularity in meals, in sleep, in exercise, and in work, and learning to speak and write in a foreign tongue. The complaint was formerly made that you could not educate Indians. Since it has been clearly shown that they can be educated, the nature of the attack has been changed. When we go out after Indian pupils, various objections are met with. There is very frequently an unwillingness on the part of the Indians themselves to their children going away from home, and this, in very many instances, is fostered by the whites themselves on the reservation. A missionary once said to me, "If I could have all of the children at home, instead of their being sent away, I could do something with these people." But, after conversing with him and finding out what the hindrances to his work were and what his plans were, it seemed to me that everything he

was doing was tending to keep them Indians. Sometimes opposition is experienced on the part of teachers themselves in government schools, who say, "These training schools wish to take away our older and brighter children, and leave us only the younger and less advanced." This is true: the training schools do wish to receive the older and brighter children. What estimate would we put upon the head-master of Exeter, or of the Boston Latin School, if he were to say to Harvard or Yale, "You want to take from us the older and brighter of our young men"? It is just what is expected. It is just what ought to be done, and in this lies the greater encouragement to the schools of a lower grade from which the brighter and more advanced pupils come. The remark is also made in this connection that these larger schools, at a distance, not only receive our brighter and older pupils, but that they claim the credit for all that has been done for them, while, as a matter of fact, these pupils were started upon their education in the reservation schools, and some were there for several years. Far be it from me to detract one iota from the reservation schools. I say most emphatically that those who manage the larger schools could not do their work, were it not for the intelligent, earnest, and self-sacrificing efforts of the teachers of the reservation schools; and let me, once for all, disclaim any intent or desire for the training schools to take to themselves a greater share of credit for their work than belongs to them. The fact is that the schools of all the various grades are important and essential factors of the system, and one cannot do without the other. It is sometimes urged by parents against the training schools that, in sending their children so far, their health is injured because of a change of climate; and there are white people who encourage them in this. I never yet have heard of white parents in Portland or San Francisco or Denver objecting to sending their sons and daughters to Harvard and Yale, to Smith and Wellesley, because it would be injurious from a standpoint of health. You can scarcely go into any nook or corner of our broad land without finding people permanently living there who were raised hundreds of miles distant. The objection to Carlisle and Haskell on the score of health because of remoteness from home is untenable even from the Indian's standpoint. He is migratory by nature, having lived, at various times, hundreds of miles from his present reservation. The habitat of the American Indian is no more permanent than that of the American white man or the American Negro.

A careful examination of facts shows that the health condition of pupils in the training schools is far superior to that in the Indian's home life. The fact is the Indians die in much larger numbers on their reservations than they do in the training schools, or, for that matter, in the reservation schools. During the prevalence of the grippe the last two years, at Haskell and Carlisle there were five hundred or more cases, not one of which proved fatal. In one Indian tribe in the Indian Territory that numbered 897 by the actual enrolment on January 1st, there were, during the following three months, nearly fifty deaths. This was at the time when the epidemic was raging in the schools, where no death occurred from this cause. The Indian, as a rule, is tenacious in clinging to his habits and his associa-

tions, and he desires nothing more than to be let alone in his barbarism and degradation; and there are enough whites, some of poor blood, and others of more sentiment than sense, who come in contact with him to encourage him in opposing all of these influences that are going to elevate his children, if not himself. Even with quite intelligent Indians, distrust of the whites is a very important obstacle in the way of educating the children. Not long since I endeavored to persuade a half-breed mother that it would be for the interest of her daughter to take a course at Haskell. I saw that, if she was not sent away to school, she would soon be married, and become the ordinary camp Indian girl, though now bright, attractive, and anxious to go away. I used my power of persuasion to the best of my ability, and, after laboring for a long time, the mother replied, "You white folks do make me tired. My father was a white man. He suddenly died. He was possessed of a large amount of land; and, through the trickery and dishonesty of white people, we never realized from it one penny. That land was in Nebraska. Not long ago I went there, and on the property that was my father's, and that by right is his children's, is now spread out a large town." These were her last words. I could tell by the look of indignation and injustice on her intelligent face that she had this additional thought in her mind, "And if the whites dispossess us of our property, do they also wish to dispossess me of my daughter?" Nothing but fair, square, plain dealing, with all promises lived up to and all pledges kept, can cause the Indians to have confidence in the whites.

The question is often asked, What becomes of these boys and girls after they have completed their course at these Indian schools? Nearly all go back to their former homes; and, as a rule, they refuse to adopt their former habits and former ways of living. In many instances, they are compelled to, for the reason that there is no other course open to them. A week's visit on any important Indian reservation will enable you soon to pick out those who have been away to school, and you will see there still remains the benefit of the training received. They are more industrious, and, as a rule, are the ones that occupy the more prominent positions, such as interpreters and assistants in various capacities at the agencies. They are also more willing to work and desirous of engaging in farming operations. On a recent visit to a reservation that for some years has been friendly to education, I found there were twelve hundred acres of land sown to winter wheat,—a much larger number than ever before,—and the Indians were planning to make the number still larger in the year to come.

A word more with reference to the Indian boys and girls after they return home. A year ago I had the opportunity of attending a pipe dance among two well-known tribes. Among the large number engaged in this dance there was only one who had ever been away to an Indian school. There were several graduates and former students of Haskell and Carlisle there at the dance, but only one participated. This was to me a very encouraging sign, for only a few years ago these young men would have been only too eager to have distinguished themselves in this way. One of the young men present, a graduate of a training school, had recently married a graduate of another training

school. I was very anxious to find out something in regard to their home life. It is my aim to teach the Indian young men that, when they have become married and have homes of their own, they should not treat their wives as their fathers did, but rather as the best white people treat their wives. When I asked him if he cut the wood and did the other hard work, he, remembering former instruction, said that he did all such work himself. I was not satisfied with his reply and asked the young Indian wife. She said that she cut the wood, carried it in, attended to the fire, and did various other things that he had just informed me that he did. I told her that I was sorry for her lot in life, and that such work ought not to be done by her; and she, with tears in her eyes, said: "Won't you tell him so? Won't you go and talk with him?" This was another very encouraging sign; for camp girls submit to these things as a matter of course, without any complaint, never thinking that there can be anything better for them. If you think, however, this is true of Indians alone, quietly make inquiry of white wives, and your high opinion of white men may possibly receive a sudden shock.

Although there are discouragements and obstacles to be overcome, as in all kinds of work, yet there are many signs of encouragement, and the future is full of hope.

Said a Mohave chief to me some months ago, after spending several days in visiting Haskell Institute: "The Mohaves have had no school. Mohaves must have school. I go Washington and tell Great Father Mohaves must have school. Indians can learn like white children. Make wagons, talk and write English, make shoes, make everything." This same chief was very much interested in our brass band. He had never seen a band before, or heard the music of one. It was the one thing above all others that interested him. When he went away he came in the usual formal Indian way to shake hands with me and bid me good-by; and this was his speech: "Haskell good. Haskell good all around. Hookarow [for that was his name] sad; yes, Hookarow sad. Hookarow wish he young again. If Hookarow young, Hookarow go to Haskell, get education, stay all the time, learn to play on the band."

A few years ago a distinguished visitor from a Northern State stood in the presence of a large colored school in Atlanta. Near the close of his address he said to them: "I am going North in a few days. What message shall I carry to your friends there?" A bright little Negro boy rose and said, "Tell um we're risin', sur." On the 16th of last May I was called to Boston by the death of my father. Before leaving Haskell, I told the pupils that I was going East, and that I should doubtless meet many people who would make inquiry concerning their progress in school and the various trades, and I said, "What message shall I carry them?" An earnest Christian young man, a Comanche, rose and said, "Tell them we have the same God, the same Bible, and the same church." This young man was very much interested in the Y. M. C. A., and doubtless had this in mind when he used the word "church."

We find that Indian boys and girls, like white boys and girls, have their ambition awakened to further advancements. Not long ago one of the boys came to me and said, "Next year I want to study

algebra." I replied that we had never had a class in algebra, and wondered why he wished to take up this branch of mathematics. He said: "I have been scratching my head and thinking about this a good deal. I understand now how you can multiply figures together; but I do not understand how you can multiply letters, and I think I should very much like to know."

Some weeks ago I was on a steamer with a company of Indian pupils *en route* to Haskell Institute. We were sailing down one of the many beautiful bays that branch from Lake Michigan. Quite a number of the parents and relatives were with the pupils to accompany them for a couple of hours. Just before leaving the steamer, they all gathered together on the bow of the boat, got out their hymn-books, and sang several hymns in their native tongue, and closed by singing in English "Sweet By and By," and other familiar hymns. An elderly gentleman, who, I afterwards learned, was a superannuated Methodist clergyman, seemed greatly interested in the singing. I asked him if he knew these Indians; and he said that, although now beyond the period of active service, he had worked among them as a missionary for nearly thirty years. "Thirty years ago," he continued, "I came among this people. They were then living in bark houses and wearing blankets. To-day they all live in comfortable houses, nearly all are Christians, regularly attend church, and are anxious to have their children educated. This has been accomplished in thirty years. It rejoices my heart to see their children go away where they can obtain an education and a trade, and thus be prepared to compete with other races in the battle of life." The contrast was, indeed, marked. Only thirty years ago, degradation and ignorance; to-day, civilization and education. Surely, the weakest spirit in the Indian world ought to take courage from even one experience like this.

Recently one who is interested in Indian education said to me, "I hope you will ask for very little for Haskell Institute for the coming year, for we want to do all we can for the reservation schools." It seems to me that this remark is based upon the misapprehension of not merely the importance, but the necessity, for the higher education of Indian youth. It is the history of education the world over that the elementary schools do not thrive unless there is a class of higher educational institutions of a high grade. There are States, cities, and towns that are prominent for their educational standing; and in all of these you will find that colleges, technical and normal schools, and high schools are strenuously maintained, and are recognized as incentives in keeping up the lower schools to a proper standing. Go with me to a community where the public schools are poor, and there you will find a poor high school, if you find any at all. This principle has long been recognized. As early as 1636 the General Court of Massachusetts Bay voted four hundred pounds for a school or college. This was the beginning of Harvard College. Two years later regular instruction began. It would be, indeed, a fatal mistake to think that the cause of Indian education could be advanced by taking from one grade or kind of work and adding to another. Both the higher and the elementary are indispensable, and the results desired cannot be achieved if either suffers.

While the cause of Indian education has made rapid progress since

the first appropriation of \$20,000 was made, in 1877, there is yet room for still greater progress. There are yet hundreds—yea—thousands of Indian children in degradation and barbarism, who have no education, even of the most rudimentary nature. The only way that these children can be brought into school is by compulsion. It is with Indians just as it is among whites. You will find in those States where compulsory laws for education are in force that opposition is always met with from the more ignorant people. Opposition of the same character is met with on the part of the Indians. If the Indians are to be civilized, elevated, and made self-sustaining as citizens of this country, their children, as soon as they arrive at school age, should be put in school, and the strong arm of the law should be invoked if necessary.

The work of educating, elevating, and civilizing the Indian demands that the educational and agency departments should be placed upon a plane of impartial civil service; and it is an occasion for profound satisfaction that President Harrison has already taken action in this direction. This is a work that cannot be accomplished if left to the whim, caprice, and political partisanship of the spoils system. Indian education, like all other education, demands that there should be in charge of it those who understand its underlying principles, and who are willing to give it self-sacrificing devotion. Frequent changes, when competent persons are occupying positions that they are willing to continue in, can work harm, and only harm. A work of such a peculiarly trying nature as that of conducting Indian schools and of managing agency affairs especially demands that there should be no changes except for cause. This will never be accomplished until the people rise in their might and say that this work shall be managed in accordance with those principles which are necessary in carrying on any private business, or any educational institution like Harvard or Yale, or the well-managed public schools of any city, town, or village. No parent ever thinks of asking to what political party the teacher of his child in the village school, the seminary, the normal school, or the college, belongs. Is the teacher of good moral character, competent for the work, and one from whom good influences continually emanate? These are the questions asked. Frequent changes, not only of policy, but of employees, in the Indian work, both in the school and in the agency work, made solely for political reasons, as a rule result only in harm. Next to competency, nothing is more important in Indian work than a reasonably permanent tenure of office. President Eliot has been at the head of Harvard University for twenty-one successive years. During these years I might almost say there have been twenty-one Commissioners of Indian Affairs. How unreasonable to suppose that good results can be obtained when there have been such frequent changes in heads of departments, and, consequently, policies of action! The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whoever may hold that office, ought to be beyond the reach of the spoils system. The head of a great work like this should be selected for a special business and educational fitness for the position, and then should be retained in the position, so that there might be ample time to formulate a policy, and to superintend the carrying out of this policy in all of its various ramifications. A prominent worker in the Indian cause in Canada informed me during the past summer that the reason that they had

had so little trouble with the Canadian Indians was that they had a reasonable civil service. It was expected that, when an official was selected as Indian agent, he would remain, if he showed proper fitness for the position, for a long term of years ; and everything in relation to his office was of such a nature as to make it desirable for him to remain. While there should be a reasonable certainty as to tenure of office, it must be understood that there are no *sine-cures* in the Indian service, but rather that every position is a *cum-cure*.

It is my firm belief that the Indian question never will be solved until the Indian, like any other man, is placed upon his feet, stops receiving the bounty of the government, and is compelled to take care of himself, like any other man. There is nothing that will sooner degrade a white man than to live in idleness, continually receiving and never giving. Indians need to be taught the divine truth that it is more blessed to give than to receive. Let the United States government allot him a reasonable amount of land, assist him with various farming implements, and aid him in building himself a house and barn, educate his children, give him a fair chance, make him a citizen in fact as well as in name, and then, with the parting injunction, "Root, hog, or die," leave him to his own exertions, like any other man.

Miss Hattie Longwolf, an Indian from the Carlisle School, was invited to speak. The following is an abstract of Miss Longwolf's speech :—

In the fall of 1887 I was brought with other Sioux boys and girls to Captain Pratt's school. I came from my home in the tent, in my wild dress. Little did I think I had come to spend many years getting knowledge. I was much displeased with my new home and surroundings, and was cross to think I had to leave my people and begin a new life. The night was dark. The stars must have shone, but I did not notice them. People say you can never make anything out of a red man, but I can testify that we have been lifted out of our ignorance. I did not want to wear citizens' clothes. I thought I might be well enough pleased to stay if I were only permitted to wear my blanket and speak my own native tongue. But our blankets and moccasins were taken away, and shoes were given to us. I thought I could never stand in the shoes. They were like roller skates to a beginner. It was a very hard task to learn English, but I found that, if I did not at first succeed, I must try, try again. I gave up many times learning it, then I would always begin again. We represent forty-eight different tribes at the Carlisle School. None of us will ever regret our school-days there. We have been taught to use our hands as well as our minds ; and the girls can sew and do laundry work and cook, and the boys learn different trades. We have three circles of King's Daughters. We have our meetings on Sundays, and on week-days we sew and make little things to sell, and with the money we get in this way we help the poor.

President GATES.—I never saw that little silver cross (that always appeals to me when I see it over a sister's heart) where I felt that it was more truly emblematic of what the Master himself, who dealt

with such infinite tenderness with womanhood, and whose last message from the cross was for the care of his own mother, would have it symbolize. As Miss Longwolf wears it, it speaks of the kind of teaching our Indian brothers and sisters must have before they can come into our Christian civilization.

Mr. A. K. Smiley, Chairman of the Commission to visit the Mission Indians in California, was asked to speak with reference to work there.

Mr. A. K. SMILEY.—There are in Southern California about three thousand Mission Indians, so called from their relation to the early Catholic Missions, established in the early part of the last century. A bold range of mountains extends for a hundred miles in a northerly course, from the Mexican border to Mt. San Bernardino, dividing the richer and more inhabitable lands on the Pacific coast from the dreary Colorado desert on the east. These Mission Indians are mainly located in little bands in the small valleys at the base of these mountains, and some of them in valleys and mesas at an elevation of more than six thousand feet. Quite a number of them live in the forbidding Colorado desert, lying between the Colorado River and the above-named mountains. There are about forty separate villages of these Indians, the largest of which contains less than two hundred persons. Under Mexican rule these Indians chiefly lived on fertile lands near the coast, and had, in most cases, a good possessory title to the lands they occupied, from which they have been driven by the rapacity of the whites. Some benevolent people called the attention of the United States government to the necessity of early action to prevent the pauperization and extermination of the whole race, and in 1873 and 1874 two separate special agents were sent out to inquire into their necessities and to devise some plan for their relief. The result of their investigations was the establishment of nine reservations by executive order. In 1883 Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson and Abbott Kinney, Esq., made an exhaustive report on the condition and needs of the Mission Indians; and some one—I suppose Mrs. Jackson, though I do not certainly know—drew up a bill.

Senator DAWES.—Yes, she drew it up herself. She gave it to me.

Mr. SMILEY.—I am glad to know its origin. It was an admirable one. That bill passed the Senate through the instrumentality of our honored friend, Senator Dawes, three times, but failed in the House. On the 12th of January, 1891, the bill of Mrs. Jackson, with some modifications, became a law. I was living at the time in Redlands, Cal., overwhelmed with work,—building roads, grading grounds, planting orange and fruit trees, and getting ready to build a larger house, and was not aware of the passage of the bill. In the midst of my pressing work I received a telegram from Mr. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, asking me if I would serve on the Mission Indian Commission if appointed, to which I consented, supposing the commission had reference to the settlement of some vexed questions at Banning that I had been laboring to have adjusted. When the bill arrived with instructions, I found there was nearly a year's work. However, I concluded to hold on to the work, fearing that some one might take my

place, should I resign, who would fail to carry out the benevolent intent of the law. When the other members of the commission, Professor C. C. Painter and Judge J. B. Moore of the Superior Court of Michigan, arrived, we began the work assigned us. We are expected to select reservations for all the various bands or villages of Indians, which selection, when approved by the President and Secretary, will be patented to the band or village, and made inalienable for twenty-five years. When, in the judgment of the Secretary, the Indians of any band are capable of managing their lands in severalty, the land previously patented to the band will be divided, and individual patents issued, inalienable as before. Judge Moore and I, in company with Mr. Lewis, the law adviser of the Mission Indians, took an extensive tour through Southern California, visiting the greater part of the villages of Indians, holding councils with them, inquiring into their needs, learning about intruders, ascertaining the amount of valuable land occupied by Indians, ascertaining the boundaries of land, etc. The Indians are deeply interested in our work. They, as a rule, want more land than can possibly be obtained for them at this late day, when nearly all good land is secured to whites; and their desires, as is natural, outrun their actual needs. The story of their expulsion from their homes, and the numerous wrongs inflicted upon them, was very touching. We hope by the 1st of February to finish the principal part of our work. It is impossible to please all the Indians, as they, as a rule, want more land than they can use profitably. We shall endeavor to secure a home for all, trying not to pauperize them, but giving them a chance to go to work and earn their living under the protection of law, hoping they may in time become valuable citizens of the State.

Miss Kate Foote was then asked to speak on the same subject.

MISS FOOTE. — The first teaching that the Indian needs is that he has got to work and earn his own living; and the white man has got to learn that he must respect the rights of the Indian. The people of California look upon all persons who insist that the Indian has rights as Eastern sentimentalists. You have heard from what Mr. Smiley has said that he does not take the sentimental view with the Indian, nor with the white man, either.

MRS. A. S. QUINTON. — I have just visited the Mission Indians, and should like to speak of what I saw if there were time. I first went to the government school at Coahuilla, where Mrs. Salsberry is teacher, and saw there, as in other schools, a clear solution of the educational Indian question. The teachers were competent, earnest, and Christian, and were doing their work in a true missionary spirit. And they were not only teachers, friends, and advisers of the pupils, but of the people as well, having special influence and success in temperance work. There had been a great change in this matter at Coahuilla; for, though a feast had been in progress for some days, there had been little drinking, and the Indians were quiet, and glad to see new friends, and seemed eager to hear of new work and new ideas. They were deeply interested in the new commission, and seemed to feel that they should really get their lands. They had too

large ideas of the amount needed, though one cannot reasonably sympathize with the gentleman who thought five acres enough for any Indian family. If an alfalfa patch for keeping a pony and a cow, a garden, orchard, and enough to earn a suit of clothing and a little pin-money, to say nothing of bread, are granted, five acres will not suffice. We visited the homes and saw the people in them, and found them more civilized and comfortable than we had expected; while the maps and drawings of the children showed good work and ambitions. The captain of the village was a man of pleasant face, and seemed to have aspirations for himself and for his people. The houses were of adobe, some in a tumble-down state. A great deal of moral instruction is needed. There is much gambling among them. This vice is hard to eradicate, and especially so from the fact that many whites among them are given to it. Mrs. Salsberry is doing all that she can for the people; and a new industrial teacher has now been appointed, who is doing good work among the women and girls. We visited Agua Caliente and its hot sulphur springs, and saw that these are coveted by white men. Some of these would gladly open a sanitarium there, and have tried to get possession of the land. A hospital for the Indians should be built at that point, though it need not be an expensive building. These Indians would use a hospital, and there is kind feeling between them and the teachers and our own workers among the Mission Indians. We attended one of their councils, and heard them discuss the land question, and the case of white intruders among them, very intelligently. They did not look savage nor speak like savages, but were calm, and, as our Chairman prefers, gave facts and let others draw the conclusions. The Indian women gladly heard of our work and asked questions, and with emphasis asked for another interview, which was promised them. There is here an excellent opening for the work of a government field matron, who could have a motherly eye over the region, and supplement in many ways the work that is going on for Indian help. Among others we saw a woman more than a hundred years old; and the pathetic interview impressed us greatly with the need of a home where the old, who have no surviving kindred, may find shelter, food, and care. The civilization of the Indians has not yet reached the point of providing for these. There was a closing festival at this school, a most interesting occasion, and one provided for by the teacher, Mrs. Babbitt. One could see the discouragements of the work, and also that the teacher is, and must be, its Christian heroine.

We visited Pechanga, and met the teacher of the Temeculas in the holiday of the school, in the pretty cañon a mile or two beyond. The picnic was in progress, though its feast was over, when word came that the new school-house which they had occupied through the year was burned to the ground. It was also the home of the teacher, Mrs. Platt; and her furniture, supplies, books, pictures, and all the little treasures which a woman's heart loves to gather were destroyed, leaving her not even a change of raiment. Yet she led the festival to its close, and was the smiling central figure in its photograph, and bravely kept her composure till, running over the list of losses, she said, "I shall never see the pictures of my husband and children again." Then a little sob escaped. But she soon rallied, and bore

herself as though no disaster had befallen her. It was feared that this loss would close the school, but Agent Rust assured all that it would be continued. It was a privilege, indeed, to promise effort for restoring some, at least, of the clothing burned, and to remind the teacher that she and her work had many friends.

Other schools were visited, and at Rincon, La Jolla, Saboba, and Potrero good work has been done in the government schools. The trip of seven and a half months, from Florida to California, Washington, and Colorado, gave the pleasure of organizing thirty new societies and bands of helpers for our association,—thirteen of these were in California,—besides opening the way for several new missions and beginning work for and in three new stations. Scores of public meetings were addressed, and much interest in our work was expressed and large aid was pledged for it.

President GATES.—When our ancestors, the Teutonic savages, held their councils, they used to call in the wise women for suggestions, and then, after they had heard the words of the wise women, they appropriated their wise plans, and forthwith announced what they, as men, were going to do. I am inclined to think that we can get some good suggestions in that way. I do not believe this suggestion about a hospital at Agua Calientes is going to be dropped. Is there not some one here who will see that such a much-needed and inexpensive hospital is established?

Rev. J. J. Gravatt, of Hampton, was the next speaker. The following is an abstract of his remarks :—

Mr. GRAVATT.—I am here on account of my interest in the Indian cause. The oldest church now in use in this country is at Hampton. The first Indian child baptized in this country was baptized in that parish. After all these years, after all the Indians have been driven away, they are now being brought back to learn Christian civilization there. Fourteen years ago, when word came to Hampton that Indians were to be received there, I was asked to take part in that mission, and what I have done in connection with it has been one of the sweetest parts of my pastoral work. In public I instruct them, and tell them to come to me if they want to become communicants in the church and surrender themselves to Christian life. They come of their own accord. I do not have to urge upon them the claim of Christian living. Some of the most touching experiences have come to me from these boys and girls who have come to me to seek the truth. There are at Hampton now one hundred and forty Indians. We are trying to teach hand and heart as well as the head there. We are working on the line that Mr. Meserve has marked out. In summer some of the boys go to Massachusetts for work. Several graduates are getting large pay as assistants in important positions in Boston, having learned their trades at Hampton; and at the agencies in the West there are those who have gone out and are doing good work. Within the last fourteen years I have made several visits to the West to bring pupils East. I find the majority of those in the field who have been with us are doing very well. As

compared with the graduates of other schools, I think the balance is on the side of the Indian.

Something has been said about the trouble in Dakota. The only young man who was engaged in that trouble, who had been in the Eastern schools, was a youth who had spent a few weeks at Hampton. He had married Sitting Bull's daughter, and went with him into the trouble. One of the best records of modern times was the behavior of the Christian Indians during that trouble. The work at the West and the work at the East are one. We get a better class than ever before for the Eastern schools. They have been at school before, either at the day schools or the boarding schools of the West. The teachers and missionaries are in hearty sympathy with the work done here, and are sending those to us who can take a better and higher training than can be given there. I want to bear testimony to the hard, earnest work done by the missionaries on the different reservations. If it were not for what they accomplish, we could not do our work as well as we do. As to health, for two years we have not had a death at Hampton among the Indians. I do not believe you could find one hundred and forty pupils in the West on any reservation where there had not been one death in two years. We passed through the epidemic of the grip with no death and no serious results. We look forward to far better and higher results than we have yet attained.

Mr. Herbert Welsh, a Sioux Indian of the Hampton School, was invited to speak. The following is an abstract of his remarks:—

Mr. WELSH.—Once there was a boy, not quite ten years old, who use to like to ride ponies, to go hunting, and to run with the dogs. When he was fifteen years old, he went to a school for one year. Then for six years he was doing nothing. On the seventh year he went to school again. When he gets through his schooling, he wants to go back and help his people in any way he can. Who is this boy? Here he is standing before you. I want to say something about the work that is carried on at Hampton by General Armstrong and the good women. They believe and trust in God, and that is the reason they like to do the work they are doing. Their school is improving all the time, and I think everybody ought to try to make it better. I will tell you what I think about the future. If I go home, I shall tell people what a good thing it is to go to school and learn. I think they can make good and useful men out of those Indians who are growing up. It is now over two hundred and eighty-four years since you white people came across the ocean to this continent. You found these poor, ignorant people here. Some of the first white settlers tried to help the Indians. Those who did good to the Indians were successful in all their doings. We are thankful to all people who have helped us. Some of my people are trying to climb the ladder of civilization and Christianity; but, as you all know, that is extremely difficult. I belong to the Sioux tribe, Standing Rock Agency, North Dakota. It is five years since I became a Christian. I went to the school at Yankton under the charge of Bishop Hare, but it is only three years since I began to learn the English language. I want to be a missionary among my people.

President GATES.—The interest of the Conference will not be less in this young man if you understand that he is the son of Little Foot, and that Sitting Bull was his uncle. You see the new spirit that has come in.

Lieutenant W. W. Wotherspoon was asked to speak of the Apaches in his care.

THE APACHE PRISONERS OF WAR.

BY LIEUT. W. W. WOTHERSPOON.

You have heard much this morning about good Indians. I can only speak of the bad ones. I am in charge of Geronimo's band of Apaches. This band for years kept the southern border of Arizona and New Mexico in a frenzy of fright. The very name of Geronimo was feared. After years and years of campaigning and hunting over the mountains, these people were surrendered to General Miles. They were carried to St. Augustine, Fla. Some were sent to Fort Pickens. Here they were left in the casemates until their health was destroyed, and many were dying of nostalgia and consumption. The seeds of the latter disease had probably been planted right at that sanitarium. Later they were moved to Mount Vernon Barracks in Alabama. This post had been long used as a health resort for the United States troops stationed along the Gulf Coast in years of yellow fever epidemics; but they made little progress towards civilization.

I was sent for by the Secretary of War in May, 1890, and asked if I would take charge of these people. He said a number of methods had been tried, but with no great success. He now wanted to try business methods. When I reached Mount Vernon June, 1890, I found the people in a deplorable state. They had been promised this and that, and had lived upon the hope of getting away until their hearts were sick. They thought at one time that they were to go to the mountains of North Carolina, at another to the West, and again to their old reservations. I knew there was no hope of any such change. I therefore stopped all council talk, conversation, and discussion of this subject, and told them their business in life was to work, and work like white men; that, when they worked, they would get something for it, they would earn money. I told them that what money they earned they could spend as they wished,—foolishly if they wanted to, wisely if they followed advice. Many of them were hired out, some cutting cord wood, others working on roads and farms, some cutting saw-logs. They made considerable money; and, though much of this money was spent foolishly, the change was very marked. They were becoming cheerful and bright. During the summer the death-rate had been very high. They had been dying at the rate of ten, twelve, and fifteen a month. They had had no surgeon detailed for their special care, and there can be little doubt that the high death-rate was due in some measure to the general despondency and absence of this special care. In time I was furnished with a doctor.

Under his care and the brighter outlook the death-rate soon fell to only one or two per month; and consumption, which had been making such ravages, has almost disappeared. The people about Mount Vernon said it was useless to try to make these Indians work; that they might have the endurance to go upon forays and expeditions, but that they would never settle down to hard work. However, I employed them in cutting wood and on other work. They made houses and learned the rudiments of carpentry. At first I had to use such tools as we could borrow or make. Later I bought them tools. In the use of these they soon showed considerable skill. This summer they have completed the building of a village for themselves, consisting of eighty houses. The village is laid off in regular streets, with a plaza in the centre. The houses are of frame, with flooring, shingled roofs, etc. Each house has two rooms, a chimney with an open fireplace in one room, and a flue for a cooking stove in the other. All these houses they have built entirely themselves. They have had no other assistance than that of a foreman, who directed them in the laying out of the sills and in such work as only a skilled carpenter could do. Thus they have learned the use of hammers, adzes, and saws. They are now building barracks for the Indian soldiers. This building is 224 feet long and 24 feet wide. They are building this under the supervision of the same foreman. Two or three of the Indians became so skilful in the use of carpenter tools that they could earn two and three dollars a day. They were hired out to a man to work with white and Negro carpenters, but the whites and Negroes struck because they would not work with the Indians. I asked this person to let me supply the places of the strikers with Indians,—that they could do the work. He consented, and the Indians completed the work. This is a creditable showing for people who were not thought capable of settling down to hard work.

The question of Indian education has been the prominent subject of discussion this morning. I am simply a soldier. My business has been in campaigns against these and other Indians for years. I have, however, my views upon the subject. I am convinced that there is a system of education applicable to the older people as well as a system for the young. Such a system must precede their becoming citizens or useful members of society. The training of the mind, as applied to the children and young people, cannot with advantage be applied to those more advanced in years. To them is left only the training of the hand with such mental training as they are capable of. The education of the more mature Indians must therefore be to work,—with the tools of the mechanic if he can, with those of the laborer if he is only so far capable. Teach them that labor is honorable, and that there is nothing they cannot do. I have laid it down as a principle with my people that there is nothing they cannot do, and have found it to their advantage. Teach them thus, and you will raise them to be self-respecting and self-sustaining men. Eventually, you will raise and fit them to be the citizens that we must make them.

Some reference has been made to the Indians as soldiers. I have the honor to command the largest Indian company in the United States service. There are seventy-eight Indians in this company. Four of them are non-commissioned officers. Two of these non-



commissioned officers are graduates of Carlisle, having been under Captain Pratt. The other two are such wild, red-eyed Apaches as chased the United States cavalry over the plains a few years ago. The two men who came from Carlisle are doing splendid work. The two wild Apaches are as noble specimens of the Indian race as I have ever seen. They give all their commands in English, and are in every way catching up with the boys from Carlisle. I think in time they will be as good. The company is being organized into five groups, each group to be under the instruction of a white sergeant, and all to be under the supervision of another officer of the company and myself. A large percentage of the men have learned to read and write. Many can now sign the muster rolls as well as the majority of white recruits. They will all go to school twice each week, and I hope will eventually learn to read and write and keep their accounts. I think the Apache is about the most intelligent of our Indians. Geronimo, that great terror, is now acting as justice of the peace in the Indian village. I debated this question of law among the Indians for a long time in my own mind. I had taken hold of this work totally unprepared for such a thing. My duty had been to serve against the Indians rather than for them; but, the more I thought of it, the more I was convinced that an Indian should understand something about the laws of the country, not only that he might not violate them, but that he should understand his own rights under those laws. After a great deal of care I decided to make Geronimo my justice of the peace, and I find his decisions are eminently wise, acute, and to the point. He has an excellent influence over the other Indians, and more than fulfils my expectations. I may say that, among other duties, he has to see that the old ladies keep their houses clean.

Question by a DELEGATE.—Can any of these enlisted men hope to become commissioned officers?

Lieut. WOTHERSPOON.—Yes, any enlisted man who has been a non-commissioned officer for a certain time and who can pass the prescribed examination.

Among other things I wanted to teach the Indians was music. I had heard that an Indian could not become a bugler. I have now two young buglers who are among the best buglers in the army. They sound all the calls, and play all the marches and quicksteps. After the Indian soldier has cut his long hair and is well dressed, he is a very fine-looking person. He looks much more respectable than the average citizen of Alabama in our parts, and is really as intelligent.

President GATES.—Are you a Southern man, Lieutenant Wother-spoon?

Lieut. WOTHERSPOON.—Yes, I am. I was speaking, however, of the "Cageons" (supposed to be a contraction of Arcadians), who live only in the forests of Alabama, Louisiana, and a part of Georgia. I think there is no doubt that the system of enlisting Indians as soldiers for the regular army will be a most beneficial thing, not only to the United States, but to the Indians themselves; but, to make it a benefit to either, the Indian must be kept away from bar-rooms and canteens. I have given orders that under no circumstances shall my men go near drinking saloons or the canteen; and I have not had a case of drunkenness or partial intoxication, neither have I had

a case of insubordination, an act of disobedience, or a breach of discipline in five months. My men are handsome, well set up, obedient, and perfectly reliable soldiers. What! you may ask, do you put arms into the hands of these blood-thirsty savages? Yes, they have guns and they have cartridges, and no evil results have followed. It has been said that the enlistment of Indians as regular soldiers is not a success. In connection with this, a point of great interest to me has been the question of how to suppress the sale of liquor to these people. I have said that I believe the system of enlistment can only be beneficial when the Indian is kept away from saloons and canteens. When I took these people in charge, it was the most common thing for the Indians to be drunk or semi-drunk. They would injure their wives and beat their children and fight with each other. They were not worse than the Negroes or whites, but just like them when suffering from the same complaint. I undertook to stop this sale of liquor, and came North to look into the law and to consult with Captain Pratt. I found there was a law that would help me. The law says that any man who sells liquor to any Indian in the Indian country shall be punished. The Supreme Court has decided that any country is Indian country where Indians are held under an agent or superintendent appointed by the President, hence I am an agent or superintendent and the Apaches are in the Indian country. The most prominent white people about Mount Vernon were dealers in liquor. I warned them that I would have them arrested if they did not cease their sales to Indians. They did not pay any attention. So I had them all arrested, brought before the United States grand jury, and eventually before Judge Tolman in the United States District Court. Every point of law was in my favor, and they were sent to prison for three months in the heat of the Alabama summer, at an expense, with fines and costs, to their purses of about a thousand dollars each. They assure me now that they are reformed men, and that never again will they sell whiskey to Indians.

There is another point about the law and the Indian,—about the Indian understanding his rights under the law. Two months ago thirty-eight Indians were sent to me from Fort Wingate, N.M., as prisoners of war. The newspapers said they were terrible creatures, that the agents could not manage them, etc. They came to me, and a more mild-mannered and worse-dressed lot of people I never saw. After a few days' rest they were put to work cutting logs to build themselves houses. One day I asked one of them what he had been sent to Mount Vernon for. He said he had not the faintest idea. How true this may be I do not know, but the point is that he claims that there was no form of law in his case. He was not told who were the witnesses against him nor confronted with any witnesses. He claims that he only knows that he was taken away from his home and people, put in the guard-house at Fort Wingate, and then brought to Mount Vernon. This may have been a military necessity,—I do not know; but is it right, as this man claims was done in his case, to try any man in this country without giving him a hearing?

I suppose you all know that the status of the Apaches is unique in

our country at this time. This is the only tribe that is now exclusively under the control of the War Department. I should like to bespeak your patience that that department may carry out the schemes it hopes to follow.

President GATES.—What a clear-cut and soldierly presentation of facts that was! Lieutenant Wotherspoon ought never to be allowed to get out of relations with the Indians. It reminds me of the most stimulating talk I ever heard on the Indians, by General Milroy, at the first Conference I ever attended. Just as he got that splendid system of administration of law for Indians, in which he took the chief man and made him feel the responsibility and put him at the head, he got word that his place was wanted by a local Senator for a friend, and he was put out, and the whole thing went backward, and slipped away until there is nothing left but a tradition. We must have civil service regulations in the Indian service.

Mr. A. K. SMILEY.—We once held a council with Geronimo, and I was greatly impressed with the power of the man. Lieutenant Brown told me that he is the ablest man he ever met, of any color. Geronimo had charge of the Sunday-school down there, and he made a good Sunday-school superintendent.

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Night, October 7.

The Conference was called to order at eight o'clock, the President in the chair. The report of the Law Committee was called for.

Mr. PHILIP C. GARRETT.—I can hardly say that I am prepared to make a report from the Law Committee. My colleagues, Professor Thayer and Mr. Austin Abbott, have not agreed upon any report. I shall, therefore, only introduce the subject of the legal status of the Indian, that it may be discussed by those who shall follow me. I wish, however, first to submit extracts from letters from these two gentlemen. Professor J. B. Thayer writes as follows, concerning the substance of a bill which they propose: "I doubt if anything can be devised which is much simpler and will cover the objective ground. But I will heartily agree to referring all questions of that sort to any proper body. What we want is *something* that will accomplish the object named. We will not quarrel with anybody about the details."

Mr. Austin Abbott writes: "It appears to me that we should frame three bills,—one on the rights of Indians as citizens and the law applicable to them, one on the local Indian courts, leaving the clauses as to establishment of a system of circuits to form a third bill,—and press them altogether. This is a general indication only, for I have not the bill with me. The most important matter of all is the subjection to legal administration of the Indian funds, and consequent regulation of agencies; but this I do not think we can accomplish without first making progress with the others."

Mr. Garrett then read the following paper:—

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE INDIAN.

BY PHILIP C. GARRETT.

The Law Committee have not been together as a committee since the last Conference, and have not, as a committee, come to any new conclusions. It may safely be said that a majority of them, if not all of them, are as fully convinced as ever of the need of legislative action to provide law and courts for the Indians on the reservations.

The subject hangs fire, in the absence of any counter-proposition, free from the alleged objections to the bill drafted by Professor Thayer, and modified by your committee, as then constituted, after consultation with various legal authorities and with the Law Committee of th

Indian Rights Association. They would welcome modification, curtailment, elimination, substitution, anything that will effect the purpose, even if it comes short of what seems to them to be needed. To take no step, because Congress does not see the way to take a long step, is not the only alternative. We are giving the Indians education, they are becoming more and more civilized, yet are left without the one great distinguishing characteristic of civilized communities, respect and obedience to law, because they are deprived of the law to respect and obey. That is withheld from them. Continual illustrations arise of the necessity of some provision. The Commissioner urges it, in his report just published. The country awaits with growing impatience the needed legislation.

It seems to us that the powers of Courts of Indian Offences might be enlarged, defined by law and the courts in some way definitely legalized by Act of Congress, not simply recognized by tacit inference from appropriations for their support; that the duties of United States courts might reasonably be extended on the reservations, either by enabling them to delegate their powers in certain cases to court commissioners or providing for sessions of the court itself at points on the reservations; and, finally, that appeals to the Supreme Court might be granted, and there would then be provision for civilized justice to the Indians, which practically there is not now. As for details, these should be such as are essential to justice and no more, and may safely be left, perhaps, to development in the progressive stages of legislation. But, whatever bill is enacted, it should not be a crude bill, because, even if its operation is somewhat temporary, it is to last during a transition which will be prolonged, perhaps, over fifty years.

We submit herewith the answers received to the five questions sent out last year. They are too voluminous to read at length. Of those tabulated, fifty-two in number, twenty-six — exactly half — were from Indian agents, and the remainder from teachers and others in the Indian service, with very few exceptions. There are five answers received since, of which three are from agents. If there are any official prejudices on the part of the agents in favor of the existing order or otherwise, these should be taken into the account. To the first four questions we give simply the affirmative and negative replies here, and some of these have to be inferred from the context. From six respondents there is no information, and from others none on some points, which will account for the vacancies in the number of the answers in these cases. To the first question, "Is there practically a different law for the Indian from that for the white man, in the field with which you are familiar?" ten answer Yes, and thirty-six No. Of the agents, four answer Yes, and twenty-four No. To the second inquiry, whether the Court of Indian Offences affords reasonably convenient and fair justice to the Indian, twenty-two answer Yes, and seven No. Of the agents, fifteen answered Yes, and two No. To the third query, whether the distance of the United States courts from any considerable Indian settlement involves a denial of justice, there are fifteen affirmative and twenty-four negative replies; and to the fourth, whether Indians having land in severalty have adequate remedy in cases of trespass, fourteen affirmative and ten negative. It will be

observed that the conclusions of the agents are the same as those of the other classes of respondents and in larger majority. The answers are not so unanimous as one could wish, especially to the last two, which are perhaps less important in their bearing on our conclusions than the first two. As to the latter, the great preponderance of opinion is (1) that, practically, there is not a different law for the Indian from the white man's; and (2) that the Courts of Indian Offences afford a reasonably good chance for justice. The meaning of answers to the first probably is that the Indian has *as good* or as fair treatment at the hands of the law (such law as there is) as the white race; for the respondents are not most of them very accurate and discriminating in these matters, if we may judge from their letters.

If so, the answer to the first question is tantamount to that to the second. There is, then, a slender basis, at least, for law in these Indian courts, which have the further merit of educating the Indians in the rudiments of a knowledge of courts of law, as conducted in civilized countries. And of this I will speak again after referring to the answers to the fifth query, "What, if any, further provisions of law do you desire to suggest as necessary to secure equal justice between Indians and between whites and Indians?" From this we do not derive as nutritious a crop of ideas as we might hope.

One suggests "alfalfa seed" and "iron fences," another that we "civilize the white man," another "education." Eight of the agents think there is law enough; six of them have no suggestion to make; one says there are no changes practicable. Eleven of them, however, and ten others make suggestions. A number of these, like the three cited above, are somewhat irrelevant, while others are indicative of legislation which might prove of value. One sums his suggestions up in the proposition that we should make citizens of them; a second, that the whole reservation system and the Indian Department should be abolished; a third, that they should be given the same law as the whites; a fourth, that the Dawes bill should be so amended as to allow Indians to sell timber on lands patented to them; a fifth, that there should be some provision for divorce between Indians, fixing the grounds for it. Then one thinks there should be no change till the Indians know more, but that capital offences should be turned over to the sheriff to be tried in the district court of the county where the reservation is. Another proposes a United States Magistrates' Court, sitting every three months. And other propositions are that the law should compel trials for murder to be held within a given time (which would perhaps be a good thing everywhere); that cases should be tried regardless of the cost to the government; that the government, and not counties, should pay all the expenses of trial; that penalties provided for Indians should be the same as the State law provides for whites; that Indians should enjoy all the rights of white men; that they should be naturalized and made citizens; that they should be put under the white man's law, except as to land; that Indians should be made competent witnesses; that all tribal laws should be abolished; that the government should pay the cost of trial of all who commit crimes against Indians; that the respondent has found the appointment of a United States deputy marshal and a

United States commissioner at points near the settlements beneficial ; that United States Commissioners should be given the jurisdiction of a justice of the peace ; that the powers of the Courts of Indian Offences should be better defined by law ; to establish courts of justices of the peace to try minor offences ; that the Courts of Indian Offences should be recognized as courts of justices of the peace, and that the Indians be given special United States attorneys to defend them. Here is abundance of suggestion, much of it raw and made by those who know little of law themselves, some of it of local application and from interested motives, but conveying the impression that many workers in the field are sensible, no less than those who view the subject from a distance, and even from theoretical standpoints, of a crying need for some means of obtaining justice on the reservations, more searching and effectual than the present exiguous provisions. I am not prepared to advocate, either for myself or on behalf of the Law Committee, legislation to remedy all the defects that may exist among the Indians, any more than all those that exist in the rest of the country. The question put in the *Red Man* recently, "Who are the savages?" is, perhaps, pertinent in this particular. Is it the comparatively orderly community among which lady missionaries and teachers live in peace and safety? or is it the white men who flay Negroes alive, hang them to the nearest tree, or shoot them down in swamps without even knowing that their victim is the guilty party? There are terrible evils elsewhere than among the Indians that need legislation. But that is no reason why we should not legislate courts for the Indians at once. The committee, then, think that what is known as the Thayer Bill practically represents what is needed. If the eminent legislators who have considered it see insurmountable practical objections to it in its present form, my own opinion is that the defects should be remedied and the draft modified. Why not first pass a law, and that immediately, declaring the Indians entitled to all the protections, privileges, and immunities of law provided for other residents not citizens of the United States? That much they are surely entitled to, nor do I find any authorities who regard such a step as impracticable or unconstitutional.

Then let the Courts of Indian Offences be improved, as educators of the Indian, if nothing more. But they are worth more. We have heard the testimony of Lieutenant Wotherspoon to the merits of Geronimo as a justice of the peace. The Commissioner's reports bear further evidence. In his report for 1890 he uses this language: "The services rendered by the court are of such value in promoting good order and good morals in the community, as well as in familiarizing Indians with the customs, practices, and ideas which they will hereafter meet in white communities, that courts ought to be established for nearly every agency." Why not, then, enlarge their powers, increase the compensation of the judges, provide for their instruction in the law, and add to the list of offences over which they are now given jurisdiction?

The further provisions for giving the Indians law I will leave to be discussed by the able lawyer who is to follow me. I would suggest, however, that the former draft be submitted to Justice Strong for his suggestion of such modifications as may make it acceptable to

the Senate, or that a new draft be made by some member of the Senate Committee, accomplishing the purpose sought, if it can be done, by a simple process or in a shorter bill.

If Senator Dawes were not here to speak for himself, I would refer more at length to legislation suggested by him, modifying the policy hitherto pursued towards the Indians, allowing, for instance, the leasing of part of the Indians' land to white men, who shall, in part compensation, break up the Indians' land contiguous to their leased land; also allowing Dakotas, to whom grazing lands have been allotted, to exchange them for farming lands on the public domain. But the Senator is here to speak for himself.

After all, is there not deeper cutting necessary before these scattered remnants of a former sovereignty attain their full manhood? Legislation is approaching it. The decisions of the Supreme Court are nearing it. Mr. Hornblower, in his recent interesting address before the Bar Association, says, "In *U. S. v. Kagama*, 118 U. S. 475, it was held that, while the government of the United States has recognized in the Indian tribes heretofore a state of semi-independence and pupilage, it has the right, instead of controlling them by treaties, to govern them by Acts of Congress, because they are within the geographical limits of the United States, and are necessarily subject to the laws," etc. And again: "The court has even gone so far as to hold that Congress can provide for naturalizing any of the Indians." And: "The right of Congress to regulate the legal status of the Indian having been thus so fully and clearly enunciated by the court of last resort, the question is pertinent whether the time has not arrived for Congress to take such steps as will put an end, at once and forever, to any such rights of independence or *quasi*-independence as will justify any tribe, or so-called nation, in levying war against the United States." That is, to put an end to the tribes, at once and forever, as one may freely construe it, and declare that henceforth all Indians are simply residents of the United States, and must obey the laws, or be subject to the penalties, like all other residents. Do the treaties stand in the way,—the old existing treaties, which provide that certain sums are to be paid to the tribe forever? But what would happen if the tribe, through the delay of wise legislation, became extinct? Forever would then come to a sudden end for them. Suppose a man left a thousand dollars to his favorite horse, to be paid to him annually forever. Would his executor be abused for violation of his trust for stopping his payment when the horse died? But capitalize your annuities, and then you do the Indians some justice, while you comply with the terms of your bond. Then you give them the benefit of the treaty, truly: whereas, if the tribe died, it would cease to bind the United States, and the Indians would forever lose the benefit. When the white man first set foot upon this soil, it was natural to recognize the nations which occupied it as nations *de facto*. That day has long since passed, and civilization spread from sea to sea. Civilization is better than barbarism; and we offer it, on equal terms, to our brother, the red man, who then becomes again once more the possessor of the soil, being joint owner with us from Passamaquoddy Bay to the Pacific and the Gulf. Let us entreat him to come back to his own.

At the close of his paper Mr. Garrett stated that Mr. F. J. Stimson, who had been mainly instrumental in drafting the Thayer bill, had come from Boston, to present a paper on that subject. Mr. Stimson then read the following paper :—

LAW FOR THE INDIAN.

BY F. J. STIMSON.

Law seems to many a barren subject: it is as the dry bones of civilized life,—lacking in human interest, though the framework of all society. We are apt, with all our interest in the flesh and blood, in the beauty, intelligence, goodness, of the result, in our care for the personality, to forget the skeleton on which the body politic, as well as the body personal, must depend. But without these “dry bones” no body can grow straight or strong. Now, the Indian body politic yet has no such skeleton,—no framework; and we lawyers feel that before you get his limbs strong or his brain active, or give his body and brain the civic duties of a man,—before you fill him out to citizenship,—you must have his spine straight.

You know how, briefly, his present condition in this respect may be stated,—that, as a general principle, he has no law, nor courts, nor even recognition as a human being. The courts tell us on the one hand:—

“The Indians do not constitute a foreign state, so as to claim the right to sue in the Supreme Court of the United States; and yet, in the management of their internal concerns, they are dependent on no power. They punish offences under their own laws, and in so doing they are responsible to no earthly tribunal.” They make war, and are not punished: they may (now) acquire property, and are not protected in it; yet they are still termed “wards of the nation.” Like all wards, they may not make contracts; while, on the other hand, we are rapidly pressing upon these wards their inheritance,—pressing it upon them without training in the duties or knowledge of the rights of citizenship, or the skill and habit of protecting their inheritance when they have got it; without giving them any courts—the civilized instruments of such protection—if they had the necessary knowledge. Now, it is true there is a difference of opinion as to the legal rights of the Indian when we give him this inheritance; but, in all earnestness, I do not know which view is the worse for this unfortunate “heir.” By the one view,—which, I am bound to say, is held by most lawyers,—the Indian, as he gets his 160 acres of land, is living on a kind of Tom Tiddler’s ground,—in a place which is not yet a civil state, but has ceased to belong to the reservation; with neither municipal law nor courts. By the other view, he has suddenly changed his sovereignty to a remote State government, which has not given, and will not give, him its courts and laws, though in theory entitled to them. This latter, I believe, is the view entertained by the Indian Bureau. But you will note two things; first, that no

amount of opinion or custom in an executive branch of government will of course stand against the first word of a decision of a United States court; second, that the very fact of this difference of view shows in what a fundamental state of wretched confusion and uncertainty this basic question of Indian civilization remains, and we are suffering it still to remain, by non-action on these points of law and courts.

And, if the second view be the correct one, the last state of our Indian is worse than his first. For we are informed that the States usually deny their courts to the Indians. As he pays no taxes, they will not give him even their justice. He cannot enforce witnesses to attend, nor pay for civic process, nor get fair juries. And, finally, we know too well that the people of the States or Territories surrounding the reservation have commonly been the Indian's worst friends, most unfair judges, and most corrupt masters.

Furthermore, remember, we have all the vast majority of reservations which are not thrown open, and have no law nor courts, in either view. Now, as to the statement so often made,—that the reservation is gone, that the system is vanished, and therefore we need no longer send our "heir" to school, for he has already got his estate. The number of allotments in four and a half years, under the severalty act, has been 12,752. At that rate, Professor Thayer tells me, from thirty to sixty years will be required to wind up the Indian problem and make the last "ward of the nation" a citizen. Is that too short a time to consider? And, if it were, and thirty years hence were only ten, shall we not try in those ten years to train the ward against the so rapidly approaching time of his majority? We want laws and courts, not only to protect the Indian when he has become a citizen, but to train him how to be a citizen.

We cannot longer postpone this question. We must begin to train Indians still on reservations to citizenship; and we must provide protection for the Indians on those that are being thrown open. The severalty act gave the Indian his heritage. It went three-fourths of the way. But we must go the last quarter, too. We must train him for it, and protect him in it when he has got it. The cry for action is going up outside this conference, all over the land. If Congress does not act, somebody will, and may do it wrongly. The wrong authorities may assume jurisdiction if they have it not. I read in the Boston *Herald* of September 28th this year that a judge in Oklahoma has just taken jurisdiction, under habeas corpus, of an Indian boy placed in the government Indian school, and ordered him removed from the school and restored to his father. I read from the *Herald*:—

"Judge Greene of the district court of the Territory of Oklahoma, in his opinion, took the ground that the right of a parent to the custody of his children belonged to the Indian as well as to the white man."

"Commissioner Morgan says that it is contrary to the tendency of all recent Indian legislation, inasmuch as it fails to recognize the true status of an Indian, which is that of a ward of the nation. . . . He believes that Congress should enact a law explicitly defining the status of Indians, and will make a recommendation to this effect in his next annual report."

And at the late meeting of the American Bar Association, after an earnest and unanimous discussion, it was resolved, —

That it is the opinion of the convention that the United States should furnish, at the earliest possible moment, courts and a system of law for the Indians.

And Messrs. H. H. Hitchcock of St. Louis, William B. Hornblower of New York, and Professor James B. Thayer of Massachusetts were appointed a committee to urge the matter before Congress and the President. In the discussion of that resolution — I wish I had time to reproduce all that was said — lawyers from all parts of the country, representing every shade of opinion as to the Indian question, in general, agreed on the point that the first thing necessary to prepare the Indians for their duties as landholders and citizens was to give them some law and impartial courts. Mr. Hornblower read a paper on "The Legal Status of the Indian," in which he said, "Let us enact laws suitable for the present situation, and place the legal status of the Indian upon a rational and practical basis."

Mr. Thayer called attention to that decision in South Dakota which acquainted the Indians with their exemption from punishment in killing officers of the United States army. "They ought to be disabused of this idea. The Indians ought to be protected in their just rights, however. There were no courts in the reservations, and only seven crimes were recognized as among themselves. It was now clearly declared that the United States has full power of government over the Indians, whether in the reservations or in the States. The conclusion of Mr. Hornblower was sound, — that the United States establish a system of law and of courts in their reservations. The Indians had no redress but war. If they had courts, they would resort to them."

John B. Sanborn, of Minnesota, said, if the government would establish courts, and give Indians the same rights in them as white men, it would go far toward solving the Indian question.

Judge Peabody, of New York, and Alfred Russell, of Michigan, spoke in favor of the resolution. D. S. Troy, of Alabama, said that a few Indians still remained in the Everglades of Florida who continued to hold their slaves. The chief of these Indians held that the slaves in his kingdom had never been freed because no special law as regarded the Indians had been passed!

Judge John F. Dillon, of New York, closing the debate, said, whatever might be the state of savagery in our Indian, he was a man. He had dwindled away until he was a mere remnant. It was the sacred duty of the federal government to protect the Indian. It was his misfortune that, in any dispute involving the right of the Indian, there was no tribunal to which he could bring his complaint. Indian outbreaks were the result of non-performance of treaty stipulations. The resolution could be safely passed.

Two most valuable articles, to which I earnestly commend the attention of this Conference, have been written by Professor Thayer, in the October and November numbers of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

You remember that the Thayer bill failed of immediate acceptance because its provisions were thought too complex. The difficulty arises from the vast extent of the territory to which the bill applies. It was thought impossible to get along with less than thirty or forty courts

for the reservations. A bill creating, say, forty minor judges — at an annual expense of some hundred thousand dollars, the whole of whose provisions, counting courts, law, and municipal government, are contained in a law the length of about three pages of the Revised Statutes — would not seem unduly long and complex, especially when you consider that it concerns the perpetual welfare of three hundred thousand people, for whom many millions of public money are now spent annually. Many suggestions have been made, and other and simpler bills prepared, but none other both comprehensive and satisfactory has yet been found. For instance, Mr. Austin Abbott and myself thought at first the subject might well be divided. Take, for example, this one of several drafts for bills prepared :—

I. STATUS OF THE INDIAN.—All Indians not citizens of the United States, whether residing on or off a reservation, are hereby declared entitled to the full protection and exemptions secured by the Constitution of the United States to persons other than such citizens; and especially they shall be entitled to the equal protection of the law, they may sue and be sued in all courts, and shall have full power to make contracts, and engage in any trade or business, *provided*, however, that such reasonable restraint as is necessary to the maintenance of the reservation system is not forbidden, nor shall this section work a repeal by implication of any laws which may be necessary to such reasonable restraint; and in particular it shall not, except as expressly provided, work a repeal of the following enumerated act or any part thereof, namely: The act of February eighth, eighteen hundred and eighty-seven, entitled an Act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians and for other purposes.

SECTION 2. LAW EXTENDED OVER RESERVATIONS.—The laws, both civil and criminal, existing at the time of the passage of this act or hereafter made, of the State or Territory in which any Indian reservation is situated, are hereby extended over every such reservation, so far as said laws are applicable, and not inconsistent herewith or with the laws of the United States heretofore enacted. And the laws, both civil and criminal, existing at such time or hereafter made of the State of Kansas are hereby extended over any Indian reservations situated in the Indian Territory, except as hereinafter specially excepted; and any person, Indian agent, officer of the United States, court or tribunal, undertaking to administer law or impose restraint upon Indians, or to settle disputes on questions of property, or contract or tort between Indians and white persons, shall be governed by said law of such State or Territory. But the President of the United States may, at any time within six months from the passage of this act, or within six months after a certification by the Court Commissioners of any such laws as prejudicial or inapplicable, by his veto of which proclamation shall be duly made, forbid the application to any such reservation of any such laws which he may deem prejudicial to the welfare of the Indians to be affected by the same, *provided* that this section shall not be construed to repeal Section 9 of the act of March second, eighteen hundred and eighty-five.

Surely, no one, in or out of Washington, will say that this simple

bill is not proper, just, and wholly necessary ; but the difficulty is that, if we so provide law without courts, it may open the door to State and Territory interference, or, rather, denial of justice. And, remembering our own history,—the Star Chamber Court of England and the Bill of Rights,—we well know that no law and no courts are almost better than a denial of justice, which would forever disgust the Indians with the very institution of civil justice itself. But I hope this Conference will give the matter its earnest thought, and end by agreeing with us of the American Bar Association that some bill should be passed by the next Congress, which shall, *first*, declare definitely what the civil status of the reservation Indian is; *second*, define and extend some system of law on both classes of reservations, whether in process of allotment in severalty or still in tribal ownership; and, lastly, give him some simple system of courts protected by the national government, in which he can trust, and by which he will be trained to enjoy and protect his coming heritage and his rights as a citizen. Let us at least go as far as to say: *Resolved*, That the Indian is legally a human being; *Resolved*, That he should enjoy the law of the land common to human beings; and, *Resolved*, That he should have just courts to enforce it.

DISCUSSION.

Senator H. L. Dawes was invited to open the discussion on the subject of law for the Indians.

Senator DAWES.—I am drafted into this service. I not only did not come here for the purpose of discussing this question, but I came with the firm resolve that I would not discuss it. Nothing has grieved me more than to be compelled to differ, as I do, upon the wisdom and the necessity of the measures indicated in the paper just read, with those of my fellow-citizens favoring these measures, who are just as earnest and just as honest and far more able than I am to devise proper measures in reference to the conduct of Indian affairs. But I have learned whatever I know in reference to what is best for the Indian in the field, and not in the closet. Serious responsibilities have been imposed on me with reference to Indians these late years; and I have been out to see where he lives and how he lives, and I have drawn such conclusions as I could from my observations and from experience as to what is best for the Indian to-day. I was exceedingly gratified when Professor Thayer, who has made this subject such a thorough study, procured from the American Bar Association a committee, of which he is chairman, to present his views to Congress. I sincerely hope that this Conference will join with him, and appoint the ablest committee they can select who will present to Congress the plans and methods which they think are not only wise, but absolutely necessary. And if, in the judgment of Congress, these methods are wise and necessary, I do hope and pray that they may become the law of the land, and bring what good they can to the Indian, or that those who believe in the wisdom of this measure shall be convinced that it is impracticable and impossible. At any rate, an end will come to debate on this subject, and our minds can be carried to practical work. If Congress is convinced that it is a

possibility and desirable, then I will take hold with what little energy and ability I may have to see to it that it gathers all the fruits that its friends claim it is capable of producing.

I have been quite astounded, however, to hear it said that the Indian is without law. It is a mistake, a sore mistake. General Whittlesey told you a little while ago that on the 8th of February, 1887, ten thousand Indians rose into the condition of the citizens of the United States, "clothed with all the rights, privileges, and immunities, and subject to all the obligations of citizens of the United States," and that since then fifteen thousand more have walked through that gate into the status of citizenship.

This was by a law of Congress which is charged with having left the Indian without law. Congress could hardly have been derelict, so far as this class of Indians is concerned, had it stopped there. For citizenship carries with it all the rights, all the protection, that you and I enjoy. But Congress went further, and declared expressly that "these Indians are citizens of the United States, and are entitled to *all* the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens." And then, to make it doubly sure, Congress repeated in the same statute "that, upon completion of said allotments and the patenting of the lands to said allottees, each and every member of the respective bands or tribes of Indians to whom allotments have been made shall have the benefit of and be subject to the laws, both civil and criminal, of the State or Territory in which they may reside, and no Territory shall pass or enforce any laws denying any such Indian within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law."

Is there anybody capable of putting language into a statute that will add to that? Every Indian in the United States has that door open to him to-day; and, if there is a friend of the Indian within the borders of the United States that can frame language stronger than that, let him bring it to Congress, and Congress will put it into the law. Probably one-third of all the Indians we have to deal with come under this broad shield of law. The number is increasing daily. The whole effort of the government, all benevolent effort, is aimed at preparing the remainder for this citizenship, and consequent protection of the law. More than \$2,000,000 was appropriated last year for that purpose. The remaining two-thirds—the reservation Indians—are decreasing in the same ratio. The whole system under which they are held is fast crumbling away. There are many among us who are for abolishing it at once.

But let us see what provision of law is made for the reservation Indian while he still remains the ward of the nation, and on his reservation. First, how is he treated criminally?

In 1885, by the ninth section of the Indian appropriation act, Congress made provisions for the punishment of certain crimes by Indians, as follows:—

That immediately upon and after the date of the passage of this act all Indians committing against the person or property of another Indian or other person any of the following crimes—namely, murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary, and larceny—within any Territory of the United States, and either within or without an Indian reservation, shall be subject there-

for to the laws of such Territory relating to said crime, and shall be tried therefor in the same courts and in the same manner, and shall be subject to the same penalties as are all other persons charged with the commission of said crimes, respectively; and all such Indians committing any of the above crimes against the person or property of another Indian or other person within the boundaries of any State of the United States, and within the limits of any Indian reservation, shall be subject to the same laws, tried in the same courts and in the same manner, and subject to the same penalties as are all other persons committing any of the above crimes within the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States.

As to these crimes, therefore, is it in the power of any one to make language any stronger? Does that not put the Indian on an absolutely level plane with the white man? If a United States court is such a heavenly tribunal that it is Paradise to get into it, the opportunity is before him. Outrageous decisions have been quoted to-night from judges in Oklahoma and Sitka. But you would not get out of the difficulty by multiplying your judges. An Indian was acquitted of the murder of Lieutenant Casey during the late outbreak at Pine Ridge, because the court thought it was a condition of war, and the remedy proposed is the creation of another court. The crimes referred to in this law are enumerated crimes. Why do not we say all crimes? What are the crimes that are left? Simple assault and battery, chicken stealing, malicious mischief, and that kind of thing. Why didn't we put those in? Because we were told that the United States marshal would go round the different reservations and pick up every Indian who had assaulted another Indian, and take him off a hundred or two miles to a United States court at the expense of twenty or thirty or forty dollars, and then, when he was discharged, let him go back as best he could. We therefore concluded that it was not wise to make it universal in its application. For these petty crimes the Court of Indian Offences was constituted. That is, a court that has no place in law, being constituted on the recommendation of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and governed by rules made by him. Nevertheless, it has worked well. In the Indian Commissioner's report of last year it is shown how useful it is. It is commended by the agents. I noticed that you were pleased when that clear-headed, conscientious, and able military officer this forenoon told you that Geronimo even had made a good judge. If that is so, I think you could trust three of the best Indians that you could find, selected by the agent and approved by the department, to pass upon these little offences, if you could trust Geronimo. I will read a few extracts from this report. I want to show you that the Indian Bureau and the Department of Justice have not left the Indian without law, that there has come up from the Indian reservation no instance of injustice done to the Indian, such as we read every day in the report of the different courts of the United States and such as have been cited to-night. No such reports have reached our ears from the Courts of Indian Offences. The rights of the Indian have been substantially protected. It is in a rude way, it is true; yet substantial justice has been done, and the Indian has been taught to apply the law himself. The Indian police system is about two years older than this Court of

Indian Offences; and, connected with that court, it has come to be the bulwark of the government in the administration of justice and in the preservation of order on the reservation. When the committee last year asked Congress for an appropriation for the Indian police, I read from this report what was said about the police; and a Senator, who had up to that time been hostile to the whole policy of the government in relation to the reservations, expressed his astonishment at this testimony, and he said, "Whatever you want for that Indian police force, ask, and you shall have it: we will vote it." The effect of putting this responsibility on the Indian has been to lift him higher than any process except the severalty law has done. It is my belief that no white police in any city in the United States has been more faithful to its duties than the Indian police on the reservations. That is the testimony of all who have had anything to do with the Indians. Hear this from the report of Standing Rock Agency as to the Court of Indian Offences, by Major James McLaughlin:—

"The Court of Indian Offences holds bi-weekly sessions at the agency of two days each, where all Indians committing offences are brought for trial; and the valuable aid rendered by this court cannot be too highly commended. Eighty-three cases were heard and adjudicated by this court during the past year, and all the decisions have been intelligently and impartially rendered upon the evidence adduced. In every instance, the decision of the court has been sustained by public sentiment, and not a single appeal to higher authority was asked. The three judges of the court are John Grass, head chief of the Blackfeet Sioux band, Chief Gall of the Hukpapa band, leader of the progressive element of the late hostile Sioux, and Standing Soldier of the Lower Yanktonais, all of whom are full-blooded Indians, eminent among and respected by their people."

W. D. Myers, agent, reports of the Court of Indian Offences of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency, as follows:—

"At the time I assumed charge of this agency I found established a Court of Indian Offences, consisting of three judges, which places were filled by three of the most prominent chiefs on the reservation; namely, Lone Wolf, principal chief of the Kiowas, Quanah Parker, chief of the Comanches, and Towaconie Jim, chief of the Wichita and affiliated bands. Early in October last Lone Wolf, acceding to the wishes of his tribe, resigned; and I immediately appointed his brother, Chaddle-Kaung-Ky, to fill the vacancy. I find this court of great benefit in punishing the Indians for offences committed. Their decisions are generally fair and always impartial, and are accepted with good grace by the Indians."

It is not a perfect court. It can be improved, but it can have no place under the law. The moment the law takes it up all the judges have got to be appointed under the Constitution of the United States, nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. This is a temporary court, created to meet a temporary necessity, but practically of just as much use as if all these poor fellows were taken into the United States court.

The suggestion that you must make United States courts alone for the Indians on the reservations has this trouble. You cannot establish a United States court in any State in this Union except

such as are fixed by the Constitution ; and, so far as civil causes are concerned, the Constitution of the United States provides that nobody shall sue in a United States court except citizens of different States. You cannot clothe a United States court in a State with power to try a civil case unless the parties are citizens of different States ; and therefore you cannot apply this system to an Indian before he becomes a citizen, and you cannot make a United States court that any citizen can bring another citizen into unless they live in different States. They must go into the State courts. As to their right to be tried criminally, valuable as that right must be, by a United States court, the only crime that could be committed in States out there against the United States would be a crime against the revenue laws and crimes of that kind. All the Indian reservations in all the States under the Constitution of the United States have got to come under the State courts. Now, every one of the Territories of the United States, except three, have become States. There are left the Indians of Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico. So long as they are Territories you can make for them just such courts as the United States pleases for the trial of anybody in those Territories. That is true. The United States has made those courts. They have clothed every Indian who becomes a citizen with every possible right that a citizen can have. And we have provided also as to the crimes enumerated that, whether he becomes a citizen or not, he shall be subject to the law and be tried in the same court in the Territories or in the States that the white man shall be. Now, why should you say that the Indian is without law? Do we want a law passed that will permit any Indian to make any contract he pleases, and then go into a court and enforce it? Until a reservation Indian can make his own contracts, he has no occasion for a court to enforce contracts.

A DELEGATE.—Suppose one of the Indians on a reservation should take possession of a house and refuse to give it up. What right has he?

Senator DAWES.—On the reservation he is under the laws of the United States, and the agent is clothed by the statute with the duty to take care of him and protect him. The possession of all the property on a reservation is in the United States, and the United States has the power to put one Indian in and another Indian out. It has been found by forty years' experience that you must have somebody clothed with power to take care of the Indians so long as you have the reservation system. Peace has been preserved on the reservations ever since this system existed.

The theory upon which these arguments for new courts for the Indians are made is correct enough as far as it goes. One may sit down in his library and take the Indian from the day our fathers landed at Plymouth, and follow him step by step all the way through our relations with him during the colonial period, and under the Constitution up to the year 1871, and he will come out pretty much where these arguments do. But the difficulty is that the effect of the statute of 1871, forbidding the treating them hereafter as independent nations, and of subsequent statutes, is entirely ignored in this reasoning. From that date the status of the Indian in this country has been entirely changed. The statutes have taken him out of his old relations

to the government, the people, and the laws, and have from that time, except as to past obligations, treated him as an individual to be governed by law. By the statute of 1871 he ceased to be treated with as an independent tribe or nation, by the Crimes Act of 1885 he was put under the criminal laws of the land, by the Severalty Act he was provided with a homestead and made a citizen with all the attributes of citizenship, and by the amendment of that law the past winter marriage and legitimacy and the descent of his property are made the same with the Indian as with the white man. It will not do to say, therefore, that the Indian is without law. In my judgment, he does not need more laws or more courts, but more preparation for the new position into which the law he already has placed him. If logic or law could make him a self-supporting citizen, the solution of the problem would be easy. But patience and persistency in the work of preparation are, in my opinion, more needed than either logic or law.

If, however, it is possible for this Law Committee to give him any guarantee that he has not got, nobody will hail such a law like the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate, nobody like those in the field who know the Indian and know the practical difficulties that come up every day that law cannot meet. They will hail any achievement that will give him any additional right, but I am surprised when I hear learned men say that either the Indian who has become a citizen or the Indian who has not become a citizen is without law in this land. He has got, in my judgment, all the law that is practicable. So far as I am concerned, I feel that another duty is pressing upon me and another kind of work is calling loudly upon the friends of the Indian. The day of work is fast passing away. The chance to make a self-supporting citizen of him is growing less and less every hour. He is being despoiled of his inheritance, he is being surrounded by all manner of devices that human ingenuity and human greed and human avarice can invent. There is no time for me to go into my library to elaborate an untried experiment of this kind. If others can accomplish it, I give them my hearty God-speed. I hope they will find me as earnest a co-operator as any they can find the moment they can convince Congress that this is practicable or possible, and I beg of them not to delay another four years. I beg of them before the first month of this Congress shall have passed to present their measure in the ablest way they can and take the judgment of Congress upon it. I shall be satisfied if they will be.

HON. WILLIAM STRONG.—If I were wise, I should probably follow the old maxim, which says, If you have nothing to say, you had better say it and sit down. There are, however, two or three things which I will mention briefly that may be of some interest. Senator Dawes, in his very able address, says what I entirely concur in: that the Indians, under the allotment act, have been made citizens of the United States, and those who have taken up lands have all the rights of the white citizens of the State in which they live, are subject to the same laws, and have all the privileges granted by the general law which any white citizen has. And there is one matter connected with this which is perhaps worthy of consideration, when we are considering the status of the Indian. What have Indian agents to do with those Indians to whom allotments have been made, who have

become citizens of the States? and what right has an agent to interfere with a citizen of the State? Can he direct or control in any manner the use of the allotted land and the allottee?

Senator DAWES.—No more than he can your house.

Justice STRONG.—Senator Dawes says very properly that Indian agents can control this land no more than they can control my house. Indians in States to whom allotments have been made are under the control, in regard to the use of their property and in regard to their rights of every description, of the laws and officers of the State.

There are agents now among the Indians to whom lands have been allotted who do interfere. Within a year some Indians have waited upon me at Washington to whom allotments had been made, who said that the agent would not permit them to do this or that thing on their property. If they had timber land, the agent would not allow them to cut any timber except what was necessary for building a house. They were not allowed to cut any timber and sell it to get farming utensils, even when the land was all timber land.

Another said: "I have an allotment on which I am endeavoring to raise grain, but there is no mill within twenty miles. A man wants to build a mill on my property. The agent will not let me allow him to build a mill, even if he pays rent for the privilege."

I had supposed that such control was impossible after the allotment of land to the Indians. I supposed it was understood that, when the allotments were made, the work of the Indian agent in that region was done. I agree this may be unfortunate in some particulars. If the Indian is left to himself, he may make no use of his property, or such use as would bring him a little money, which he will spend in whiskey. If the agent had some control, he might be made to make more valuable use of his property and become a self-sustaining citizen; but I do not see that that is possible under the allotment law.

I say nothing on the subject of extending the laws of the State or the Territory over Indian reservations not within a State. Mr. Dawes has thoroughly discussed the subject of criminal law. The time may come when it will be necessary to extend civil law, but I do not know that it is necessary at present, or advisable. I want to say something, however, with reference to the recent decision upon compulsory attendance of children at schools in Indian reservations. I have seen an abstract of a decision made by Judge Green. I endeavored to get his opinion in full, but there was no written one I was informed. The case was this: An Indian boy, with a written consent of his father, had been put into the school. He was indentured, if I may use the expression, to the teacher for education in the school. The father became dissatisfied, and wanted to take his son out of school. The teacher would not release him. The Indian father sued out a writ of *habeas corpus* to have the possession of his son restored to him, and the judge decided that the government had no right to compel the father to send his child to school or to allow the child to be put into the school. Consequently, the fact that he had been indentured by his father was held to be of no importance whatever, and, therefore, the court could interfere between the teacher who had custody of the child, take the child from the teacher's charge, and

return him to the father. This decision rested solely on the ground that the government had no right to interfere between the father and the child and compel attendance of the child at a school. I dissent *in toto* from the decision of that judge. It is thoroughly untenable. The government of a State has a right to compel attendance at school; and the government of the United States holds the same authority, as guardian of the Indian, to compel the attendance of Indian children. I believe if such decisions as Judge Green's are correct, the statutory provisions for compulsory attendance will be of little avail.

On motion of Dr. W. H. Ward, it was voted that speakers in discussion should be allowed but five minutes each.

Mr. MESERVE.—As reference has been made to the decision of Judge Green, I wish that we might hear from Superintendent B. S. Coppock.

Mr. COPPOCK.—The Indian to whom reference has been made, a full-blooded Indian, gave his son to Dr. W. H. Winslow, the principal teacher of the school, and entered him for three years. The boy came, and behaved well. He was allowed to go home and see his sick grandfather, and returned to the school. The 1st of July the father came for the boy for vacation. I told him I was willing the son should go home for a vacation, but I expected all the Indians who took their children to sign a written contract to return them on Saturday, the 29th of August, without any trouble to me or to the agent, or any expense to the government. I had a large number of contracts signed in this way; and this contract was signed by this Indian, Abraham Lincoln. He understood it. His boy signed it, and he did also. His tribe has an attorney, and this man wrote afterwards to know whether the boy was regularly entered, and whether I should expect him to return. I said I should; that the solicitor for the school was in the neighborhood, and I should expect him early in the week. The next thing I heard was that the attorney of Logan County had called at the school and asked to see me. I was very busy, and failed to see him. I did not know his business at the time. A writ was then served on me and on Dr. Winslow, and the next day the doctor went to court. The trial was peculiar. It took five days to get through with that little case. There was no evidence to sustain any charges. The boy spoke good English and wrote his own name. He said he was treated well. The attorney of the tribe admitted that the father had put the boy into the school for three years, and that the time was not up. How the decision came to be made that was made I cannot understand.

President GATES.—Did not the boy want to be in school?

Mr. COPPOCK.—Yes. After the decision was made, I called on the supervisor of education, and urged that he should go down and get everything connected with this matter in writing. The case was in the hands of the United States district attorney. The judge was the judge of Logan County. We are not in that county: we are on the Cherokee strip. A courteous letter was written to the judge, asking for his decision in writing. It has not come, and that is where the

case rests. What will become of it I do not know. It is a matter of great interest. If by such means children can be taken from schools, the schools must be disbanded. I do not know how many children I shall find when I go home.

REV. CHARLES W. SHELTON.—In talking with Major McLaughlin in regard to the helpfulness of the Indian police, I asked him how he felt as to putting the Indians under the care of the courts along the borders of the reservations. He said that ten years ago he would not have dared to do it, but that to-day he would trust any Indian on his reservation in any court. He said they would be treated just as honestly and fairly and impartially as any white man in the same court. I asked him whether the decisions of the Indians in the Courts for Indian Offences were usually just? He said, "I have sometimes questioned whether I should make the sentences quite so heavy for the crimes." When an Indian is brought into one of these courts and sentenced, his whole pride has gone. There is no need of the guard-house. Until the sentence is worked out, he has such a contempt for himself that he does not want to be with any one else. I have asked every Indian agent I have seen for the last five years whether their Indian police are thoroughly armed. "Yes," has been the reply. "They are armed with heavy army revolvers." These Indians are often from fifty to seventy miles from any agent. I have asked agents whether they have known of the Indian policemen making unwise raids on the reservation. "Never," has been the reply. I have asked, "Did you ever know an Indian policeman to make an unwise use of his arms?" And the reply has always been, "No, never."

MR. A. K. SMILEY.—Wherever I have been, I have asked with regard to these Indian courts. And I have got only one uniform answer, that the Indian trial is a very fair trial; and I am satisfied that the administration of justice in the hands of Indians is vastly better than in any part of New York.

A DELEGATE.—City or State?

MR. SMILEY.—Both. I have never seen justice better administered than there. Near San Bernardino there are about thirteen or fourteen Indian families, making a band. We collected them to give them their land. They are safe from the white men there. We collected them in council, and asked them to be by themselves; and we found out all about their administration of justice. We asked them in regard to a young man who, we understood, had been whipped by the chief, and we asked what the crime was for which he had been whipped. They said the man had not been kind to his wife. He had abused her, and they brought him before all the men of this band, and the chief gave him a good, sound whipping. We, not thinking that the man was present, asked where he lived; and they replied, "There he is," pointing him out. He was the biggest man of the whole twenty-five, and the chief was a little fellow; but the man had submitted to his punishment.

MR. F. J. STIMSON.—I should like first to correct Mr. Dawes in one matter. The proposed bill does not allow Indians to make *any* contracts. On the contrary, it expressly excepts all contracts from which Indians are now restrained by the reservation system.

Next, as to the other objection, the proposition of law that the other reservations in the States are not subject to the control of the government of the United States: this is too vast to be debated here. I can only say that, until to-night, it has not been, at least for the last ten years, seriously questioned by any lawyer.

This decision of 1885, to which reference has been made, is the *United States v. Kegama*, 118 U. S. 375.

The Supreme Court held here that the United States had full power to legislate for Indians on a reservation within a State. The only one possible exception is in Colorado, where certain jurisdiction over reservations was conceded to the State in the Enabling Act under which Colorado was admitted to the Union. But, as there are hardly any Indians there, it is not important.

The answer to the third and last criticism of these views of your Law Committee — namely, that the Indians on all the reservations to which the Severalty Act is applied are United States citizens — is that, if this is merely an empty term, it will not do them much good if there is nothing of the fabric of civilization around them. And no one pretends to say that these courts shall exist on the reservations in the States after the Indians have got all their lands and have become citizens, and the reservation becomes part of the State. These are to be temporary courts, a stop-gap to train the Indians until all the reservations are thrown open. The moment the Indian becomes a citizen, he becomes a citizen under the law, not of the State, but of the United States, so that the United States has still power to say under what law or court he shall live. The State, on the other hand, will refuse its courts, and, in fact, have constantly done so, as we hear from Mr. Cornelius, even in so civilized a State as Wisconsin; for the Indians on the reservations pay no taxes, hence the nearest county authorities refuse them court protection or process of any kind. Our object is to have courts on the reservations until they are all open. It has been estimated that it may be sixty years before they are all thrown open. I have the authority of Commissioner Morgan in stating that the number of allotments under the Severalty Act in four and one-half years is 12,752. As allotments are made to men, women, and children in some cases, it is fair to estimate that we may contemplate at least one hundred thousand allotments in all. At the present rate, therefore, it will take thirty-six years. It is during these years that we think they might be wisely given courts.

There were those very Indians in Southern California, for instance, whom we heard of this morning as despoiled of their land because they were not trained to protect their legal rights, and because State courts could not be trusted to do justice to them.

This is the condition: that we may have numbers of Indians United States citizens, and yet they may be in a place where there is no law. Without the establishment of courts it means very little to say that these Indians are United States citizens.

As to the act of 1885, that is the act that we always have cited to us in answer to the suggestion that anything should be done for the civilization of the Indian,—this act which provides that they may be tried for these seven high crimes. But you do not civilize a people by giving them the right to be tried for murder, arson, rape,

and burglary. That is not civilization. All the civil side is left out. How does the present system work, even in criminal matters? The Indians have to go to United States courts, and they sometimes have to go hundreds of miles. One of our objects proposed is to bring the courts nearer to them. The result now is that Indians often conceal crimes rather than be at such expense and trouble, leaving their families and their vocations for months at a time.

Then there is another civil side, and that is a very important thing, — the training in civilization, in knowledge of municipal affairs. On these reservations there is no county division, no civil machinery of courts, even if they would take jurisdiction, which they will not because the Indians pay no taxes. It is the civil side of law that is valuable for civilization. At present there is nothing but these Indian agents' courts. I am delighted to hear about them. I know they are very good. But they are police courts with very minor jurisdiction, looking after chicken-stealing and such things, as has been said to-night. When they come to the test of trying cases involving property and large sums of money, where great financial interests are involved, are the judges, those Western *cadi*, or the agents who appoint the judges, going to stand the strain? It is against all human history to suppose they can.

We have very wisely given the Indian property. The act of 1887 is the greatest step ever taken or that ever will be taken for the advancement of the Indian. He can now accumulate property. He certainly can and will get land. We have a pressure brought in from all the land-grabbers for these reservations to be thrown open, that they may buy at cheap prices the land left after allotment; and now, at the very time when they most need training and protection and all that the usage of courts can give them, we propose to throw them neck and crop into a sort of Tom Tiddler's ground,—a place where they will be at the mercy of the land-grabber, and with no civilized courts,—out of the nation, and not yet in the State. It seems to me there is a very large gap in the present law. I am glad that by going several hundreds of miles certain Indians can be tried for murder and man-slaughter and these five other crimes, but there is no court in which they can bring important civil causes. They have no civil machinery. The registry of land titles is very defective. There is no probate court. Family relations are indeterminate. Wills may not be proved, heirs cannot be determined. Unless this process of allotting land is to go on much more rapidly than it has, unless all the reservations are to be thrown open within three years instead of thirty, something of this sort should be done.

President GATES.—When there are differences of opinion among the warmest friends of the Indian, it becomes a matter of great importance that we look carefully and thoughtfully at the facts and the testimony. I am sure we shall all agree that it is important for us to find out exactly what has been done by legislation. One of the many bright women of this Conference has suggested that it would be wise if we had a central bureau of information, by which the successive steps of legislation might be immediately reported to all the associations of women that have been formed in the interest of the Indian,—associations which have done so much for the cause. I

cannot help urging all those who want to keep in touch with our Indian work that they should keep informed of these changes in legislation. Some of the ladies may deem it wise to organize such a bureau of information. It is exceedingly important, when statements are made with reference to the legal status of the Indian, that those statements should be made in accordance with the facts of legislation as it now is, not as it was several years ago. As to the efficacy of Indian courts and the question whether Indians are being fitted for citizenship by the Courts of Indian offences, I was greatly impressed with the fact that the majority of agents, in the reports just read, seemed to feel that there was substantially "the same law" for Indians and for whites. I have had some years of experience in watching Indian affairs, and in efforts for the Indians at Washington and at these Conferences; while I know very little, personally, of the work in the field. Yet I have felt a growing conviction that *the less special legislation we have for Indians*, and the sooner we pull them out of the reservation, and destroy and break up the reservation, give up the rations, and send the Indians out into the world to learn to walk by their own stumbling efforts, with an occasional helping hand extended to them, the better it will be for them. I do not want to be misunderstood. I made a remark at our meeting last year (and I "said it sarcastically," as Artemus Ward used to explain) that, "when-ever the public should become willing to let the Commissioner starve a few Indians in the experiment, we could put an end to the ration system with its pauperizing tendencies." Three ladies came to me, and told me that the good opinion they were kind enough to say they had formerly had of me was gone, because I "had advocated starvation"! And they said it seriously! I do think it would be well to take for the use of the nation the land the Indians do not use, but to do it in equity. Let agreements be made with the Indians. Let the funds accruing from the sale be held in trust for their education. Do not let these funds be distributed, so much to each person. Let the trust funds be used so long as they are specially needed for educational purposes, and then let the balance, when no longer needed, be covered into the treasury. Do not let the funds become booty to be quarrelled over by shrewd lawyers, who wish to have them divided among the Indians. Let the Indians have good land, and as much of it as they can use; and, after that, the only possible way is to let them learn by their own blunders. Respectable white settlers should be encouraged, by especially good terms, to take farms among them. And, as fast as we can, let us put the Indian children into the regular public schools of the country, and let us open the regular courts to Indians, and make these courts easy of access for their protection. I have been driven to the conviction that we can afford to let the Indians get along for a time with a little less perfect organization in their courts rather than build up an elaborate system of courts especially for them. I do not believe it is going to take sixty or fifty or even ten years to break up the reservations. I think they are going to be carved up within five years. Ten years from now I do not believe we shall have any surplus Indian land left to talk about in these Conferences. Those Indians who can help themselves, can "get on," will do so with such help as we can give them. The

others, who will not or cannot support themselves after a fair opportunity is given them, will have to take their chances in the poorhouses of the country, under our regular poor-laws, I very much fear. Certainly, to perpetuate the reservations and the separate life for the Indian people is not to fit them for American citizenship or for self-support in civilized life.

Mr. PIERCE, of Connecticut.—If these Indians become citizens, with all the rights of citizens, they are entitled to their money. The government has no right to take my money, and it should have no right to take others'.

Senator DAWES.—You would better educate the Indian.

Justice STRONG.—When allotments are made, they are generally made in a body. That is, a large part is cut off from a reservation, and a large number of Indians, say five hundred or a thousand, are allotted together or in near neighborhood to each other, and they become citizens of the State in which their lands are. They are free from taxation for twenty-five years: they are to be under the custody of the State government. The government of the United States has no right to establish schools, build school-houses, appoint teachers and pay them there, and yet the government of the State that is called upon to do it cannot get any revenue from the taxation of the lands. These allotted lands may fill up an entire county. Of course there will be indisposition on the part of the State to build school-houses and pay school-teachers for such an Indian County, where there is no revenue from the Indians. Some provision must be made for that by Congress. The State must be relieved from the burden of establishing schools, laying out roads, building school-houses, and paying teachers, or else either there will be no schools or they will be very inferior, and there may be no roads laid out. There must be some provision made by Congress by which some equivalent shall be given for the exemption of all the allotted lands from taxation. That can well be made out of the proceeds of the remainder of the reservation. I think that this Conference ought to speak on that subject before it adjourns.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 8.

The Conference was called to order by the President after prayer by Rev. C. L. Thompson, D.D., of New York.

Permission was given to Rev. W. S. Hubbell, D.D., to speak on behalf of the New York State Indians.

Dr. HUBBELL.—I listened with the greatest interest to the discussion last evening. I was rejoiced to hear Judge Strong make the statement that in his opinion it is not wise to extend the civil law over the reservations at present. I rejoiced at the statement of good resulting from the courts of the Indians, because among the Indians of New York there is something resembling this, known as the "peace-makers' court." It is the intention of those influencing legislation at Albany to abolish this. I notice in the *North American Review* E. L. Godkin says, "The capacity of the State for interfering with people profitably has not grown in anything like the ratio as the popular intelligence"; and, although he does not refer to Indian affairs, I think the principle holds good in that. I wish the Indians of New York could be let alone by legislation at Albany for the present. I wish it might be for the benefit of the Indians if it is to occur at all. It should not at least imperil their interests. The Superintendent of Census of the Indians east of the Mississippi, General Carrington, said, a year ago, of the bill of last year which Governor Hill refused to sign, that it could not have been drawn by a lawyer for the reason that there were insuperable legal objections to the carrying of it out. The conditions of the Six Nations are peculiar. Of their eighty-eight thousand acres of land, fifty-three thousand are said to be subject to the Ogden Land Company, which antedates the Federal Constitution. Had that bill been carried into effect, it would have given fifty-three thousand acres of land to the Ogden Land Company and made the Indians homeless. Such things have made the Indians feel that legislation is not in their interest. On the Alleghany reservation there are large tracts of choice land, at least thirty-seven hundred acres, settled by white men, who do not expect to go away, who aim and expect to have that land in fee. The entire town of Salamanca has two miles of streets occupied by people who have leased the land. On the Corn Planter reservation they have experimented with land in severalty for twenty years. They had a thousand acres of land given to them. I do not know what has become of it. It includes now about six or seven hundred acres. It was divided in 1871 by the Friends. One man has four hundred acres which he cultivates, and that is about all that is cultivated. The allotment of land is not a success under these conditions. But, if the Indian had been

allowed to sell to the white men, there would be no land to cultivate at present. I could wish that legislation on these points might cease. What the Indians need is Christian education, and I do hope that within the next ten years all the Indians will be able to take their places as white men, and will have some of their land left to live upon. If all the reservations were to be divided to-day among the Indians of New York, there would be less than fifteen acres to a man. Were all the land of the Alleghany reservation to be divided, it would be less than seven acres to a man. What Indian can live on a farm of seven acres? They need Christian education and industrial education, which shall not limit them to being farmers. It strikes me as cruel that the Indian should be compelled to do that which we do not ask for white men, that they should be compelled to till the land instead of following other occupations. It would be a good thing if Captain Pratt could make room for more Indians there. He has some forty of the youth from Tuscarora, and more would be glad to go.

A word concerning the report of Mr. Garrett on the New York State Indians, which has been presented here in pamphlet form. It is a marvellous reduction from the report of eight years ago.

Dr. Hubbell closed by reading a telegram from General Carrington, saying the census report would confirm the conviction that enforced immediate severalty for the Indians of New York would only confuse the New York Indian problem, without honor to the whites or justice to the Indians.

President GATES.—The report by Mr. Garrett which has been referred to is one which he made to the Board of Indian Commissioners. Mr. Garrett visited the New York State Indians and reported facts as he found them.

Judge DRAPER.—I am sorry this matter has come up again. It is not here again by my consent. I am told that Dr. Hubbell has solicited the opportunity to present it again, and that it was reluctantly granted by the Business Committee.

The CHAIRMAN.—That statement is hardly justified, is it?

Judge DRAPER.—Very well, I must then appeal to Dr. Ward, chairman of that committee, to state whether it is or not.

Dr. WARD.—I will say that Dr. Hubbell solicited the opportunity to present the matter, but will not say that it was reluctantly granted.

Judge DRAPER.—That is sufficient. From the statements of several members of the committee, I thought I was justified in saying that the committee was reluctant. For obvious reasons we will not ask each member of the committee to fully explain. It is shown that the opportunity to open up the matter was solicited. That is all I wanted to establish. The responsibility is not with me. If Dr. Hubbell's peculiar views must be presented again, they must be answered again.

Briefly let me state the facts. There are seven Indian reservations in this State. They are not improving morally. The situation is very bad indeed. The report of Mr. Garrett clearly establishes that fact. Dr. Hubbell says, "Let them alone." Are they to be let alone? The devil only asks to be let alone. Four years ago I came into this Conference for the first time. I was asked to say something concerning the New York reservations because I was officially charged

with the duty of maintaining schools there. I stated what I knew. It was the truth to the best of my knowledge. Bishop Huntington was here. He had had much experience, gained through mission work among these Indians, and was chairman of a committee having special reference to them. He presented a report setting forth in caustic language the circumstances which prevail upon the reservations. I arose, and asked if the language was not a little strong, and at my suggestion it was tempered somewhat. It was then adopted, and went to the country. I knew that the statements were true, and that I could stand by language emanating from Bishop Huntington and adopted by the Conference, and that I could advocate the remedy adopted by the Conference. I waited some time, and then adopted the language, almost word for word, and used it in my annual report. Directly I was severely assailed by the Buffalo Presbytery. There is no time now to discuss issues of fact in detail. So I accept the statement of facts as presented by Mr. Garrett after an investigation on behalf of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners. What does Mr. Garrett say?

"The abundant testimony taken and published by this committee supports, in the main, Judge Draper's assertions. His language was rather strong in some cases, yet it was essentially true."

I take it that a State officer, attempting to call public attention to a great State to a public evil, is entitled to state the facts strongly, *if he states them truly*. I had indeed supposed he would be entitled to credit for it. Mr. Garrett states the facts more in detail, and he states them moderately; for he is an optimist with a sunny nature, and he makes the best of everything. He says: It may be truthfully stated: (1) That schools are not generally encouraged by these Indians; (2) That there is an indisposition to work and to cultivate their own land; (3) That their tribal organizations are a positive disadvantage to them in the way of improvement; (4) That the marriage tie is loosely regarded; (5) That they are inadequately amenable to law, civil and criminal; (6) That the English language is seldom or never spoken among themselves; (7) That what is known as Paganism, a species of barbarous monotheism, prevails, and is likely to so long as the Indians are isolated, as they are now; (8) That the reign of chiefs does not favor civilization or progress.

There is one statement of Dr. Hubbell which needs particular attention. He, and those who think with him, have not hesitated to attribute some improper motive to those who have favored the Mo-honk plan of abolishing the reservation system and distributing these Indian lands in severalty. This morning he speaks of a claim known as the Ogden Land Company Claim, and insists that, if our plan is carried out, it would make this alleged claim valid, and so the Indians would be robbed of all that belongs to them. The fact is that the legislative committee, which exhaustively investigated this whole matter, made special report of this particular matter, and recommended that no legislative action should be taken touching the distribution of these lands in severalty until this claim was settled. I have not the original legislative report here; but Mr. Garrett has copied extracts from it in his report, and I read from that. The second and third recommendations of the legislative committee are as follows:—



(2) "That the legislature request the general government to take action to extinguish the claim of the Ogden Company to the lands of the Senecas, and that portion of the Tuscaroras' covered by it.

(3) "That the lands of the several reservations be allotted in severalty among the several members of the tribes, with suitable restrictions as to alienation to whites, and protection from judgments and other debts, but such division not to go into effect as to lands affected by the Ogden Company's claim until that claim be removed."

Dr. HUBBELL.—That may be in the report, but not in the bill.

Judge DRAPER.—I am surprised at that statement. I think it is an error. I have not a copy of the bill here; but I am sure that, if that provision was not in it, I should have heard of it before now.*

The situation upon these reservations is worse than upon the Western reservations in many respects. There is no police force, and no check upon crime. It is very doubtful if the criminal laws of the State apply to this territory. They certainly are not enforced. The number of people is slowly increasing. Illiteracy is growing. Some will be quick to ask why this is so, when the State maintains schools there. It is because the leaders of the tribes are opposed to schools, and we have no authority to compel attendance.

Now, I have a single word in conclusion. I cannot understand what makes Presbyterian ministers so contentious. We have all agreed here upon a general policy concerning Indian reservations. I have been trying to carry out that policy. I have had something to do towards securing legislation to effect it. An element crowds its way in here, and at every opportunity says: "We want the New York reservations let alone. We want it quiet at Albany." Do you sustain what we have been doing, or do you listen to this opposing voice? I have no interest in the matter which is not your interest. My business in life is not likely to be confined to Indian reservations. My official duties bring me only into incidental contact with this matter. Except as I supposed you were behind me, I have done and will do nothing about this matter. Some things ought to be considered settled. If we in New York have been doing as you would do, say so, and say it in such a way that the public will have no doubt about it. If not, say that, and it is more than likely that there will be no radical legislation touching the New York Indian reservations for some time to come.

The CHAIRMAN.—I think I ought to inquire whether Superintendent Draper is not a Presbyterian?

Judge DRAPER.—In a modest way I am an unworthy elder in the Presbyterian Church.

Captain PRATT.—I have just hired, at Carlisle, a man to take charge of our trucking and farming who in the past two years has rented five acres of land close to the town, at twenty dollars an acre. He has a wife and three children, and a house, and he gets his living out of this amount of land. When I was in Tucson, I saw two Chinamen who rented four acres of land and paid \$1.50 for it. They planted it with vegetables, and appeared to be making a pretty good subsistence.

A paper was then read by Captain R. H. Pratt, Superintendent of the Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa.

*See statement of Judge Draper in reference to this matter near close of morning session.

THE WAY OUT.

BY CAPTAIN R. H. PRATT.

My theme is "A Way Out," or what we at Carlisle call the "outing system." The Indians are walled off from participating in our civilization by their savagery and ignorance, aided by the reservation and other systems we have adopted for and forced upon them. Their opportunities to see and hear and know are so limited that they are not to be blamed if they make little progress in the arts of civilization. This feature of their case struck me at once when I came in contact with them as an officer in the army, in 1867; and I have ever since urged foreign emigrant privileges for them, and that our civilization should absorb them, and not they adopt our civilization and continue separate tribes and peoples.

How can a man become a sailor if he is never permitted to go to sea? Why expect a boy raised in exclusively agricultural surroundings to become anything but an agriculturist? If the Indians cannot participate in the privileges and benefits of our civilization, they are not to be blamed for not adopting it. If the youth are raised and continued in the surroundings of their tribes and savagery, we should find no fault with them for remaining tribes and savages.

The beginning of my experiences in outing Indians—that is, in getting them away from their reservations—was in the spring of 1875, when I was sent by the War Department with prisoners to Florida, and the distress to them of that beginning equalled that caused by the presence of certain death. We had chased and fought a good part of the Cheyennes, Kiowas, Comanches, and some Arapahoes up and down through the western part of the Indian Territory from July, 1874, to April, 1875, and had captured many hundreds of them, who were held prisoners at Fort Sill and at the Cheyenne agency. On the recommendation of General Sheridan, the government determined to send the bad leaders to prison in Florida. Seventy-four were placed in irons; that is, iron rings connected by a short chain were riveted on their ankles, and many of them were handcuffed also. One Cheyenne woman, named Mochi, was thus chained. They were shipped to the railroad in army wagons, ten in a wagon. A heavy chain fastened to a strong staple in the front of each wagon-bed was passed between the legs and over the shackle chain, and they were made to sit down, five on a side. The other end of the chain was fastened to the rear of the wagon-bed with a staple and padlock, so that it was impossible for any of them to get out except they were loosened by the guard. As we moved away from Fort Sill, crowds of their relatives and friends covered the high points as near as they were permitted to, and women wailed and gashed themselves with knives. Two companies of infantry and two of cavalry protected the train, marching with loaded guns in front and in rear and on the sides. At night the prisoners were taken out and long chains were padlocked to the wheels of the wagons and the prisoners strung on these, so they could sleep on the ground between the wagons. Guards with loaded guns marched up and down each side of each string of prisoners. When we reached the railroad,

they were loaded into cars, which most of them had never seen before. When the cars began to move rapidly, many of the Indians covered their heads with their blankets from fear. We stopped nine days at Fort Leavenworth, awaiting the orders of the War Department. Gray Beard, the principal chief of the Cheyennes, in the night-time attempted to commit suicide by hanging himself with a piece of blanket he had torn off and fastened to the grate in the window and around his neck, and keeping his feet off the floor by lifting them up. He was saved by the waking of his old friend, Minimic. Vast crowds of people were gathered at every stopping-place on our way as we passed on through St. Louis, Indianapolis, Louisville, Nashville, Chattanooga, Atlanta, and Jacksonville, to the old Spanish Fort at St. Augustine, Fla.

Above Nashville, Lean Bear, one of the principal Cheyenne chiefs, attempted to commit suicide by stabbing himself in the neck and breast with a small pen-knife, making eight wounds. He was pronounced dead by a surgeon on the train, and I left the lieutenant and three men at Nashville to bury the body; but after we left Nashville he revived, and five days after we reached St. Augustine he rejoined the party. He had, however, made up his mind to die, and steadily refused food and water until death came. Just as we reached Florida, passing through the pine woods at two o'clock in the morning, Gray Beard, who had tried to commit suicide at Leavenworth, secured a whole seat for himself, managed to elude the attention of the guards standing in each end of the car, and to jump out of the window when the train was going at twenty-five miles an hour. It was reported to me at once, and I pulled the bell-rope and stopped the train. The conductor came, and backed the train until we found where he had struck the ground. After searching for him for some time and failing to find him, I detailed a portion of the guard to remain and secure him, and had just got aboard the train with the rest of the guard when Gray Beard came out from under palmetto bushes near the train, and started to run so rapidly that the guard who saw him thought he had gotten his shackles off, and cried out, "Here he is," and instantly fired, the bullet passing through Gray Beard's bowels. We lifted him on the rear car, and he died in an hour. San Marco had been fitted up as a prison, so that it was simply a great pen, so walled up with boards inside as to make it impossible for them to get out, or even up on to the terreplein, twenty feet above the floor of the court. A strong guard with loaded guns marched to and fro on the terreplein; and the Indians' sole outing-place was in the court below, where they could only look up and see the sky. By this time the heart of the officer in charge was as sad and heavy as the hearts of his prisoners. The people were constantly anxious to see the Indians, but it was thought best to allow them opportunities only a few hours two days in the week, when they came in crowds, as to an animal show. My orders from the War Department directed me to take charge of the prisoners and see that their proper wants were supplied. I reasoned that their proper wants included all the gains, morally, physically, intellectually, and industrially, that could be made for them while undergoing this banishment. Against the protest of the commanding officer at St. Augustine, I assumed that I was en-

tirely responsible, and that it was my business to determine what to do and how to do it. I accordingly removed the chains, then reduced and finally dismissed the guard, and organized the young Indians as a company, placed them on guard, and during two years and a half there was not a single violation of my trust. I took down and removed that portion of the fort that had been constructed to keep them in the court, and built a house on the terreplein, where they could live and get the fresh sea air and look out upon the town, country, and ocean. I undertook the profession of school-teacher, first myself, then aided by my interpreter and Mrs. Pratt, and, finally, by some of the good ladies of St. Augustine,— Miss Mather, Miss Perit, Mrs. King Gibbs, and Mrs. Cooper Gibbs, also Mrs. Carruthers, of Tarrytown, N.Y., and others, with a session of one and a half to two hours daily. I removed the soldier cook and appointed Indians to do the cooking, built an oven, got a baker to train an Indian to bake bread, required all the policing, chopping of wood, carrying of water, etc., to be done regularly and systematically, so that each Indian had some work to do each day. I issued army uniforms to them. About half of them, not being cautioned, cut off the legs of the trousers to use for leggings, throwing away the upper part. To these I again gave new trousers, admonished them, and had no more trouble.

After some weeks I insisted on the men cutting their hair, and this was a sore trial ; but, as I wore my hair short, a little argument and sarcasm secured assent. Then paint was abolished, and there was regular bathing in the sea. Mr. Ballard, a curiosity-dealer, gave them 6,000 sea beans to polish, at ten cents apiece. After a while we went out on the beach and searched for miles, and found thousands of sea beans, which they polished and sold for themselves. Industry and commercial intercourse, together with a little schooling, kept their minds and bodies occupied, and comparative contentment grew. After they began to understand English, they attended the different churches of the town. I trusted them, and they trusted me. We became great friends ; and, as they learned, their desire for a higher and better life grew. I bought and built boats, taught some of them how to sail and row ; and they took visitors to the beach and up and down the coast, and thus made other gains. Later on I began sending them out individually to work. Miss Mather and Miss Perit first took one to look after their horse and cow, do errands, keep the yard clean, etc. Every morning and evening he went from the fort down through the town to their home, and attended to his duties. From great fear, which was upon all the people when they arrived, they, by their industry and good conduct, became favorites in the town, until at last there was scarcely any person opposed to the Indians ; and they found many jobs,—picking oranges, on the railroad helping to handle baggage, going to and from Tocoï, in the saw-mill handling logs and lumber, grubbing land, etc. I need not attempt to tell you all that occurred. Three years wore away, and they were released. They all said : "Give us our women and children. We would rather stay here than go back to our reservations, where there are so many Indians as bad or worse than we were." Their proposition was submitted to the government, but the opposition of a narrow-

mind Indian agent led the government to deny their request. Then twenty-two young men said, "We would rather stay East a few years longer and go to school than to go home now." To this the government said, "The money we have for school purposes is to be used for the youth on the reservations." My desire and the desire of their teachers to help these young men who wished to stay led us to go begging, and among the good people who visited St. Augustine we found those who would undertake the expenses of this one and that one until the whole twenty-two were provided for. Bishop Whipple undertook the expenses of five; Mrs. Burnham, then of Syracuse, N.Y., took four and sent them up into Central New York, near Utica, into the family of Rev. Mr. Wickes, an Episcopal clergyman, who is here in the audience; Mrs. Carruthers took one to her home at Tarrytown; Mrs. Larocque, of New York City, paid for two; and others one each, until all were provided for. Seventeen went to Hampton, and thus was engrafted Hampton's noted Indian branch. All the others returned to their tribes in the Territory. I urged General Armstrong to get the Indians out, away from the school, among our own people. He sent me to Berkshire, Massachusetts, where, with the help of Mr. Hyde of Lee, we planted a vacation colony of the "Florida boys," as we called them, among the farmers, one here and one there; and so that work began and grew, and has been continued in Berkshire and elsewhere. Mrs. Pratt and I went to Dakota, and took to Hampton fifty more, both boys and girls. Rev. C. L. Hall, who is here to-day, gave us our first party, some of them from his own school. I was detailed to stay at Hampton for a time.

In the fall of 1879 Carlisle Indian School was born. In the spring of 1880 we did a deal of writing and talking, and succeeded in placing sixteen boys and girls among the farmers in Pennsylvania, for vacation only. The people were afraid of the Indians, and the Indians were afraid of the people; and more than half of these first Carlisle outings were failures,—some after a few days, others after two or three weeks. But we did not stop. Next year we more than doubled the number, and kept a few out during the winter in public schools. The next year, and every year thereafter, the growth of the system was rapid, until, during the fiscal year which closed June 30th last we showed an outing list numbering 662, most of them during vacation. 413 of these were boys and 249 girls. More than 200 of these remained out during the winter, living in families, generally treated as their own children and attending public schools with the youth of our own race.

We have insisted that Indians should be treated like other people, and should receive pay in proportion to their labor; and during vacation our boys and girls, "lazy, good-for-nothing Indians," as they are called, instead of idling away their time as so many youth of our own race do under like circumstances, are working hard and earning money for themselves. Their total earnings the past year were \$20,266.30, \$4,064.27 of which was earned by labor performed at the school, and \$16,202.03 outside of the school. Testimonials from their employers as to their good ability and character, by the hundred, form part of the permanent records at Carlisle; and, of the 662 out last year, only 20, or $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., were failures.

The outing system is a means of acquiring the English language

and what goes with it far quicker and more perfectly than it can be gained in any school, for the reason that all their talking is with English-speaking people; and, being along the lines of civilized life and its needs innumerable, other important things are learned at the same time, and they are compelled to think in English. The outing system breaks down their old prejudices against the whites, superstition, and savagery, because, not being surrounded by them, all such qualities that may have grown up within them in their tribes fall into "innocuous desuetude." No plan that I know of ends the prejudice of the white race more rapidly and thoroughly. The whites learn that Indians can become useful men, and that they have the same qualities as other men. Seeing their industry, their skill and good conduct, they come to respect them. Not many boys or girls who have been at the Carlisle School three years or more, and have had the privilege of this outing system, but have warm friends among the whites, with whom they keep up a correspondence after their return to the school, and in many cases after they return to their tribes, where, so far in their history, the inevitable generally consigns them. The outing system broadens the whole Indian mind at home among the tribes; for the boys and girls so out correspond with father and mother and other friends at home, and the thoughts of those who do not get the privilege of leaving the reservation are led away from the reservation. When the youth write home that they are kindly treated, and of the many privileges and opportunities they have to learn and earn, that they have been down to the ocean, or to Philadelphia, New York, or even, it may be, to Lake Mohonk, the thought of the father and mother, and the other friends who get this information, is led into different channels; and, slowly but surely, the walls that surround the pen in which those at home are placed are lowered, and I look for the time to soon come when they will themselves break away from their hindrances and become free men and free women.

In all these years I have learned more and more to look upon our treatment of the Indians as being unjust and unchristian in its reservation methods, and to esteem the insidious plans we are constantly inaugurating to preserve the autonomy of the tribes as being the worst of all, even worse than the wars and the massacres that we have perpetrated upon them. Wars and massacres destroy life, and they expect and understand that; but reservations and the systems of keeping them out and away from our civilization and our national life destroy hope, and beget a despair which brings recklessness and greater death, which they do not understand.

The solution of the Indian problem hinges upon the destruction of the present systems and in the devising of means that will disintegrate the tribes and bring them into association with the best of our civilization. Partial destruction of past systems and the settling on them of others with the same trend will not accomplish the purpose. Lands in severalty, unless the distribution of the land is properly managed, will only band, bind, and confirm the tribal power, and serve to continue the hindering of their civilization, absorption-citizenship. If it is inevitable that they must occupy lands in severalty and not be allowed to get away and become individuals, then

the distribution of their lands should be in alternate sections with the white man; that is, there should be an Indian and a white man and an Indian and a white man or, better still, two or three white men between each two Indians. Purely Indian schools, especially tribal Indian schools, not supplemented by actual contest with the brain and muscle of the other youth of the land, will not bring them into possession of the courage and ability necessary for competition with us as a useful and component part of the inhabitants of this pushing, growing country.

DISCUSSION.

Gen. EATON.—I should like to have some one inform us who purchases the lands of the reservations that are not allotted in severalty? Is there any provision for carrying out the idea of having whites and Indians in alternate sections?

Senator DAWES.—In all of the agreements that were ratified it was provided that the land purchased should be open to the homestead settlers, who were to pay for it the sum of \$1.25 an acre, except in the Sisseton reservation, where they were to pay \$2.50. The proceeds are to be a fund, which, in each particular case, had its stipulations and limitations, some very good and some very bad.

Mr. TATE.—After twenty years' missionary experiences among the Indians of British America, I feel a little out of place in giving those experiences here. I have crossed the line before, both into Alaska and into Washington. In that region the white people have come in and settled alongside the Indians. There were no lines drawn for Indian reservations. The white people came in and settled before there was a survey of the country made. When the Indians saw that the land was being taken up, the government said to them, "We will make no reservations," but they gave from twenty-five to fifty acres to each Indian family. On this basis the white people and the Indians were settled together. Now, after thirty years, we find our Indians civilized. They go out to work with the white people, and get the same wages. I went into a farm-house the other day, and asked what kind of laborers they employed. "White men, Chinamen, and Indians," they replied. "Which are the best?" I asked. "The Indians every time." They do their work without complaining. They are taking positions not only in the fields, but in the workshops. They are good mechanics. They prove themselves a success wherever they go.

I have been spending some days at the Carlisle School because we ourselves are organizing an industrial school. I am sure it will be a great success. "The Way Out" is to civilize and Christianize and make these Indians citizens of equal standing with the white people. The Presbyterians and Methodists are doing good work of this kind in Alaska. I have seen a good deal of Mr. Duncan's work, but I cannot agree with him altogether in his methods. He likes to get the Indians off by themselves, away from white people and the heathen. It seems to me better not to separate the Indians in this way. I know of the noble work Mr. Duncan has done, but I cannot help feeling that contact with Christian, white civilization is better

for the people. Mr. Duncan will not live forever, and then there is only one Mr. Duncan. What will become of the Indians if he dies? is a question that is often asked. It has been replied that the United States government will take care of them in that case. Undoubtedly, the United States government will do its utmost; but I would like to see a better way out of the difficulty for the Alaska Indians than that policy.

You have read of the cruelties of white people in dealing with Indian prisoners. They have cruelties enough among themselves. A young man came to me from Wrangel, and told me he wanted me to write a letter to Washington for him. He said his mother had been murdered by the Indian doctors, and he wanted a stop put to that kind of thing. He said there was a chief dying in the village, and the medicine man came and practised his rites day after day until the man was dying. The medicine man said there was no hope for this chief unless a woman, who had the secret of his disease, should divulge it. This woman was the young Indian's mother. They tied her up, and cut one of those terrible canes called the "devil's walking-stick," a blow from which poisons the skin, and flogged her day after day until she succumbed to the torment. It was no wonder he said she had been murdered. Such things have come to an end on the frontier, but in the far-off regions of the interior such cruelties are still practised. In regard to this problem of the way out, I trust your efforts will reach to Alaska. We want to see every effort made to lift this people up, because they are capable of making good men and women. Schools should be established everywhere until the Indians are made good citizens of the United States.

President GATES.—We are always very glad to welcome workers from the field. It is to those who are giving their lives with such self-sacrifice that we always bow. Many of us believe that Mr. Duncan will live forever. When we find earnest workers who differ radically in methods, we are not to be troubled. Each is doing good in his own way.

Rev. C. L. HALL, of Fort Berthold.—I found my way seventeen years ago to Dakota; and I was glad to welcome Captain Pratt most heartily when he came for his first pupils, and helped him with all my heart. He and others have been doing the work by getting the Indians out. In the missionary spirit, I have been going in, and working from the inside; and those of us who are working from the inside will meet those working from the outside, and we will make a tunnel through.

The other day a forked pole of cotton-wood, about a foot through, on which an old buffalo hide had been tied, which had stood there useless for six years, fell down. Six years ago a great booth of leaves and branches was built about it, and the sun dance was performed; and men swung themselves about this pole by setons in their flesh until the flesh pulled out. But, through lack of use, the pole has loosened and fallen down. Somebody came to me and said, "Your school-boys pushed that over the other night." I have no doubt it was so, because school-boys in Dakota are very much the same as school-boys in civilized countries. But it was true in a moral and

spiritual sense that my school boys, and girls, too,—for the girls are better than the boys,—had pushed over these heathen customs. For the might of those little hands and the might of the prayers of those young hearts might well push over these wicked ways, and bring civilization and Christianity. These boys and girls have never seen the outside of the reservation; but they have seen what the disciples saw hundreds of years ago,—they have seen Jesus. It may be a good thing to see a grand civilization and the wonders of steam and electricity, but it is a better thing to see the Master; for then they will become a power, and overthrow heathenism.

Gen. O. O. HOWARD.—I have long known of the extraordinary transformation from darkness to light of the Indians under Mr. Duncan. When Mr. Duncan was asked how he accomplished it, without stopping to formulate an answer, he said, "I learned the language first, then I went over among those Indians and planted the Word of God in their midst, and you behold the result." I have seen something of the work at Fort Simpson, and have heard the Indians recite the Scriptures there; and I could not help thinking, while our brother was speaking of his own work, how this primary education of the heart had preceded this civilization, and made it possible. These Indians are, many of them, superior to many of the white men around them in morals, and equal to them in work.

The reservation system in the past was a necessity. It was a protection against the greed of the white men; but I welcome such schools as those at Hampton and Carlisle, where we can send these young men out from the reservations among civilized people. I also welcome the faithful, earnest, steady Christian work of the reservations. Sometimes we get very crass ideas about Indians. We must remember that they are savages, that they have murdered women and children, and have been guilty of the most terrible outrages, and that those who want to do right are obliged to put forth all their energy.

Mr. COPPOCK.—Captain Pratt's plan leads to great difficulties. All that he says and does I like, and I wish there were ten times as much of that work; but I do not see how it can be practically carried out.

Captain PRATT.—The point I make is that the old method does not bring the Indians into relations with the white people. I do not care how you go about it. Buffalo Bill does it one way, and Carlisle will do it in another way. You may get an Indian into civilization by a great many different roads; but you ought to pull them in, to let them learn to stand alone and be men. The little children we have to take care of. There are less than 250,000 Indians. There are many cities in this country with a much larger population than that. We work here with all our might and main to keep them Indians, to keep them separate. We can pull in 600,000 Americans, and distribute them; and they are mostly old fellows,—hard old fellows, too. Some of them go into jails, some into poorhouses. They learn by what they have to go through. Let the Indian go through the same course, and place him where he can use the powers God has given him. You expect him to till the land; but what if he is too far from a market? I would blow the reservations to pieces. I would not give the Indian an acre of land. When he strikes bottom, he will get up. I never owned an acre of land, and I never expect to own one.

Mr. COPPOCK.—This is not a matter of pleasantry to me. I mean business. Suppose I mention the Cheyennes and the Arapahoes. There are a great many old people among them. The children are under the control of the grandmother. How can we get the children from these people if their father, mother, and grandmother are unwilling? I want to know *how* you are going to get the Indians out among the white people? The foreigners want to come. The Indian does not want to go. They want to get as far as possible from the white people. I want to know practically how you are going to break up the reservations. You can divide up the land; but what is going to become of good, intelligent Indians, who cannot speak English, who know nothing of business, and who would not know how to guide a plough if they had one.

President GATES.—A brilliant French woman, who sat at dinner next a philosopher, said to him, with a charming, persuasive tone: "They tell me that you have invented a new theory of the universe. Tell it to me in a word." If we could get the solution of this Indian problem in a word, we should be happy. Perhaps Mr. Lyon, chairman of the Purchasing Committee of Indian Supplies, will give us some hint.

Mr. LYON.—Having served so many years in the Indian work, what I know about the system I could not tell in five minutes. I do not think even General Armstrong could get old Indians to learn much after they are forty years old.

VOICES.—Oh, yes, yes!

Mr. LYON.—Well, I do not think they would be good scholars. Suppose we have land in severalty, and you give the Indians ploughs, and everything of the kind, they do not know how to use them. There are good teachers for the schools, but very few to teach farming. The Indian needs to be taught how to use a plough and a shovel and an axe. He cannot get a living off the land without this instruction. The only solution of that difficulty is to get farmers for instructors.

Dr. STRIEBY.—There seems to be a disposition to disparage the work that we have begun. I want to ask Captain Pratt whether he would break up what is going on now, and, if he would, how will he accomplish the thing that is to be done.

Captain PRATT.—I answered that question last January, at the annual meeting of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

Mr. MESERVE.—As superintendent of the largest Indian school east of the Rocky Mountains, I do not feel that Captain Pratt disparages our work in the least. We are endeavoring to find out the best lines that he has worked on, and to follow out those lines. I was much interested in Captain Pratt's paper, and I hope all the speakers will confine themselves to what he has said as to the importance of the outing system. Two years ago I was appointed superintendent of the Haskell Indian School. Almost the first thing General Morgan said to me was, Go down and see Pratt, and go out with him and see the pupils under the outing system; and, as Captain Pratt well knows, I went through various parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, right into the families where the Indian boys and girls were. I saw how they lived and were treated. They sat at the same table with the father and mother and children of the family, and were treated just

as well. I have done something of this myself. I have had since last March at least ten pupils on the outing system for a longer or shorter period of time. The day before I came here I received a letter from a gentleman in Butler County, Kansas, who said, Your boys down here are doing more to solve the Indian problem than all the other things in the country. The political people here of all kinds are agreed on this one thing,—that these boys and girls are faithful and good workers.

One of our Sioux boys was working with a Farmers' Alliance man. I said, "How is the Sioux boy getting on?" "Come with me," he said. I went into a field of five hundred acres of wheat. They were cutting it with a binder, and the white man and Brockway Bean Shield were putting the wheat up. I saw at once that Brockway Bean Shield was doing more than half the work, and the white man was playing it on him. Said I to the doctor, "What are you paying that white man?" "Fifteen dollars a month," he answered. When the Sioux boy went to this man, the agreement was that he should pay him whatever he was worth, as it was an experiment. "Now," I said, "what are you going to pay the boy?" "You see," said he, "he works along with the white man, he goes to work early, and besides that takes care of the stable and works after supper; and I shall pay him just the same as I do the man." So there is an Indian getting the same pay as a white man, fifteen dollars a month. One of our Cheyenne boys is working by the day in a harness-shop, and is receiving a dollar and a half a day. From my two years' experience I have not seen any influence that is tending so strongly to remove prejudice against the Indians as this outing system. I am trying to find places where my boys and girls can go out and be like sons and daughters in the families. I want the Indian boy and girl to have just as good a chance to get out of the reservation as I had to get out of the little New England village and do my life-work.

Gen. EATON.—Our attention is directed to an exceedingly important point. About seventy thousand dollars is expended to assist in giving agricultural instruction to the Indians. I believe in that. It is no new idea. But I want to suggest that this is not done in the best way. This seventy thousand dollars is largely wasted. We have in this country no doctors of farming. The farmer here has been opposed to "book" farming. They have been slow to accept the influence of scientific instruction. Look at the French people! They are a logical people. What do they do? They have their colleges of agriculture, and the young men are trained in that department thoroughly. They are sent abroad to study the best methods. Then the best men from these colleges are selected as assistant farmers; and they are sent out among the poor farmers, where the soil is poor and the men are ignorant, and they guide these poor farmers in the methods of doing the best things. This seventy thousand dollars appropriated by Congress could receive such emphasis from this Conference as to induce the authorities to send to every place where there is to be an assistant farmer, a man competent and fit in character and qualifications to do this work, and you would revolutionize the business in a very few years.

Dr. HARDING.—Suppose an Indian takes up his land in severalty

right in the middle of the reservation, and some squatter comes in and disputes his right and gets possession: how can that Indian in the middle of the reservation, with no civilization around him, get that man out?

President GATES.— We generally give those hard conundrums to Senator Dawes.

Senator DAWES.— The man who takes up his land in severalty has his title given him by the United States, which covenants with him to hold it for him,— a covenant that cannot be broken except with the consent of both parties. The United States holds this land exclusively for their use, and it is just as much the duty of the United States to maintain the Indian in that possession as it is for the President of the United States to obey his oath of office. The attorney of the United States has sworn to execute all of the laws in the courts of the United States. He has an assistant in every State and Territory; and, if they have more than they can do, the United States laws have authorized them to employ additional aid.

President GATES.— What would be the natural and simple method of procedure?

Senator DAWES.— The Indian should go to the first United States officer that he can reach. There are a dozen of them in every State, but the best man is the district attorney. The method of administering the laws of the United States is a system, and it has ramifications everywhere. There are often cases where men fail because of the length and breadth of the land, and the interest involved; but they are exceptions. A man who is unfortunate enough to take up land in severalty in the middle of the reservation is like the poor pioneer who locates on a quarter section away from every one else. The time will come when civilization with all its interests, the church, the school-house, the business office, will come to him; but, if he ventures to go out a hundred or two hundred miles from civilization, he must be patient, and must bear with the incidents of hardship that come to the pioneer.

President GATES.— Would he naturally apply to his agent as the proper officer to protect him?

Senator DAWES.— The agent is no longer his agent, but it is the duty of the agent to see that the interest of every Indian is promoted wherever it can be. He is not fit to be an agent unless he does this.

Hon. J. H. OBERLY.— I confess that, after listening to all that has been said, I am somewhat in doubt as to what the legal status of the Indian is. The act of 1885 has two clauses, one applying to Indians on reservations in Territories, the other applying to Indians on reservations in States. The Territories are passing away rapidly. The State has absolute authority over every acre of land except that which is reserved by authority of the United States for military, Indian, or other national purposes. Suppose that under the operation of the Act of Severalty an Indian were to take his one hundred and sixty acres of land in the middle of a reservation in a State. Now, I know that, if a white man were to enter upon and take possession of the Indian's allotment, the Indian might appeal to the authority of the United States, and the United States, being the trustee of the Indian, might oust the intruder; but this would have to be done by

some legal process, for it must not be forgotten that the moment an Indian takes land in severalty on a reservation,—that moment that portion of the reservation, that particular one hundred and sixty acres of it, passes out of the reservation, and becomes the property of a citizen,—the property of its Indian owner. It is no longer under the authority of the United States government. The authority of the Indian agent over it no longer exists. No longer does the authority of any officer of the United States exist over it. Suppose now a white man should enter that land and commit some crime, say one of the seven crimes that have been mentioned, against the Indian owner's person or the person of any of his family. What would be the Indian's remedy? What could he do? Into what court of that State could he go, demanding justice? Is it not possible that, while in the letter of the law you have given to the Indian land-owner in severalty the legal status of the white man, you have taken him, as a matter of fact, out of the protection of the general government, and have not placed him securely under the protection of the State government?

Senator DAWES.—I want to ask this Western man if he never knew of a pioneer going so far as to be outside of a county organization, and making his home, and waiting until the State included him in the county? That is always happening. Pioneers are always waiting for county lines to be established, and until that time the general law of the State attaches him for all civil and criminal purposes to the adjacent county. That is the law of the United States in the States. There will always be pioneers until there are enough people together to make a county. Then the State will embrace them in a new county and establish a court for them; but until *that* is done, as I have said, the general law says, for all civil and criminal purposes, they are attached to the adjacent county.

Mr. OBERLY.—But this is not attached to any county, being in the midst of the reservation.

Senator DAWES.—It may not adjoin it, but it is attached to the nearest county, notwithstanding. There is no trouble about this. I am surprised that a Western man should ever find any trouble in the application of the law. To an Eastern man like me there might be trouble. They are adding new counties every year, excepting Illinois, which is quite full.

Mr. FRANK WOOD, of Boston.—For the past fifteen years, as well as I could, I have studied this Indian question, looking at it from a business man's standpoint. Fourteen years ago some of us who were interested in the welfare of the Indian came to the conclusion that not much could be accomplished till the reservation system had been done away with. We formed an association whose name indicates its purpose, the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee. The law giving severalty in land and citizenship for the Indian has since been passed. It is certain that the severalty law is not enough. I cannot undertake to say what is the best way to give the Indians a system of law, but it has been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case *United States v. Kagama* that the United States can legislate for the Indians through Congress. I believe that a great civilized and Christian people can remedy any wrongs that

exist in this country when they will set about it. The Congress of the United States can legislate for and enact laws to control and protect these people, and do it properly, and thus give them the right start toward Christianity and civilization. I do not know whether the so-called Thayer Bill is the right bill; although about two years' time were given to frame it, and it has been approved by some of the best lawyers in the country. If not the best, give us something better. I agree with Senator Dawes that this question is surrounded with the greatest difficulties. Judge Lowell, who approved the Thayer bill, has said that it was almost impossible to draw a bill that would protect these people in their rights. I am sure that the difficulties can be overcome, and that our honored friend Senator Dawes will join with us to help us do this thing. We must have law as the basis of all progress, either educational or industrial. Everything encouraging that has been reported here by Captain Pratt and Lieutenant Wotherspoon has been done in this way. First they gave their Indians law, and then they gave them work. The United States sent Lieutenant Wotherspoon twice to the Apaches as an agent of civilization. The first time it sent him with a musket in his hand, and Geronimo chased him all over the south-west. The government sent him again on a peaceful mission of civilization and Christianization; and now Geronimo is a justice of the peace, enforcing law and order in his court at Mount Vernon, Ala. The benefit of law to the individual depends on his relation to it. It both punishes and protects. It does not civilize a man to give him a chance to be hung for murder, or to be punished for any of the seven crimes enumerated in the act partially extending the criminal law over the reservations, especially when the nearest court is from one to four hundred miles away, and it will involve loss of time, trouble, and expense to attend the trial. It is well known that crime is continually covered up on the reservations, because witnesses do not dare to tell of it. They do not want to be carried into another State, hundreds of miles from home, and locked up for months; and they do not tell of the crimes they see committed. It does not pay. And we would not be willing to testify if we were in their places. We want to bring law to these people. We want their property, their persons, their rights, protected by the common law of the land, that protects us. We want them to feel that they are surrounded by the peaceful but powerful influence of law that protects all civilized society. What security would we feel to-day if the law was not our protector, even in this beautiful spot? I have heard over and over again from the field that the Indians feel that the great need is law to protect them, and without it they have no encouragement to accumulate property or make any real progress. I have received a letter touching this point since coming here from Dr. Eastman. I will read a part of it:—

"Since I came out among the Ogalallas, I am strongly convinced of the need of established law and courts among the Indian tribes, especially these here. At present there is not much order among them. My close observation convinces me that these people are doing pretty much as they please as regards their morals. The policemen inform me again and again that the people are falling away very much since the late trouble. Some of the most progres-

sive among the policemen say that the police force is a farce without law. I sincerely hope that the so-called Thayer Bill will have some attention yet. Schools are very good, but cannot be fully appreciated and utilized until some order and law is established within the reservation. I hear again and again the expression from the Indians, 'I cannot accumulate any property, for there is no law to protect it.' I say, Give them more work here at home, and law and courts to protect their persons and property."

Since our meeting last night, when favorable opinions from Indian agents on agents' Indian courts were quoted as furnishing a good substitute for law, I have looked up some more disinterested opinions on the necessity of law. I thought that asking an agent's opinion of an agent's court was a good deal like asking a fox what he thought of poultry. The Indians' court is appointed by the Indians' agent. It administers no code. The will of the agent is its only law, and through this court the agent has his chief power. He can at will alter or set aside the decisions or remove the judges. I never heard of a decision contrary to the wishes of the agent.

The Indian judges are not fools. They know well enough that, if their decisions do not suit the agents, others would get their places, and they would lose the positions that give them importance in the tribe. The decisions are also invariably in favor of the relatives of the judges. How would we like to have our lives and property subject to the decisions of such courts?

All the most careful students of the Indian question agree that without law little or no permanent progress can be made.

In 1876 Indian Commissioner J. Q. Smith, one of the best commissioners we have ever had, said:—

"Year after year we expend millions for these people in the faint hope that without law we can civilize them. That hope is a long disappointment, and year after year we repeat the folly of the past. That the benevolent efforts of the government have proved so largely fruitless is, in my judgment, due more to its failure to make these people amenable to our laws than to any other cause or to all other causes combined. I believe it to be the duty of Congress at once to extend over Indian reservations the jurisdiction of the United States courts, and to declare that each Indian in the United States shall occupy the same relation to the law that a white man does. This suggestion is the most important I have to make."

In 1878 the Indian Commissioner, in his annual report, quotes the Nez Percé Chief Joseph, one of the greatest men this country has produced, as saying:—

"The greatest want of the Indians is a system of law by which controversies between Indians and Indians and Indians and white men can be settled without appealing to physical force. Indians understand the operation of laws; and, if there were any statutes, the Indians would be perfectly content to place themselves in the hands of a proper tribunal, and would not take the righting of their own wrongs into their own hands, or retaliate, as they do now."

In 1879 General Miles in the *North American Review* quotes Chief Joseph's words,— "The greatest want of the Indians is a system of law," etc.,— and added, "Do we need a savage to inform us of the necessity that has existed for a century?"

General Crook has always held that the extension of law to the reservations was essential and preliminary to Indian progress and civilization.

In 1887 Bishop Hare says: "The accursed condition of things on Indian reservations is an outrage upon the one Lawgiver. It is a disgrace to our land. It should make every man who sits in the national halls of legislation blush. And wish well to the Indian as we may, and do for him what we will, the efforts of civil agents, teachers, and missionaries, are like the struggles of drowning men weighted with lead, as long as, by the absence of law, Indian society is left without a base."

Rev. A. T. RIGGS.—I can give my personal testimony about the Indian police courts. I believe them to be entirely inadequate. While the Indian has a sentiment of justice, he has no idea of *general* justice. His name for "different" and "enemy" is the same word. The idea of justice is not increasing. The point that Mr. Wood has made is correct. The court shows only the mind of the agent. It is doing some good work. It helps the agent. But it would be much better for the interests of civilization that it should be taken wholly out of the agent's power forever. He ought not to have any judicial functions at all. It becomes a school of despotism, if the agent is too independent. The Indians are naturally democratic; but the agency trains them away from democracy, and does not fit them for independent republicans.

Mr. P. C. GARRETT.—I wish to offer a resolution looking to the appointment of a special committee as a practical step. A bill has been submitted by Messrs. Thayer and Abbott for the assumption by the United States of the municipal taxes in allotted lands. It should be the duty of this Committee to see if this or any legislation is desirable and practicable. I move, therefore, that a special committee of five be appointed by the Chair, to whom the draft of a bill for the assumption by the United States of municipal taxes on allotted lands, and the other bills which have been before the Conference for giving further provisions of law to the Indians on reservations and in the transition stage, shall be referred, to ascertain and report whether any such legislation is desirable and practicable, and, if so, what.

Voted.

The next order of business was the consideration of civil service with reference to the Indians. An address was made by Mr. Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

BY MR. HERBERT WELSH.

Civil service reform is simply the putting into operation of a principle which is universally recognized in all business affairs excepting those of the government, and methods by which that recognized principle may be carried into effect. It is the selection of officials and employees on account of fitness, not on account of partisan politics,

and their retention, so long as their work is well done. The method of the reform is the imposition of suitable tests of fitness. It is not a difficult thing to understand: it is extremely simple. What we need is that principles of order, of right judgment, of reasonably secure tenure of office, should reign in the Indian service as they do in the work of a large business administration. I can give no better illustration of civil service reform, which the friends of the Indian have already to some extent succeeded in introducing into the Indian service, and which they hope will soon triumph absolutely, than by a simple illustration. We are in this house the invited guests of an honored friend. Our host has a large business to carry on. Is there disorder, confusion, uncertainty, in the method by which this business is conducted? Not at all. Everything is done with cheerfulness, certainty, despatch, and ease, because our host selects his officers and employees with a view to secure good service. But what would be the result if some partisan politician in the State of New York claimed the right to make the appointment of Mr. Smiley's employees for him, and did it to serve party ends? The glory of Lake Mohonk would speedily depart. In the Indian service we must also have a wise and discreet head, in order to have its business carried on efficiently; and we must have the principle of permanence in it. What do we actually find? We have found for years that in the management of Indian affairs, instead of having such a method, we have precisely the reverse. Agents, school-teachers, various employees, have been appointed not so much with a view to carrying out their work as to satisfy certain party demands. That has constantly interfered with the civilization of the Indian. Under one administration we had almost a complete change of Indian agents. Only two or three incumbents were left in. Another administration followed, and but one of those who had been appointed by the previous administration remained. What is the result? Dislocation and disorder. The work cannot be carried out effectively on this plan. Recently a superintendent was appointed to an important school. He was ready to go, when his appointment was suspended. The senator of the State where the school was located went to the President, and said, "I want that place for one of my workers, for a politician who has served me." The President resisted, but the demand was strenuous; and it was only after a consultation by the President, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Indian Commissioner that the superintendent was allowed to remain. When he went to his post, he found serious opposition. Political machinery was in motion to drive him out. Persons in the school worked against him; and he did his work under great strain, though he kept the place. In many other cases, appointees have not been so successful. In a certain school upon an Indian agency the superintendent was appointed by one senator and the agent by another, and the two were at "outs." The agent has been doing everything he could to break down the work of the superintendent by forcing him to receive unsuitable men as appointees. It can be shown that in case after case appointments have been made not by the responsible authority in Washington, but by local political influences. In one instance, an educated Republican, a man of great prominence and position, was excluded from an important

school because he could not or did not have the political influence of the particular locality in which his school was placed. But the sentiment of the friends of the Indians that has been brought to bear in Washington has been recognized, and our efforts have given us a rock in the midst of quicksands on which to rest. The civil service rules have been extended to several hundred places in the Indian service. That is the recognition of the principle that merit, character, are to be the tests of appointment to the Indian service. Having gone so far, shall we not all join hands, and with one thought and mind demand of the authorities, as I do not doubt they really desire us to do, that they resist the pressure brought to bear upon them, that this principle which has been so far recognized shall run throughout the entire Indian service, that the purpose of the Christian and intelligent people of the United States to educate and civilize the Indian shall be realized, and that the administrative work of the government shall be placed on an enduring foundation? In demanding this, we are simply putting ourselves in the line of a necessary reform, which is fighting its way in all other branches of the civil service of the country, and which shall ultimately rescue the people of the United States from the tyranny of the spoils system.

The question of method in this reform is simple. School-teachers, farmers, physicians, and some others can, as you may readily imagine, be put through a certain examination which shall be a reasonable test for their fitness to hold their respective places. If after six months they show themselves incapable of filling the places, the appointing officer can remove them. By this method the appointing officer is himself relieved from political pressure. Regarding agents the Civil Service Commissioner and those who are adepts in this question are disposed to think that a test examination cannot be made. What we desire, therefore, in regard to them is that the appointing officer in Washington shall have at least some assurance of the fitness of a man for the post of agent, and that the applicant should not be appointed at the dictation of any local politician, which in many instances would be against the welfare of the Indian. I think we ought to ask the President to make the appointment of Indian agents, upon the recommendation of the Indian Commissioner.

Mr. A. K. SMILEY.—Would you have agents removable only for cause?

Mr. WELSH.—I certainly should. As it is now, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs has nothing whatever to do with the appointment of Indian agents.

Mr. SHELTON.—Hasn't the President reached the limit of his power in regard to this matter?

President GATES.—It will require a very important modification of the laws for the civil service rules to apply to agents.

Mr. WELSH.—The President in choosing an agent, or in letting the Indian Commissioner choose him, can determine upon what principle the choice shall be made, whether it is to gratify a senator or because he is a good man for the place. He has the power to make these appointments upon a sound basis.

Mr. A. K. SMILEY.—You would keep an agent permanently unless found inefficient.

Mr. WELSH.—I do not think you can dictate to the President ; but the principle can be recognized that a man should not be appointed because he is a Republican or because he is a Democrat, and that we should not be subjected to the shame and loss of having a clean sweep of sixty-one agents every four years.

President Gates read some extracts from a letter from Commissioner Morgan.

Colonel Oberly was invited to speak on the subject of civil service reform as applied to the Indian service.

Hon. J. H. OBERLY.—The subject of the application of the Civil Service Law to the Indian service is one in which I have been interested from the time I became connected with that service. Six years ago, at this place, I expressed myself as opposed to the wholesale periodical partisan dismissals of the employees of the agencies and of the schools.

There is only one school for Indians that, in my opinion, has been conducted from the first, and that is being conducted now, upon really true civil service reform principles ; and that is the school of Captain Pratt. That school is in a Democratic Congressional district, but no representative of that district has ever asserted any right to make even a suggestion to Captain Pratt as to what employees he should select. Indeed, I know that during the Cleveland administration no Democrat ever thought of saying to the captain, "I want certain appointments in your school as a part of the spoils"; and, if any one had done so, that strong-headed and sometimes wrong-headed man would have given him the proper answer. If it were possible to have in all the schools of the country the conditions that exist at Carlisle, there would be no need of this reform ; but in every other school the politician is, in fact, the appointing officer ; and he is not a very conscientious one. Occasionally, I am pleased to know, Commissioner Morgan takes things into his own hands ; but it is almost impossible for the Indian Commissioner to act in Indian matters uninfluenced by the dominating spirit of the spoils system, under which men are too often put in positions not because they are qualified, but because certain politicians want them appointed for reasons that have no relation to the good of the service. The result is that under this system the Indian schools have been demoralized. I am glad, therefore, to learn that at last the President has consented to extend the Civil Service Law over these schools. For a while it will be difficult to adapt the rules to the service ; but I believe that in time, when practical experience shall have taught us how to apply them wisely, the whole country will applaud the action of President Harrison in this respect, and you will see the beneficent results of his action in the better moral as well as in the better intellectual condition of every government school in the land.

Mrs. Quinton was asked to speak.

Mrs. QUINTON.—I have just been on a journey of seven months, beginning in Florida and going through the Southern States, up the

Pacific Coast as far as Washington, and thence home ; and everywhere I found a great desire among Indians for some settled officials, for something permanent, and a feeling that there ought not to be this constant change. To go to the bottom, we ought to ask that there should be permanence in the office of the Commissioner. Why should it not be made a permanent office? And why should not the Commissioner have power to do the work needed to be done? Now, by the time a commissioner learns what he needs to know, and we have confidence in him, he leaves. That has been true from the top of the service all the way down. It seems to me it might be a good thing to have an Indian Secretary ; but perhaps that is not wise nor possible. But more power could be given to the Commissioner. Can the office be taken out of politics? That is like asking, Can the right be done? Our President here, in his opening speech, touched on all the principles necessary in the solution of these questions ; and we have had the same all the way through. There is power enough here to secure anything needed. Senator Dawes has told us that the people of this country can get what they want, and, if they demand anything, it can be had. To be sure, it is like asking a king to abdicate ; but kings have been asked to abdicate, and kings have had to abdicate. God's people are committed to a moral work in this country. I believe the time has come when, if we ask it, "the crooked" can be "made straight." Shall we not ask it? It is surely the business of Christians. There are fifteen millions of Christians in this country. That means that there is great moral strength here. Have we not been dealing with half-measures long enough? Let us ask for the one thing that will insure all the rest. We need at the head of the Indian service a man who has a heart, who has convictions, who has courage, and who dares defy the powers if they be wrong. We have such a one ; and why not ask the government and the people to keep him in, and that power needed may be given him during good behavior? During my long trip my heart was grieved everywhere because of the great evils from this want of power and permanence. We cannot now do missionary or educational work as both should be done.

The CHAIRMAN.—Judge Draper has a statement, touching the matter of which he spoke this morning, which he desires to make.

Judge DRAPER.—It was said by Dr. Hubbell, while I was speaking this morning, that, although the report of the legislative committee provided against the claim of the Ogden Company, yet the legislative bill did not. Here was another suggestion that something wrong was going on. I was sure he was in error, but could not on the moment prove it. By Mrs. Draper's thoughtfulness, however, a copy of that bill was brought here with other papers, and from it I read the following provision :—

"The provisions of this act shall not apply to any land in the Allegheny, Cattaraugus, or Oil Spring reservations now occupied by the Seneca Indians, nor to the lands of the Tuscarora Indians, *until the claim of the Ogden Land Company to an interest in said lands or any part or portion thereof shall be extinguished.*"

Abstract of a letter from Rev. T. L. Riggs, of South Dakota, read by Mr. Joshua W. Davis, in reply to the question propounded by the Law Committee:—

1. . . . The law of a reservation is largely that of the individual in charge of the agency,—personal law, variable law, without dignity or permanence. For example, there is no known law applicable to divorce cases on the reservation. I have known the attempt made to set aside legal marriages by the native court, and this court having the moral support of the agent in charge; and again I have known that encouragement has been given by an Indian agent to a man wishing to abandon his wife, the agent promising, as the Indian claims, to grant letters of divorce himself. And on another agency I have known of cases calling for action and punishment by the powers that be, and the agent has evaded the issue, pleading lack of authority, etc.

2. The Court of Indian Offences does very well as a beginning. It does not "afford reasonably convenient justice for the Indians" *for any length of time*. I am inclined to think that in many places this Indian court has accomplished its work. There should in all important cases be given an appeal to the United States court.

3. . . .

4. My understanding of the rights of Indians having lands in severalty is that to them is open every remedy for trespass, etc., used by the white man. *The difficulty lies in the fact that the Indian is not acquainted with the law and its methods of procedure, to avail himself of such remedies.*

5. My suggestions in reply to this question are radical, and are not likely to obtain favor yet awhile, I fear.

First, I would stop tinkering up special laws for Indians. Law that is good for the white man can, with suitable provision for administration, cover all the needs of the Indian.

Second, I would therefore extend our laws, in toto, to every Indian on reservation or off.

Third, I would, further, provide special agents to look after the proper administration of the laws; a judicial officer for every considerable body of Indians, and those scattered about can be assigned to the care of this or that special officer.

Fourth, I would educate, by every possible means, the Indian, that he may avail himself of his rights under the laws.

The matter of prejudice on the part of the border white man is not to be feared. Such prejudice is fast passing away, and, to my own mind, has never existed in the extreme coloring of many Eastern friends of the Indians.

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Night, October 8.

The Conference met at 8 P.M., the President in the chair.

President GATES.—The year has not left us untouched. Who that ever heard him can fail to remember the fearless, helpful, hearty words of General J. F. B. Marshall? He and his wife rounded out together a noble and a useful life, interested in all questions that concerned their fellows. We recall them to-night. And the one whose ready pen and wise planning for this Conference, and whose wide acquaintance with the press kept us more closely in touch with the great newspaper interests of the country than any other man was able to do, whose wife, through her devotion to this work, and especially to the home building department of it, had endeared herself to many,—Major Kinney we also recall. And yet another is not here. She has been taken away, and her bereaved husband is now in foreign lands. There are other names that we might mention, whom we all remember with affection to-night. "Their works do follow them."

A letter from Mrs. Sara T. Kinney was read by Mrs. Clinton B. Fiske, of which the following is an abstract:—

At Bancroft I was met by my Indian hostess, and taken at once to her home, a pretty little cottage a mile from the village, where she lives with her husband, six children, and one and often two servants, who, by the way, are not Indians. There are several persons in Hartford, and perhaps elsewhere, who have a vicious habit of insisting that no good thing can come out of a reservation; and I would very much like to introduce them to this pretty, well-ordered Christian Indian home.

A canary swinging in its cage on the outer porch, and a hammock under the trees filled with one little, two little, three little Injuns, four little, five little, even six very jolly little Injuns, first attracted my attention, as we drove into the yard. I was taken directly to my room, to rest and free myself from the dust of travel. After a while there was a knock at the door, and one of the children, a little chap of nine years, asked if I would please walk out to supper. I was very well pleased to do so; and, since Nebraska breezes have a wonderful trick of sharpening one's appetite, I was particularly well pleased to find a most appetizing meal awaiting me. The same little boy to whom I have referred asked a blessing with all the ease and reverence one would expect from any member of the Hartford theological fraternity, and then we fell to and made havoc with the broiled prairie chicken and other good things. The evening was spent in discussing not only the various aspects of the always absorbing Indian question, but other topics as well,—matters of general interest in the world at large, such as in an Indian household would not be deemed possible by the ordinary unbeliever in the desire and ability of the Indian race to "evolute" itself out of barbarism into civilization. . . .

At one end of the room, in a prettily draped bay window, was a table strewn with papers and magazines,—*Harper's Monthly*, the *Century*, the *Youth's Companion*, the *Agriculturist*, and other well-known periodicals. The unbeliever to whom I have referred will shrug his (or her) shoulders, and say, "Oh, but your hostess is

not an average Indian." True, O king! She is very far from being an average Indian, and perhaps not much more like the average white woman! A sweet, gentle, modest, wise, far-sighted, quick-witted, refined Christian woman,—such is my hostess. Yet she is a full-blooded Indian, who never attended any other than the reservation schools, and, I believe, has never in her life been further than fifty miles from her home.

I spent two days with this friend; and then, in a comfortable phaeton with an Indian driver, and another Indian on horseback (a sort of honorary escort), I started on an eighteen-mile ride across the open prairie for the agency school, where Dr. Susan La Flesche, the first protégé of the Connecticut Indian Association, is now the government physician, in charge of all the "Los," both great and small; and, as there are nearly twelve hundred of them on the reservation, one can easily understand that she is a busy woman. The doctor's practice includes a number of white families living near the reservation; and she assures me that, in spite of being an Indian, they never attempt to shirk the payment of her bills for medical services. So we must score one for the white settler of Nebraska.

She also assures me that there has been within a few years a wonderful change in public sentiment out there in regard to her people. Educated Indians, with a reasonable amount of push and business energy, can now secure good situations in most of the outlying towns as clerks in stores, agents, farm hands, and so on. This is a gratifying statement, and one for which I was unprepared. . . .

Thirty years ago the Omahas took to drink. Their chief, Joseph La Flesche (Dr. Susan's father), finally threatened to have any man who should be found drunk on the reservation soundly horsewhipped. The threat was carried out in a few cases, and the whole business stopped then and there. Now Chief Joseph is dead, these Indians are citizens, and claim the right to buy and drink as much whiskey as they please. There are plenty of white men who are more than willing to sell it to them, and the local laws are entirely inadequate to suppress the evil. Some of the Indians, including Dr. La Flesche, are taking active measures to bring the delinquents to justice; and their efforts are meeting with some success. A Law and Order Committee has been organized among the Indians, and the members thereof are both alert and aggressive. Several offenders have already been brought before the courts through the efforts of this committee, and many more are in danger of the same fate. It is clearly evident that, if these Indians fail to meet the expectations of their Eastern well-wishers, as well as of the better class among their own people, it will be because of no inherent disqualification on their part for a higher civilization, but simply and solely because of whiskey, the white man's gift to the red man,—a gift which carries with it a curse, and one which will surely sap all that is good and noble from any race.

The Omahas are a quiet, gentle, well-disposed, agricultural people. They are, in many respects, very like children. It is but recently that they have awakened to a sense of responsibility for the future, and even yet they are a little dazed by the many requirements of civilized life. . . .

A decade ago, with very few exceptions, they were savages, pure and simple, with no rights that a white man was bound to respect. To-day they are citizens,—in the main, self-supporting, self-respecting citizens of the State of Nebraska. They vote. They are taxed. They receive no help from the government. They depend for their livelihood upon their own exertions. They are doing well on their farms and in their homes. Since last March they have built between fifty and sixty houses. They have purchased one hundred and fifty cultivators, twenty corn-planters, ten corn-cutters, one hundred and fifty ploughs, one hundred sets of harness, forty stoves, seventy-five farm wagons, forty buggies, one hundred and eighty-five horses, and have broken three hundred acres of virgin prairie soil.

Extracts from letters were also read from Miss Alice C. Fletcher, General S. C. Armstrong, Mr. C. P. Huntington, and Mr. T. W. Blackburn.

The subject of the evening was then taken up, "The Distribution of Land in Severalty: Its Progress and its Hindrances." General Whitelsey was asked to open the subject.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN SEVERALTY: ITS PROGRESS AND ITS HINDRANCES.

BY GEN. E. WHITTLESEY.

I have heard of a preacher who, after taking his text, began by saying, "I propose, in the first place, to digress from this text; and, in the second place, I propose not to return to it." With your permission, I will imitate him, and digress for a moment, in order to answer a question which was asked this morning by General Eaton. I understand the question to be, What was the attitude of the Christian Indians in the recent outbreak in Dakota? I have made no personal investigation of that subject; but Mr. T. W. Blackburn, who was Superintendent of Indian Education, went out last March to make a thorough investigation of the causes of that outbreak, and he writes as follows:—

"The Christian Indians, Protestant and Catholic, the former particularly at Pine Ridge, and the latter particularly at Rosebud, have been almost universally loyal. They are generally progressive. Those who were found among the hostiles claim to have been compelled by force and wholly against their own wills to abandon their homes. This is probably true, and the large number of unwilling followers of the hostile leaders in the Bad Lands contributed finally to the breaking up of the hostile camp."

This testimony, though he gives no figures, is satisfactory proof that the Christian Indians, as a body, remained loyal to the government.

The subject of land in severalty has become pretty familiar to this Conference. I myself prefer the phrase Indian homesteads. That conveys a better idea of what we are trying to do; that is, to enable the Indians to make for themselves homes, as we understand that dear word. The idea of the separate home is becoming familiar to a large body of Indians. When we consider what their life has been and how strong their superstitions and prejudices are, it really is surprising that they are receiving this idea with so much favor as they do. It means a radical revolution in their condition. The progress of this work of allotting lands has been shown by the figures which I gave at the opening of this Conference. Allotments are being made by several agents, and land has been allotted to some non-reservation Indians. There are a good many scattered about in the different States and Territories who are not on the reservations. They are entitled under the law to take homesteads on the same terms as white men take them, but more favorable, because they are exempt from paying the fees which white men are required to pay. To help them to select lands, agents have been sent out.

It is not commonly understood that Indians, though they hold lands in common nominally, do not actually hold lands in common to any great extent. The more enterprising Indians get hold of large tracts of land, and have herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and become quite wealthy. There are rich Indians as well as poor Indians. These rich Indians, who are somewhat educated, naturally do not

take very kindly to the idea of having those lands distributed equally. It will take away a large portion of the lands which they now possess, and they are an obstacle and a hindrance to the successful carrying out of this policy of distributing land in severalty. On the part of those who seek allotments, troubles arise as to selections. Two, three, six, perhaps a dozen Indians want the same tract of land. It requires no little patience and skill on the part of the allotment agents to adjust these differences and to satisfy the desires of every individual. Most of the agents have succeeded very well in doing this. Miss Fletcher told us in Washington some of the difficulties she had experienced in the Nez Percé's reservation.

Another hindrance is the influence brought to bear by surrounding white settlers, who are waiting to get possession of the lands that may be reserved after allotments are completed. If there are valuable tracts of land, they try to prevent those lands from being allotted, and to prevent Indians from selecting them, by bribery and by other means. Another thing which has to be considered is that there are a good many Indians who are incapable of managing a landed estate, who know nothing about the value of land or improving it or taking care of it, and have no disposition to learn. Others do not wish to occupy their lands, but prefer to engage in mechanical pursuits or to hire out to white men as laborers. Much reservation land is almost worthless, arid, sandy, sterile plains, which without irrigation will produce nothing, any more than crops would grow on this floor. Such lands have to be allotted in small tracts, so that irrigation may be made available. Others are only fit for grazing, and they must be guarded by fences from the intrusions of the cattle of white settlers.

When this policy is carried out, it thrusts upon the Indians the obligation of citizenship. They are brought under the laws of the States and Territories where they dwell, and it is not to be supposed that they understand much about those laws. They must learn by experience and by taking risks. Common sense and humanity dictate that we should throw around these Indians all the safeguards possible; and they should have education, so that they may be fitted for the new responsibilities and new duties of the position into which we thrust them.

Dr. Alfred L. Riggs was then asked to speak.

Dr. RIGGS.—The allotments of the Santee Indians were made about six years ago, before the general Land in Severalty bill was passed. The Indians are on their own homesteads. The last few years in Dakota and Nebraska have been very hard for the farmers, and so the Indians have received some help in the way of rations. If it had not been for that, they could not have got through. They are all mixed up with the white settlers, who came in after their choice had been made. Many of the white settlers have been starved out. If occasionally the Indians have to leave, that is not doing worse than white men have to do. They have become voters, and have been accepted by the white population; and they are cultivated by the office-seekers just as much as their white neighbors for the

sake of their vote. They have not had recognition in the courts of the State. That seems to be a long and slow process ; but, in the main, land in severalty has been a success on the Santee reservation:

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—I wish to allude to the home building. This work has been undertaken by the Ladies' Indian Association. I have myself seen nine of these beautiful houses, all built by the aid of the Home Building Association,—built by the Indians themselves, with money for purchasing materials furnished by the Association ; and these homes were occupied by Christian Indian families, who were an object lesson to all the Indians of that region. I wish Mrs. Quinton would tell us about this.

Mrs. QUINTON.—The work of Indian home building was first started by Miss Fletcher at Hampton ; and Mrs. Kinney afterward introduced it into our Connecticut Auxiliary, and asked that association to build the first cottage. It was built among the Omahas, and was a success. At the end of that year our National Association made home building a separate department, putting it into Mrs. Kinney's hands, and she has had the entire charge of it. In the five years fifty or sixty cottages have been built or made over in eight or ten different tribes. During the last year reported applications were received from thirty-seven different Indians, and those worthy have mostly been helped. This department includes also loans for the purchase of horses, wagons, sewing-machines, and other such helpers into civilized self-support.

In Alaska Indians have built several cottages by our loans. Among the Omahas of Nebraska a number of such cottages have been built ; and I found one young Indian there who had just filled with wheat his new granary, eighteen or twenty feet square, and he said he should soon harvest two thousand bushels of corn. He had built from our loan a house of two or three rooms, and it was kept so tidily and furnished so neatly that all the people on the reservation desire such a home. The money loaned has come back better than we could have expected. In 1887 \$125 was returned from these loans, without interest, of course ; the next year, \$175 ; in the following, \$553 ; and the next year \$652 was paid. They have been fairly prompt, and very few bad debts have been incurred. Mrs. Kinney has taken pains to conduct this business in strict business form. Notes and mortgages have been given, though, as she said, she knew the notes were not worth the paper. Still, they were made, as a business education. The tribes helped have been very much influenced by this department, and their æsthetic taste has been cultivated. They have learned how to paint their houses tastefully. One wanted a little porch over the door to keep the sun out, and "because it is so pretty, you know." Another wanted a window-ledge, so that they could have plants, "because they are so bright."

Mr. J. Du Bray, a Sioux, was asked to speak.

Mr. DU BRAY.—I am very glad to be here, and to look in your faces and to hear you speak good words about the Indians. I came from Yankton. You could once find the Indians there with painted faces and with blankets, dancing those old savage dances. If you go there

now, you will find them in a different position from what they were ten years ago. You will find them in the field, trying to raise some corn and support themselves. But the government makes the Indians lazy. As long as the government feeds the Indians they will never work. If the government wants to civilize the Indian, he must first make him learn to work and take care of himself. Some time ago I went to a farmer's house. The farmer owned a large flock of chickens. All the time the chickens came round the house. So I say to him, "Farmer, what makes these chickens come round the house so much?" "I feed them here," he said: "that is the reason they come round the house all the time." I asked him again, "If you do not feed them, what will they do?" He said, "If I do not feed them, they will go out in the fields and scratch the ground, and get food for themselves." I think the Indians are just like the chickens. As long as the government feeds the Indians they will never work. But, if the government will give them some implements to work, and show them how, then I think the Indians will go out and scratch the ground, and get food for themselves, just like the chickens.

Some time ago I went to some chiefs' meeting. They talked about civilization, and they said: "We used to have hard times when the government did not feed us. We had to hunt for our meat, and we had to make our own clothes. Now we do not have to work: we just sit in our homes, and the government feeds us and gives us clothes. We think civilization is a good thing!" The Indians live, some of them, thirty or forty miles from the agency; and, when they go after rations, they lose three or four days going after three or four pounds of meat. Some of the Indians do not like that at all. They say, "Why doesn't the government give us implements, or cattle or herds, instead of rations and clothes? Then we might stay at home and earn more pounds of meat."

The mission schools are doing good work among the Indians. If they did not do good work, I would not stand here to speak to you. The mission schools take us and clean our hands, and show us how to take care of ourselves, and then send us to Eastern schools to learn more of civilization. At the Hampton School all the Indians have to work. We work half a day every day, and go to school half a day. We get up at quarter past five in the morning, and go to bed at ten o'clock. It is a hard thing for us to do, to work and study all day; but I think it is a good thing.

Mr. LYON.—When I was first appointed on the Board of Supplies, fifteen years since, we purchased 30,000,000 pounds of beef. This season we have ordered 35,667,600 pounds of beef. This has been distributed among 57,960 individuals, giving them 615 pounds each, about 2 pounds a day. In addition, we give 756,460 pounds of bacon, 2,162,750 pounds of corn, 866,600 pounds of oats, 412,000 of wheat, and 9,958,600 pounds of flour, making 172 pounds of flour to each Indian. My impression has been that the Indians ought to be taught to raise these things. We give them some luxuries, too. The requisition came for 1,132,450 pounds of the best granulated sugar,—19 pounds of sugar for every Indian. This we give to 57,960 Indians. 566,600 pounds of coffee, 22,395 pounds of tea, 7,300 pounds of barley, 363,340 pounds of beans, 55,800 pounds of corn-

meal, 92,100 pounds of hard bread, 40,725 pounds of hominy, 27,200 pounds of oatmeal.

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—Mr. Lyon is feeding, as he says, 57,960 Indians. It must be remembered that there are nearly 250,000 Indians. Many people suppose that we are feeding all, but nearly 200,000 are supporting themselves.

Mr. MOSES PIERCE, Connecticut.—I want to say a word about the home-building work. That originated in this room. The first time that Miss Fletcher came to this Conference she told what could be done in regard to home building among the Indians by lending them small sums of money. Five hundred dollars was placed in her hands for that purpose.

Mr. SMILEY.—Mr. Pierce gave that himself.

Mr. PIERCE.—That money has been lent and relent. Miss Fletcher continued to manage it for several years, and then she turned it over to the Connecticut ladies to manage. If there is any credit for originating this branch of work, it is due to Miss Fletcher.

Mr. SMILEY.—I think there is a misapprehension about the quantity of supplies given to Indians. How much is given under treaty stipulation?

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—Without attempting to answer exactly, without documents, I think I am not far from the truth when I say that two-thirds of the rations are required by treaty stipulation.

Miss Emily S. Cook, of the Indian Office, was asked to answer that question.

Miss COOK.—The fifty thousand Indians who have been spoken of include all the Indians who are supported from rations, also all for whom last year any subsistence was purchased. Some of them receive only two or three, or, in some cases, five, seven, or twelve dollars' worth a year. The bulk of it goes to the Apaches in Arizona, and to Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches in the Indian Territory, who have not made much progress in civilization; also, to some of the Sioux, who are on alkali lands, in the Dakotas. Of the 250,000 Indians, about four-fifths are entirely self-supporting.

President GATES.—This should be remembered. It is too commonly supposed that the United States government feeds the great mass of the Indians.

Mr. SMILEY.—I suppose two-thirds of those who receive rations do so by treaty.

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—From 15,000 to 18,000 of those who receive rations are children in our schools.

Mr. MESERVE.—I should like to ask Miss Cook if the agents do not issue them on the same basis that I issue rations to my students?

Miss COOK.—No: the school ration is better than the Indian ration.

Dr. WOODBURY.—Is not the point that has been suggested of great importance, with reference to the amount of time taken up every week or every month in long journeys to get rations?

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—In the last appropriation bill it will be found that the Indian Commissioner has authority to establish five points

of delivery, or more if necessary, on any reservation, and send the provisions to them. That is going to be done this very year.

Gen. EATON.—Suppose a young man has land allotted to him while he is still in school. What can he do with his land? Or suppose the land is allotted to a man who has no money with which to purchase implements, but who has lumber on his land. Can he make any sale of the lumber, or in any way secure rental from the use of the land or what is on it, by which he can secure funds for the purchase of food or implements or horses or anything of the kind? Or is there a deficiency in the law which demands our attention?

President GATES.—Senator Dawes, to whom we put all the hard questions, will perhaps answer that.

Senator DAWES.—The amendment to the allotment law provides that whenever, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Interior, land cannot be profitably occupied by the allottee, by reason of age or other disability, the leasing of land is authorized. There has been a change of sentiment about this matter, and I think the law has got to be modified further in regard to this leasing matter.

Gen. CHARLES H. HOWARD.—It is a mistake to mass the Indians together. What additional law is necessary in regard to this?

Senator DAWES.—I happen to know that it was the original intention of the President of the United States, when he signed the law, to have land allotted in alternate sections. The President intended to put the law in operation in a very different way from what has been done.

Dr. STRIEBY.—Under the law, unless a farmer can make use of his soil, he is prohibited from becoming anything but a farmer. Isn't that an objection to the whole thing?

Senator DAWES.—I think we have got to modify the severalty law a good deal. I have been heretofore very strenuous against farming out or leasing allotments, because I knew that an Indian, if he once lost his allotment, would never get it back. I never knew a white man to get his foot on an Indian's land who ever took it off. But on certain reservations Indians have found that the labor of breaking the land in the first year and getting ready for the crop the next year was so great that they abandoned the idea, and have leased out their land to white men who have turned them into grazing ranges, and the Indians have gone back into the tepees. It is hard work for white men to break up prairie land, and they will not do it if they can help it. It has occurred to me that under the superintendence of the Indian Bureau an allottee might be authorized to lease for two or three years to a white man one-half of his allotment on condition that the white man should break up so many acres each year, and that the rental should be expended in breaking up the land on the remainder of the allotment, where the Indian should live himself. At the end of the lease the whole one hundred and sixty acres would be in some condition for him to carry on the business of farming. What Dr. Strieby says has been pressing on the government from the beginning. But civilization comes from the occupation of the land. Whatever can be done for the poor allottee under proper supervision ought to be done. It depends on the administration. If any one is allowed to lease his land who chooses, the Indian will be despoiled

of his land and his home. He will no longer have a homestead. But so long as the Indian Bureau is administered as it is now, and as it ought to be, with care, with constant vigilance and determination, you are safe with a flexible law. But, if it should pass out of such hands into such hands as we can contemplate, then woe to the allottee who is authorized to lease his land!

President SEELYE, of Smith College.— I have been impressed with the idea of sending Christian families to those Indian tribes, that by contact with Christian civilization the Indian tribes may be civilized. I cannot believe that it is possible to take all these Indian families and transport them into the midst of our own civilization. I think there are family rights that must be respected. We cannot induce these older men and women to leave their homes. But I do believe we can induce Christian men and women to make their homes among these Indians. We know what the Riggs family has done among them. We know what Miss Goodale did before she was married and what she will do as a married woman among them. What I want to know is whether any legislation is needed in order to accomplish this. If we could have a law made which would render it possible for Christian men and women to colonize in the midst of these Indians, I think there would be an army of them who would avail themselves of that law; and, through this contact of Christian men and women, we could preserve those who go back from Eastern schools from relapsing into their former barbarism.

President Gates said that he would like to read an extract from an address which he delivered six years ago, as he believed that it was apposite still:—

Guard the rights of the Indian, but for his own good break up his reservations. Let in the light of civilization. Plant in alternate sections or townships white farmers, who will teach him by example. Reserve all the lands he needs for the Indian. Give land by trust-deed in severalty to each family.

Among the parts of the reservation to be so assigned to Indians in severalty retain alternate ranges or townships for white settlers. Let only men of such character as a suitable commission would approve be allowed to file on these lands. Let especial advantages in price of land, and in some cases let a small salary be offered, to induce worthy farmers thus to settle among the Indians as object-teachers of civilization. Let the parts of the reservations not needed be sold by the government for the benefit of the Indians, and the money thus realized be used to secure this wise intermingling of the right kind of civilized men with the Indians. Over all extend the law of the States and Territories, and let Indian and white man stand alike before the law.

It is my firm conviction that a plan of this kind can be devised which will meet a response from settlers of the right stamp quicker and more generous than could be accounted for by the mere money inducements offered.

There is a great mission work to be done by laymen and farmers for these Indians. The spirit that settled Kansas in the interest of liberty and fair play for all men, however despised, is not yet dead in our land. And, while I see clearly many difficulties in the way, I believe they can all be met in a plan that shall gradually substitute homes and family life for the tribal organization, settlements of mingled whites and Indians for the reservation system, and the reign of law, with the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, for the state of unprotected anarchy to which we have hitherto condemned the Indian. . . .

The ideal plan (which I believe to be also a practicable plan) is to reserve alternate sections, ranges, or townships among the Indian allotments for white settlers, of character approved by a philanthropic and experienced commission. Offer special inducements to reputable white settlers to occupy these farms. Thus "object-teaching" in thrifty farming will go forward on a large scale.

Dr. C. L. THOMPSON, New York.—Since coming here, I have realized as never before that in this room is the very heart of the Christian and patriotic sentiment of this country concerning the Indian question, and that from here have gone out the potent influences that are settling the Indian problem in the way in which it ought to be settled by Christian people. The Presbyterian Board of Home Missions has endeavored to take its share in solving some of the Indian questions. Last spring that board adopted a series of resolutions or made a declaration of principles which I wish to read :

The Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, having carefully considered the movement of the National League for an amendment to the national Constitution in the matter of appropriation of government funds to different denominations for the support of what are called "Contract Schools" among the Indians, desires to give expression to the following declaration. We are in hearty accord with the end aimed at by the National League. We believe it to be contrary alike to the form and spirit of our government that any governmental aid should be given to any Church for the prosecution of any part of its work. We are, therefore, in favor of such an amendment to the Constitution as will put an end to government grants to denominational schools.

But the judgment of the board is that the closing of the contract system of Indian schools devolves on the government the duty of extending to the Indians the benefits of our common school system. Until this is done, it would be disastrous to the Indian tribes to take away from them or put in jeopardy the schools whose advantages they now enjoy. It is further to be observed that the contract system of Indian schools now existing between this board and the Indian Bureau is the outcome of offers made to the board by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, years ago, which offers we did not seek, but, on the contrary, our co-operation was sought; and these schools, which have been of such undoubted blessing to the Indians, cannot be abruptly terminated without serious harm to their moral and spiritual interests.

Dr. W. H. WARD.—I understand that this Presbyterian plan is that they shall withdraw when the government shall extend the school system to all the Indians. All schools must be religious. A government boarding school has got to be Protestant or Catholic. If they are Protestant, they have got to be under the religious instruction of Methodists or Baptists or Presbyterians or Quakers or some sect. You are not going to give Indian children in a boarding school a purely secular education. The question involved in the contract school is exactly that which is involved in the government boarding school. If you will say, Government shall withdraw all boarding schools and shut them up, and no longer teach religion in the boarding schools, then that moment you can say, We will give no more money to the contract school in which precisely the same religion is taught.

Professor J. B. Dunbar, New Jersey, exhibited several interesting Indian books, among them a John Eliot Bible. Professor Dunbar was born among the Indians as the son of a missionary. He thought Mrs. Quinton had made it very clear that the one thing most desirable in treating the Indians was the element of certainty. For two things the Indian has respect,—power and the inevitable. The laws heretofore with respect to Indians had been made for the advantage of the white man, and not for the Indian. The Indians do not respect

the present vacillating system. The whole subject should be taken out of the range of politics. He thought a board made up of one military man and two civilians should be put in charge, to look after these questions.

Miss Edna Dean Proctor was then introduced, who, at the request of the Conference, recited one of her own poems, "The Last Inca of Peru."

President GATES.—When the touch of genius is thrown over the history of those who thus sadly perished, we owe a special debt to the one who presents history to us in this idealized form. Those who would like to thank Miss Proctor for the pleasure she has given us will say, Aye.

There was a hearty and unanimous vote of thanks.
Adjourned at 10.30 P.M.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 9.

The Conference was called to order after prayer. President Gates said that all who remembered the prayer of Bishop Whipple a year before, in which he prayed for the Indians as "this people of the restless eye and the wandering foot," would be interested to know that a letter had been received from him, expressing his deep interest in this Conference.

The letter was then read. A letter was also read from Hon. John E. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, regretting his enforced absence.

President GATES.—It requires a great deal more stamina on the part of men high in office than sometimes, in our moments of criticism, we are willing to give them credit for, to resist the powerful pressure of the spoilsmen. When men like Secretary Noble and President Harrison and President Cleveland stand firm in their advocacy of justice for the Indian, they should have expressions of our confidence and regard. Therefore, without advising any formal deliverance, I wish to suggest that the men who are exposed to the ceaseless fire of criticism from newspapers will be helped by a word from thoughtful, Christian people, honestly praising what has been done that is right. If any man or woman, then, is disposed to write to Secretary Noble and President Harrison of our gratification at the civil service rules that have been adopted, I doubt not that such letters would be acceptable.

We come now to consider education for the Indians, the crying need of the hour. What are we going to do to uplift the Indians, unless we can bring them under the sway of ideas? There is no other way of getting them out of barbarism and bringing them under the reign of law. Did you notice that some one said, "We need more law, because the Indians are getting loose in their morals"? It is as impossible to legislate a love of sin out of the human heart as it is to legislate vice out of a community. There must be another power, deeper than law, to accomplish this result. We emphasize law, because there is no progress for a people from barbarism up to civilization except as right moral convictions, clearer ideas as to right and wrong, take on a permanent form in institutions and laws. The best ideas of the past have been fixed for us in social customs, in laws and institutions. We are fortified in goodness by this crystallized result of the thinking of previous generations of men. When the question arises, How shall the 30,000 Indian children of school age become self-directing citizens? we feel that law alone will not do it. There must be the constraining power that comes from Christian

education. There must be the constraining power of Christ, which sends men into the work of missionary teaching, and holds them steadfast in that work. We take up, therefore, the subject of education, and I invite the Rev. Dr. George Dana Boardman, of Philadelphia, to open the discussion.

Dr. G. D. BOARDMAN, Philadelphia.—I would like to say a word on the limitations of education. I am one of those who think the State cannot give a thorough education. To give a thorough education would be for the State to overstep its constitutional limits. The Church, and the Church only, can give an education which is symmetrical as well as total. It is my conviction that this question of education is to be remitted ultimately to the Church. No one is a stronger admirer of the common school and the secular system than I am. But that education which does not take in the hereafter, which does not rest on those fundamental principles which are to abide when the scenery of this world passes away, is defective, and in that regard an untrue education. A question of right is not to be settled by a numerical majority. A question of conscience is not to be decided in any scales, avoirdupois or Troy. We have got to come to the fundamental question, Shall these 30,000 Indian children of whom we have heard be allowed to grow up in ignorance of these fundamental principles? What does it advantage to give an education to your child that shall cover all the principles of this life? What shall it advantage your son going forth from his university to know everything about earth's latitudes and longitudes, everything about a ship from pennon to keel, to have every chart and the best of compasses, if, after all, when life's voyage is over, he has no heavenly harbor to make?

President GATES.—I will ask Miss Cook of the Indian Department, whom we sometimes call "the library of useful knowledge," to open the subject, "Education: Its Progress, its Obstacles, and its Limitations."

EDUCATION: ITS PROGRESS, ITS OBSTACLES, AND ITS LIMITATIONS.

Miss COOK.—A great advance has been made in education for Indians. I can remember the time when there were no Indian police, when the first one was started at San Carlos among the Apaches, when there were no Courts of Indian Offences, when there were no training schools, no allotments, no Mohonk. When I began my work, the whole number of Indian children in school, exclusive of New York and the five civilized tribes, was about 3,500.

Mr. SMILEY.—Miss Cook is eighteen years old in the Indian service.

Miss COOK.—Last summer I was being ferried across the Potomac in a row-boat by an old colored man with gray hair and an expansive smile. I talked with him a little, and asked him how he got his living. "By fishing," he said. "How much can you earn?" "Miss," he replied, "sometimes I gits ten cents a day, and then I lives down to it; and sometimes I gits a dollar a day, and then I lives up to it, but I keeps on livin' all the time." I can remember

when we lived down to ten cents a day. Then there was very great joy in the Indian Office because there was an appropriation of twenty thousand dollars, which made it possible to branch out in new directions. Since then, from the twenty thousand dollars, the ten cents a day, we have come up to the dollar a day; and the result has been that there are now thirteen training schools in ten different States and Territories, and five more will probably be in operation the present year. At the end of this fiscal year it is hoped these will accommodate 4,600 pupils, more than a thousand more than all the Indian pupils who were in school eighteen years ago. Those 3,500 then in school included all the mission schools and all the children we could hear of who were in school. Almost all the scholars in mission schools are also reported in the government statistics, because they are more or less supported by government aid. New schools have been opened at Fort Belknap, Fort Totten, Fort Sill, and on the Colville reservation; and there is to be a new one for the Navajos on the San Juan, and one for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes at Seger Colony. A good many here have been interested in the self-denying labors of Mr. Seger among those Indians, and have given him some help. He actually is to have a boarding school and a house for himself, and be comfortable. There is also to be one among the Round Valley Indians. They had one, but it was burned. The Rosebud Sioux have been promised a boarding school regularly every year, and an advertisement calling for bids for buildings is now out. The Utes will have one before the year is over, as will also the Oneidas in Wisconsin. A large number of day schools will be added to the Sioux in Dakota, in strict accordance with the treaty provision of twenty years ago.

The great advance in our income to a dollar a day has been used not only to increase the number of pupils, but to improve the buildings and equipment. The *personnel* of teachers and employees has been raised. The principal work of the last two years has been not so much adding to the number as to the efficiency of the schools in operation. Last year rules for the conduct of all Indian schools were formulated, and a course of study and books was adopted, so that uniformity and system could be had and the different schools could work along nearly the same lines.

The extension of the civil service regulations to physicians, matrons, superintendents, and teachers, will eventually very largely assist the Indian school service. I do not think it will make any material difference in the present *personnel*, for the reason that for the last two years civil service has been practically applied in that department.

Added to this is the compulsory law obliging the attendance of children at school. That has not been put into operation yet, and how successfully it will work remains to be seen. The law seems to have more moral sanction than anything else, and it gives the Commissioner something to fall back upon.

That law does not apply to the New York Indians, nor to the five civilized tribes, nor to the Pueblos, nor to the Indians who have become citizens of the United States by taking up land in severalty. Leaving those out, it applies to all Indians, whether on or off reservations, of suitable age and health. The age limit is between five and

eighteen years of age. Whether they have suitable health shall be determined by the physician. The parents and guardians of Indian children shall decide for them, and Indian youth of mature judgment may choose for themselves whether they shall go to a government or to a private school or to a public school. By that I mean ordinary State public school. As a rule, most of them will naturally and inevitably go to the schools near them.

President GATES.—In case the children were all to attend in accordance with the provision of the law, how many children would there be, exclusive of the civilized tribes?

Miss COOK.—About 30,000.

President GATES.—And we have accommodations in all the schools for how many?

Miss COOK.—About 2,400 by the end of this fiscal year. That would take the extreme limits of all buildings, but they cannot be used to their extreme limits.

President GATES.—Taking the most favorable figures, how many children would be unprovided for?

Miss COOK.—About 10,000.

President GATES.—Then we need a great deal more money.

Miss COOK.—Yes, a great deal more.

Mr. GARRETT.—How can the compulsory law be enforced if there is not sufficient accommodation?

Miss COOK.—The Commissioner will stop at the right place. The work that has been accomplished has been very satisfactory in a great many lines, but a great deal has yet to be done. We have no schools among the Southern Utes, none for the Zufis. We have none for the White Mountain Apaches, and not room for those at San Carlos, even if they were inclined to come. Among the Navajos, at White Earth, at Pine Ridge, and at Rosebud, more schools are needed than they have. Then, when the new schools go into operation and the scholars come into them, they will have to be supported; and that will require more work and more appropriations.

The Indian Office has been embarrassed by the limits in the cost of buildings. It has been impossible sometimes to put up any sort of suitable buildings for the money allowed, \$10,000 (now \$12,000) a building being fixed as the limit. A makeshift policy has been adopted of putting up something that they did not want one year and tearing it down the next year, and they have had to resort to all sorts of contrivances in carrying on schools. On prairies which are limitless they have placed the kitchen, dining-room, and laundry in the basement, to save the cost of roofing. The laundries are poor, and bath-rooms are wanting. Sitting-rooms are contracted, and assembly-rooms are luxuries that few have. In very few is there a place where the parents can come to visit the children. The advisability of some improvement in these things is recognized, and there is some progress.

Another thing has been done which may come to a good deal in the end,—the effort of the Commissioner to put Indian children into the State public schools. Any State or Territory that has Indian children running round loose that wants to put them into the public school can do so by contract with the Indian Office, and for each child ten dollars a quarter will be paid.

President GATES.—That is a very hopeful thing.

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—A hundred Indian children are in such schools under that arrangement.

Miss COOK.—I think that will be one of the "ways out."

Mr. SMILEY.—Is there any limit to that fund?

Miss COOK.—I do not think there will be any trouble about that. There is a general fund of nearly a million, out of which the Commissioner makes such appropriations in minor sums as to meet these new ideas which are always in his mind.

Mr. MESERVE.—Could they go into the high schools under such an arrangement?

Miss COOK.—I do not think there would be any trouble about that.

Captain PRATT.—We had nearly two hundred Indian children in the public schools of Pennsylvania last year. We have had them there without any ten dollars a quarter. We have had them there for nothing. There is no limit to the expansion of that sort of work. I will place a thousand children there next year without charge to the United States if I can have the proper children. They can then be learning the lessons of home life and civilization which cannot be learned in an Indian school.

President GATES.—Judge Draper, will New York allow that?

Judge DRAPER.—No. Is the State of Pennsylvania ready to receive an unlimited number of non-residents free of charge?

Captain PRATT.—We have the good will of the Governor of Pennsylvania, and we have had constantly the indorsement of the Superintendent of Education. The people are in favor of it right straight through. Indian children are educated there just as German and Irish and other children are educated, when they are placed in families there.

President GATES.—In inspecting the Carlisle School, it once became my duty to look over several hundred letters concerning the pupils who had been on the outings; and from those letters it was plainly seen how easily the great mass of Christian people in this country could take care of these Indians, if we could get them out of the reservations.

Gen. EATON.—May I ask Judge Draper if any district in his State should choose to receive in the school from a family resident there an Indian pupil, would there be any objection from his office?

Judge DRAPER.—Certainly not.

Miss COOK.—Two things have been accomplished. The Commissioner has been able to district the entire service into four districts, with a supervisor of education for each district. The Commissioner is proposing to hold an institute, to include the superintendents and a few others. They will meet and discuss pupils, schools, buildings, new schools on and off the reservations, apparatus, methods, etc. Then they will return to their respective districts, and the best ideas will go from the top down and permeate the whole body of the Indian school service. In view of all that has been done, and especially of what there is to do, the Indian Office must have a dollar and a quarter a day!

Dr. Riggs was invited to speak.

Dr. RIGGS.—I wish to confine my talk to a particular point, one of the difficulties of compulsory education. We all rejoice that we have a Commissioner with wide experience, and with an earnest purpose to carry out some sufficient and extensive plan of schools that will cover the ground. We wish that plan perfect success. It is because there are circumstances in the way that may prevent this perfect success that I wish to speak. The plan of the Commissioner is for a scheme of day schools, reservation boarding schools, and central training schools of a high grade, that shall ultimately provide the educational facilities for the whole Indian school population. The necessary result is that this system will crowd out of existence the missionary schools that have been planted. It has already crowded out a school at Albuquerque started by the Presbyterians. All of the pupils have been taken away. You will pardon me if I speak more particularly of my own school at Santee, because I want to speak of what I know. It started twenty-two years ago. It has not only had some influence among white people, but it has had a large influence among the Indians. It has almost always had the confidence of the Indian Office. The most friendly relations have always existed with that office. Yet its work has been hampered by this scheme of the government for universal education. When we go to the agency to solicit pupils,—not so much to solicit pupils, because we do not have to do that, for they solicit themselves, or their parents for them,—we are met with the question, Have you authority from the Indian Office to take those pupils? If we have not, the door is shown to us. No pupil can come to us until the government school is full. This year some of our pupils who had returned home on vacation, but were technically members of our school, had to hide from the government police to prevent being put into the agency school, because it was not full. At Devil's Lake Agency we have two schools combined with our Congregational and Presbyterian missions. The people have some idea of what they want in regard to the education of their children. It has been on their minds to have to put them in a school dominated by Catholic teachers. They were wise enough to appreciate the difference in the grade of instruction, and they remembered that they would be able to always read the open Bible; and so they sent them down to us, as in previous years. But they were not permitted to remain, because the government school had capacity to receive all the children. So the religious preferences of the parents were not respected. The rules that have been mentioned by Miss Cook may seem to make all this talk of mine out of date; but sometimes things are not as they are supposed to be. A year ago a mother came to me, saying she wanted to have her daughter transferred from the government school to attend our normal school. She was growing to be a young woman. The mother could not read herself, nor could her husband; and they wanted the daughter to learn to read the Dakota Bible. They were both members of the church. I told her it was impossible to make the arrangement and to get permission from the Commissioner, as it was so near the opening of the term. She came again in the middle of last summer. So I wrote a letter for her and for the girl, making application that she be allowed to send her daughter to our school.

At the same time one of the elders in one of our churches made the same request to the Commissioner for leave to put his two boys into our school. I have in my hand, under date of September 12, the reply from the Indian Office, saying that the agent had been consulted, and had reported that the children ought not to be taken out from the government school.

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—Are not these Indians all citizens of the United States?

Dr. RIGGS.—They have been for six years, but that does not affect the matter.

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—Cannot they choose the school they want to?

Senator DAWES.—The appropriation bill has been compelled to make special provision that the children of Indians who are citizens may come into government schools. It is only a permission for them to come in. Nobody has a right to compel an Indian citizen to send his children to a government school unless he wishes to.

Dr. WARNER.—Does not your school, Dr. Riggs, expect compensation from the government? If so, isn't the objection that the children are all provided for, and hence it is not necessary to make this extra compensation for them?

Dr. RIGGS.—It costs the government less to educate the children in our school than in the other schools. This restrictive influence has affected those that are above school age. It took me three years to bring from Montana a young man who wanted to go down and train himself as a teacher for his people. The restrictive principle worked against the Christian training school. I do not believe the Commissioner would have signed that letter himself.

President GATES.—Are the existing laws such as to make it competent for parents to send children to your school, if they will?

Dr. RIGGS.—Citizens should certainly have that right; but I think there is a wider right than that. It cannot be settled by the matter of citizenship. I know the courts would sustain us if we made an issue, but it does not seem desirable. It seems to me that public opinion and the good sense of the Commissioner will settle this.

President GATES.—Is legislation needed, or only that the attention of the Commissioner be drawn to it?

Dr. RIGGS.—There is no legal protection for missionary schools on reservations.

Senator DAWES.—You make a contract with the government by which you agree to educate some of the government pupils. Of course, the government can make such terms with you as you and the government agree upon. It is between you and the government. The government insists upon it that, if it gives you a contract to educate so many children, you must not take them out of the other schools.

Dr. RIGGS.—Our contract at Santee does not allow us to receive any pupils from Fort Berthold, although we have a school there to prepare pupils for Santee. Because it is not mentioned in our contract, we are not allowed to go there to receive pupils without special permission.

Senator DAWES.—You agreed that you would not?

Dr. RIGGS.—We agreed that we would not. But I think we should

receive any pupils. We must recognize the right of the Indian parent to judge where his children shall be educated. That Indian parent must come under the proper rules of the compulsory education law. He must feel the obligation of seeing that his child receives an education. That is a good principle. I am not at all talking in favor of the contract system. I see the day when that will be done away. It is because I have an interest in general education and the work of the government that I do not want any mistakes made. The government cannot afford to crowd out missionary work. It may take up a portion of its educational work. It has been remarkable to me to see the enthusiasm of these secular superintendents. You would think they were foreign missionaries just returned. The results they are most proud of are Christian results. Under existing circumstances, it is possible to have Christian men and women in control; but the whole system will not be Christian. In some of the government schools to-day the moral tone is utterly degrading. That is lamentable, of course. The people of the United States cannot afford to drop out missionary schools. They ought to have the chance to go on with their work: they have something higher to give than mere secular education. Our work is to train Christian teachers and preachers. We have sent out many who have done good work, and we hope we may have the opportunity to train more and more. We must have a trained native agency in carrying it on. The principles that I contend for are those that must have a wide application. We cannot say that we must have these privileges, and the Catholics must not. They should have the same privileges that we have, but should be held to the same standard of excellency that we are willing to meet. Please understand that we are working for something broader than the success of our own particular mission school. When I gave myself to educational work twenty-one years ago, it was not for the sake of building up one little school, but for the sake of general Christian education among the Indians, for the salvation of the Indian people.

PRESIDENT GATES.—Does the question of the language used in your school have anything to do with this?

DR. RIGGS.—I do not think it has. I would not, under any circumstances, give instruction only in English.

PRESIDENT GATES.—Is any effort made to preserve their native language among the children?

DR. RIGGS.—Yes: we train them so that they can go with two Bibles in their hands.

PRESIDENT GATES.—The children are taught Dakota, whether they are intending to be missionaries or not?

DR. RIGGS.—Yes; and over and above that we are giving the best education given to any Indian pupils in the missionary field.

MR. BOYD.—You heard from Dr. Thompson last night that the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions expects to give up its contracts with the government as soon as practicable. Now, if the Presbyterian Board gives up these contracts and receives no aid from the government, can it go on to another reservation, where the people have become citizens, and be able to educate anybody, without regard to the Indian Office or anybody else? Can any one interfere with our right to educate Indians? Will Mr. Smiley answer that?

Mr. SMILEY.—I have had the matter of education very much at heart. The great difficulty with reference to it has been broached. In California the government has established a school at Banning, the largest settlement of Mission Indians. They had a school building and grounds, and appointed a most competent teacher to go there. What has taken place? The Catholics have put up a large brick building within a short distance, and they want to fill up that school. They have a contract with the government. The government pays for each pupil more than it costs them, I think. They employ as teachers nuns, who work for nothing. They can run a school more cheaply than the Presbyterians or Quakers. They have a good school in many respects. But here is the government paying for one school four miles away, from which pupils are abstracted, and also paying money to this contract school. That is, it is paying the same thing twice over. It pays for its own school, and then it pays one hundred and fifty dollars for every pupil that the Catholics can gather in. Here are contract schools fighting for scholars, because, if they are not full, they do not get the government support. Every contract school is also anxious to get the brightest and best scholars. The different contract schools fight among themselves for these. That is taking place over the whole country, and I think it is a miserable muddle. When Captain Pratt wants to get scholars, he ranges over the Western States. They all want to go to Captain Pratt's school. The name of Carlisle is a great name. General Armstrong does the same thing. Captain Pratt's is not a contract school: it is a government school. General Armstrong's is a contract school. The Presbyterians do the same thing. The Quakers in some places do. They all want the best sheep out of the pasture. Sometimes I have known of their taking two generations, a father and the child, so as to fill up the school. Sometimes they will take scholars that others have rejected on account of sickness or bad behavior. This ought to be remedied. At Santee there is a most admirable school under Dr. Riggs, one of the oldest contract schools. There is a government school one mile away, and a Congregational school another mile, and an Episcopal school on the other side. Each of these receives funds from the government. The government has a right to say where it shall place its scholars. The moment these schools pay their own expenses the pupils should be allowed to go where they like. So long as they receive pay from the government they must submit to the terms of the government. Captain Pratt's is a government school, supported and built by government, and is on a different footing. I think, sooner or later, all the contract schools will be abolished. There is no doubt about it. They will become independent missionary schools. Religious schools should be perfectly free from the government.

Mr. BOYD.—We are asked very earnestly to start a school among the Apaches. Suppose we start an independent school, what is the process by which we should start it there? Can we have it independent of the government, and get on without being molested or made afraid?

President GATES.—No one will molest you probably, and it will depend on your own courage whether you will be afraid or not!

Mr. GRAVATT.— Mr. Smiley has said that contract schools will gather up children who have been dismissed from other schools. That was once true, but I do not think it is now. I think there is a black list of scholars kept at the department.

Mr. MESERVE.— There is.

President GATES.— With reference to teaching their native language to the Indians, it seems to be a good rule that, unless a nation has a history or a literature, there is no possible use in keeping up the language. I am satisfied that our Indian languages ought to go.

Mr. WOOD.— It may be of interest to the Conference to know that Dr. Riggs was the first teacher of Dr. Eastman. It was through his influence and assistance that Dr. Eastman procured the scholarship that carried him through Dartmouth College.

Gen. HOWARD.— Will Mr. Smiley answer the question asked by Mr. Boyd? The question is this: Here are many children unprovided for. Our churches now propose to go forward, as I trust, to make additional provision for these children, and to pay all their own expenses. There is no school for the White Mountain Apaches. Can they, without interruption from the agent or any one else, establish a school and have the children go to that school?

Mr. BOYD.— I should like to have Senator Dawes answer that question.

Senator DAWES.— The thing is perfectly plain, so far as the children of citizens are concerned, those who become citizens by withdrawing from the tribal relations. They can go as any white children would go. So far as the children of non-citizen Indians upon a reservation are concerned, no one can go on a reservation without leave of the government: not a white person, except the officer in charge and his employees, can put his foot on a reservation without the consent of the government. It is a question between government and the people who wish to carry on the school. The time will come — I wish it would come to-morrow — when there will be just one class of people in the United States, *citizens*, — *with all the rights of citizens*. I trust we shall all stand shoulder to shoulder in that position.

Gen. HOWARD.— Dr. Riggs has stated that the children of citizens of the United States cannot go to school where they wish. This is a matter of official action of the government. It seems to me that this Conference should plainly declare that every citizen of the United States who is an Indian shall have the same rights as a white citizen.

Senator DAWES.— They have it now.

Gen. HOWARD.— We want to educate these other six thousand children. There are denominations who want to establish more schools. We do not ask for more legislation. Can there be regulations so that we can establish schools on these reservations?

Mr. SMILEY.— You say these denominations are ready to go in and establish more schools. Do you mean for one hundred and fifty dollars a scholar?

Gen. HOWARD.— I mean without help from the government.

Mr. OBERLY.— I understand the question to be whether the government, if it so desire, shall have a monopoly of the right to educate Indian children. Shall the government do all the school work, even

if persons, churches, and individuals should desire to engage in it also? I understand the sentiment of this Conference to be a Christian sentiment. The Chairman is constantly saying, with our unanimous concurrence, that we desire to have, and must have, Christian instructors, who will lead our Indian children by Christian instruction into Christian civilization. Can we get this kind of Christian instruction more certainly in the government than in the denominational contract school? This Conference seems to believe that we can. Is this so? You know that the teachers in all the contract schools are Christians; and they do much good work in leading Indian children into the churches,—into Christian civilization by Christian paths. But do you know this of the government teachers? You cannot; but you do know that to many of the government school employees, being the creatures of what is known as the spoils system, it cannot be said, "Ye are the salt of the earth," for many of them are indeed blind guides leading the blind. But we are about to throw off the spoils system: we are indeed in the very act of putting the Indian schools under the civil service law system. But will this action enable us to dispense with the denominational contract system by giving us the certainty of obtaining Christian employees for the government schools? I doubt that it will; for it is made an offence by the civil service rules to make inquiry concerning the religious belief or affiliations of an applicant for place under those rules. A man may be an infidel, and he may be an applicant for the position of Indian school-teacher. Under the civil service rules, which are being applied now to the Indian school service, you cannot ascertain this fact; for it is unlawful to ask an applicant under the civil service rules anything concerning his religious opinions. You have no right to ask him if he is a member of this or that church. You dare not ask him even if he is a believer in the religion of Christ. And if an applicant for the position of Indian school-teacher, having passed the civil service examination, were to be certified to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the Commissioner, having ascertained the applicant to be an infidel, were to refuse to appoint him for that reason, it would be the duty of the President to dismiss the Commissioner from office. I mention this fact for the purpose of showing one of the great difficulties in the way of securing persons known to be Christians as employees of the government schools. I mention the fact for the purpose of suggesting, also, that it is just probable that in crowding out the denominational contract school, and putting into its place the government school, you may be crowding out a good deal of Christian endeavor on behalf of the Indian and be putting into its place a good deal of endeavor that will be utterly devoid of that unselfish spirit of the Christian missionary which has made Indian Christian work resplendent with the glories of unselfish toil in a field of danger, deprivation, and even martyrdom.

President Julius D. Dreher of Roanoke College, Salem, Va., was invited to speak.

President DREHER.—So many things come into my mind as I rise to speak for the first time in a Mohonk Conference that I am re-

minded of the colored clergyman who announced his text, and then said: "My bredren, I will divide de subject into two parts, what's in de tex' and what's not in de tex'; and we will proceed to wrastle wid de secon' part first." I am tempted to "wrestle" with the second part first; but I am also reminded that you have provided "a way out" for your speakers, which gives a pretty plain hint that the way into the subject should be as direct as possible. Although deeply interested in the general work of Indian education, I shall confine myself, in the brief time allowed me, to a few statements with respect to higher education among the Choctaws in the Indian Territory. As is generally known, these Indians have had churches and schools for many years, several academies being maintained to prepare boys for college. The Choctaws receive about \$60,000 a year from leases on their reservation, and an equal amount from our government as interest on money due them for the land surrendered in Mississippi in 1830. The Choctaw legislature appropriates a part of this annual income for the higher education of a number of young men and women who are distributed among a number of colleges in order to bring them into closer contact with white students. Twenty-one years ago, while I was yet a student at Roanoke, President Bittle received from a young Choctaw a request in these words: "Please send me a catalogue of your college. Please send her soon, as I shall need her." The catalogue was sent, and he was so well pleased with "her" that he entered Roanoke College, where he remained three years, much of his time being occupied during the last session in studying the question of the rights of the Indians with respect to the allotment of lands in severalty. He returned to the Territory, and within two years was elected as senator in the Choctaw legislature. Mainly through his influence, Roanoke was selected as one of the institutions to be patronized by the Choctaws, and since that time we have every year had Indian students at the college. Four of their Superintendents of Education — themselves Choctaws — have visited Roanoke in their official capacity. One of these, — ex-Governor Allan D. Wright, — a graduate of Union College and Union Theological Seminary, New York, preached one Sunday in two of the churches of Salem; and another, Rev. J. P. Turnbull, in an address in the college chapel took the advanced position that it is more important to educate girls than boys, because mothers have the larger influence in training and educating children. The reports of these superintendents, as well as the success in life of their boys trained at Roanoke, have produced so favorable an impression for the college that in the distribution of their students Roanoke receives a larger number than any other institution in the States. Up to this time only three of these students have completed the course for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and only one of these is a full Indian. His graduating address (in 1883) was delivered in Choctaw and English; and Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, in an address on Commencement Day, remarked that, judging from the applause, he would say "that Choctaw was the favorite language in Salem." When this young man took his degree in the Yale Divinity School in 1886, by request of the faculty he translated the Book of Malachi into Choctaw, with a critical and exegetical commentary, — a work in which it

is safe to say the learned doctors about to try Professor Briggs for heresy will not be able to detect the slightest departure from the strictest Orthodoxy.

Of the eight Choctaws now at Roanoke, six are in the regular courses for graduation. Upon the whole, our Indian students have done well at college, and on their return to the Territory have filled various positions of honor and influence among their people, as members of the Senate and House of Delegates, Speaker of the House, Interpreter to the House, Auditor, National Secretary, School Trustee, judges, clergymen, teachers, lawyers, etc. While at college, they are most kindly treated by the other students and by the people of Salem. White students have chosen Indians as room-mates, and invited them to make visits during the vacation. One of our graduates from the Territory — not a full Indian, however — married a refined white lady in Virginia, who went with him to his home among the Choctaws.

A word more before my time is up. I wish to make my grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Smiley for the pleasure of my being here. An invitation to a previous Indian Conference I could not accept; and I was prevented from coming to the Conference in June on the Negro question,—a question in which, as a Southern man by birth, education, and residence, I feel a profound interest,—because that Conference was held the week before our College Commencement. But, when I returned from Alaska the first of September and found Mr. Smiley's cordial invitation to "Mrs. Dreher" and myself,—an invitation too large by "the better half,"—I determined to accept it. And I am glad I did, for I have enjoyed the Conference exceedingly. In the language of one of our Choctaw students, it is "mighty first rate." Besides my general interest in the question, I have kept in touch with the Indians by our work at Roanoke, by visits to Hampton and Carlisle, a week spent in the Indian Territory, several trips across the continent, and a visit to Alaska; but nothing has so quickened my interest as the discussions of this Conference. Mo-honk is to many a "mount of heavenly rest." To me it will always seem to be a mount of illumination, a Calvary of consecration. In this atmosphere of enthusiasm and devotion to the great cause of Christian philanthropy, I have gained new inspiration for my own work; and, as I have witnessed this beautiful spirit of consecration, I have felt more deeply than ever that, if we are to be at all fit for any part, however small, in the Master's service, it must be when, all the selfish considerations of our little lives being set aside, we enter with loving sympathy and the spirit of helpfulness into the larger life of humanity, and especially into the lives and needs and crushed aspirations of the less fortunate classes of our fellow-men.

Dr. LUCIEN C. WARNER.—Almost my only opportunity for observation of the Indian question has been among the Indian tribes of this State. As I read this report by Mr. Garrett, it seemed to me there was an object lesson in it which would be useful to us in the larger question of reaching the Indians of the United States. If we could tell the Indians of the West that seventy-five or one hundred years of civilization would do for them what it has done for these tribes in New York, they would say, No more civilization. The reservations

in New York are small. They are surrounded by highly civilized communities. They are well provided with mission and day schools. Education has been provided. The record is that improvement has been slight. In some cases, the people have retrograded. There are one or two things that we may specially learn from these Indians. We want to treat the word "education" in its largest meaning. The day school alone does not furnish a full education. With our white children it may, because it is supplemented by the education of the family and home. But when we take the Indians and put them into day schools, and teach them to read and spell, we are not really educating them. They go right back into their barbaric homes. The children and the young men and women must be educated during the whole day. They must be put into boarding schools where they are guarded and taught all the time; and the outing system, which is undoubtedly the best, must be adopted. Another mistake has been made in perpetuating the tribal relation. If the tribal relation could be broken up in New York and in the whole country, it would go very far towards the solution of the Indian question. Let the Indian take his chance, wherever he is. Provide education for him, but do not do too much for him. We are thinking too much of him as an Indian. It is not the *Indian*, but the *man*, that we want. It will be well for the country when the tribal relation everywhere is broken up, and the Indians are absorbed in the general community. The Indian problem will then be solved.

Mr. W. Townsend, an Indian student from Carlisle, was asked to speak.

MR. TOWNSEND.—I believe in education, because I believe it will kill the Indian that is in me and leave the man and citizen. I believe education will give the Indian the right to vote. I believe in the Indian learning the English language: one people, one language, that is my idea. I contradict the statement that the only good Indian is a dead Indian. The only good Indian is an educated Indian. Only by education can he compete with the white man. Send an Indian into a school, and then let him go back to the reservation, and he turns into an Indian again. Give him a higher education: make him, for example, a doctor, and he will remain a doctor.

A letter from Henry Kendall, a Carlisle student, now in the West, was read by President Gates. Miss Annie Thomas, a Carlisle Indian girl, was asked to speak.

MISS THOMAS.—I fear Miss Thomas was not cut out for a speaking girl; but I can tell you a little about myself. I was born among the Pueblos, and I went to Carlisle when I was a little girl. I had lived at the top of a hill, or pueblo, five hundred feet high, so that I am an expert at climbing ladders. I am now climbing another kind of ladder. Sometimes it is very hard, but I still keep on climbing. I am now at the normal school at Fredonia, N.Y.; and I hope to reach the top some day, and be a "schoolma'am."

The remainder of the session was devoted to a free parliament.

Rev. J. W. HARDING, D.D.—I wish to express my firm conviction that, whatever may be the securities of the Dawes bill or the Thayer bill or any other bill, nothing less than the grace of God conveyed by living and daily and loving contact of unselfish lives with the hearts and lives of these poor and weak brethren of ours will ever solve the Indian problem. And my present argument is the experience of the Stockbridge Indians, a remnant of whom, about two hundred, survive on the Showano reservation in Wisconsin. It is a good object lesson. The Massachusetts House of Representatives passed an act Dec. 30. 1749, very like the Dawes bill, granting lands in severalty to the Stockbridges, and most carefully guarding their proprietary rights, declaring that "the Indian inhabitants of the town of Stockbridge are and shall be subjected to and receive the benefits of the laws of this government to all intents and purposes in like manner as others, His Majesty's subjects in this Province."

Now, this act carried with it not only land in severalty and complete citizenship, Stockbridge being laid out as an Indian township, six miles square, but also the best thoughts of General Armstrong and Captain Pratt; for there were also generous allotments to John Sargent, the missionary, called from a tutorship in Yale College, and ordained to his work at Deerfield, in the presence of Governor Belcher, a delegation from the House of Representatives, and a large congregation of townspeople and Indians, Rev. Mr. Appleton of Cambridge coming up to preach the sermon. Allotments also were made to Timothy Woodbridge, Indian schoolmaster, and one of the very best, and, moreover, to six English families, selected for their special fitness to be model farmers and housekeepers. And they had an industrial school and a sewing school and "outings." The boys were scattered about among the farmers in various towns, and some of the girls were even sent over to England, and some of the young men to Dartmouth College. Jonathan Edwards was called from Northampton to be their pastor, and by the church of which the Indians themselves were in large majority the members. They proved themselves to be fully equal to the foremost officers of trust both in the church and the town. John Metoxin was a deacon. John Aupaumat was chorister and town clerk. Hendrick Wahponseet was tithing-man and constable. John Metoxin, besides being deacon, was also an assessor and surveyor of highways; and he sat with Captain Wa-haun-wum-wan-meet on the board of selectmen with Timothy Edwards, Elisha Brown, and Thomas Williams. In a word, for I see that your gavel is about to fall, these Stockbridge Indians were well on their way to become fully incorporated into the body politic. They would surely have disappeared as Indians, had the salutary influences which prevailed during their stay of forty-nine years in Stockbridge been allowed their just fruition. And, now, why is it that this poor, depleted remnant are to-day eking out a contorted reservation existence at Showano? Why is it that all that remains to trace their once happy and prosperous and promising existence in Stockbridge is a rude cairn of rough stones, their only memorial, save the frame of an old barn, once the timbers of their meeting-house?

Well, the time only permits me to say two words, "whiskey,"

"covetousness," although there came in the accessories of disturbing and disintegrating wars and the demoralizing contaminations of the camp. Most of these able-bodied men were enlisted, several of them proving excellent officers. But their white neighbors were shrewder than they; and they gradually got them into debt, and finally changed the laws so as to permit them to sell their lands, until their best escape from bankruptcy seemed to be an acceptance of the invitation of the New York Oneidas to share their reservation. And then that powerful corporation, the Ogden Land Company, wanted their lands; and so went on the sad, old story of uprootings and migrations.

But the saddest thing of all was — and the chiefest hindrance — and this is my present point — the loss of that living and daily and loving contact with their earlier Christian and unselfish neighbors, such as the two Sargents, Timothy Woodbridge, and Jonathan Edwards. The latter loved them, and they loved him. He did not preach to them hard, metaphysical doctrine, but in the simplest method of familiar catechetical instruction, some of his words being yet extant; and when he was called to the presidency of Princeton College, and had to say farewell to his beloved Indians, he burst into a flood of tears.

Rev. J. J. GRAVATT.—There seems to be a growing sentiment against contract schools. In going through the Western country, I have seen excellent contract schools that could not have been established otherwise. Something has been said about the principle of the thing. Of course, if they are on a wrong principle, they should be stopped. But changes cannot be made in a week or a month. We would better move slowly. It will not be long, probably, before they are abolished; but let us have time. Can these mission schools go to-day and get all the money they need, or can they get it to-morrow? When the people are educated to know the best way, I have confidence enough in the religious feeling of this country to believe that they will respond nobly to the work of the Christian school and church.

On motion of Mr. P. C. Garrett, it was voted that speakers should be limited to three minutes.

Prof. J. W. CHICKERING, Washington.—I want to speak a word for the children of silence, those who cannot speak for themselves. For such white persons we make provision in nearly every State and Territory, but we do not know the numbers of them among the Indians. We only know they exist. We have had two at Washington, who went on well with their studies and made good progress. I want to suggest to those present that, when they come across these mutes anywhere, they will communicate the fact to the authorities at Washington, that some provision may be made to send them to schools or institutions for mutes in the States nearest to their homes.

Miss E. L. FISHER, of Carlisle.—I am very anxious that there should be higher education for our brighter girls and boys. It does not seem to me that the way is quite open for that yet. Miss Thomas

was at a young ladies' school in Michigan for two years, almost entirely supported by kind friends there. Now she is at Fredonia, where she is supported largely by funds furnished by Captain Pratt. In Carlisle we have three young ladies beyond our course who are at a school in town. Of course, we can give them board and clothes, but there are other expenses that must be paid. One is an excellent musician. She has had many lessons on the piano, and we feel that she should still go on. Then we have boys that we should like to help. I would like to make a strong plea for something to be done by which these brighter ones should have a higher education. We feel that white boys and girls need some help to get on their feet, and Indians need it quite as much. Much has been said with reference to Christian work. We feel very strongly the need of Christian work. We need the spirit of Christ in the heart. One of the questions Captain Pratt always asks of those applying to be teachers is, Are you a church member? He does not say what church, for we belong to many churches; but he considers it necessary that teachers of Indians should be Christians.

Captain PRATT.—I wish it to be understood that we have Catholic teachers and employees there also.

Mr. C. P. CORNELIUS.—I am ashamed to say I own a piece of land in the West that I cannot manage. I have not a word to say about it. Two years ago, when the Oneida Indians had their lands allotted, I was in correspondence with a farmer who said, if I would get a certain piece of land, he would rent it for two hundred dollars a year if I would place a team on it. I agreed to do so. I got a nice farm, and paid five hundred dollars for improvements on it. I corresponded with the agent in Wisconsin, and with Secretary Noble and with Commissioner Morgan. They all told me that I could do nothing with this piece of land; that I could not rent it, because I was able physically to farm it; that I must farm it myself or let it lie there for the next twenty-five years. This did not quite suit me, as I am attending school; and, as I am paying my way through school, I could have used that five hundred dollars better than to have it lie there idle. But I have higher aspirations than to tarry on the reservation and farm forty-five acres of land. That is one defect in the law. Senator Dawes acknowledged last night that there are a good many defects in the Dawes bill. I am glad that came from him, because now we have a chance to say some things about it. The law should permit those who are not on the reservations who cannot utilize the land by farming it to lease it. There is no provision for any one who is qualified to become a full citizen of a State and of the United States to be allowed to pay taxes. I have other property worth several times the amount of that land upon which I am paying taxes, and I feel fully qualified to pay taxes on that piece of land. There are others of the Oneidas who are no more Indians than you are, so far as regards customs of living, and who are fully capable of being citizens. We are citizens of the United States, but not citizens of the State, because, when we appeal to the courts of Wisconsin, we are not received. The lawyers say, Are you paying taxes? No. Are you citizens of the United States? Yes. Well, then, we have no interest in you. We pay nothing for the cost of trials in the State

of Wisconsin, and so the people do not care to have us in the courts. They have no use for us, and we cannot appeal to the laws of the State.

Gen. EATON.—With regard to the higher education, there is a sum of sixty or seventy thousand dollars for the purposes of higher education for the Indians. Another point is to be kept in mind: that this outing business depends upon the personal choice of families and localities and communities. There is no State superintendent who would differ from Judge Draper about the Indians, when placed in different families. They would favor it. I have urged this again and again. I believe that you here have much to do in this direction. You can impress the public with the fact that, where an Indian boy or girl is in a district, the district school should be open to him as it is to any other child resident in that district. This sentiment, which is growing in the States east of the Rockies, will soon prevail in the States west of them.

Judge DRAPER.—Gen. Eaton asked whether Indian children could be received into the public schools of the State, and my answer was, No. The right to attend any school is a statutory right. The statute provides that any resident child of school age, between five and twenty-one, shall have the right to attend upon the public school. The one question is whether the child has become a resident. If the Indian child has been received into the family and become a part of that family, the child, under the statute, becomes entitled to attend the school. But it cannot be said that any number of Indian children may move into a district solely for the purpose of attending school there.

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—I have been asked to correct a statement that is often made,—that the appropriations for the support of schools come from trust funds. Such appropriations do not, to any extent, come from trust funds. I have not the exact figures, but I think less than ten per cent. of the appropriations for the support of schools comes from trust funds.

The draft of the resolutions to be acted upon in the evening session was read.

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

Sixth Session.

Friday Night, October 9.

The Conference was called to order after a song by Mrs. Hector Hall. The annual report of the Treasurer, Mr. Frank Wood, was read, as follows:—

<i>Dr.</i>	FRANK WOOD, Treasurer, in account with MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.	<i>Cr.</i>
To cash received from members of the Conference,	\$543.00	
Interest,	3.16	
	<u>\$546.16</u>	
		Oct. 20. By cash paid Isabel C. Barrows, postage,
		*\$5.00
		Jan. 15. By cash paid Geo. H. Ellis, printing,
		516.20
		Jan. 15. By cash paid Frank Wood, printing,
		5.50
		Feb. 4. By cash paid Geo. H. Ellis, binding in cloth,
		8.75
		<u>\$535.45</u>
		By cash in bank to balance,
		10.71
		<u>\$546.16</u>
		* Stamps on hand,
		.57

It was moved that the government be asked to print the Proceedings of the Mohonk Conference in advance of its usual publication in the Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, where it always appears.

Referred to the Publication Committee.

On motion of Mr. Garrett, the Publication Committee was appointed, as follows: President M. E. Gates, Amherst, General E. Whittlesey, Washington, Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, and Mr. Frank Wood, Boston.

The Report of the Committee on the Mission Indians was read by Mr. J. W. Davis, as follows:—

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LEGAL ASSISTANCE TO THE MISSION INDIANS, 1891.

The presence of many new members in this Conference makes desirable the statement that a committee has been continued for several years for the furnishing of legal assistance to the Mission Indians.

The first presentation of their interests was to the Conference of 1885 by Professor Painter, after his first visit to them; and a concur-

rence of influences from Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson upon the Conference of the following year led to the immediate appointment of the committee and the raising of \$5,000 in the Conference for its work.

To Mr. Painter and a member of this committee with his wife, all previously acquainted with Mrs. Jackson, she extended a most enthusiastic welcome to her last sick-room in San Francisco, when it was to be illumined by her presence only a few weeks longer. The radiance of her face while she talked of "her" Indians, and revealed her longings for a wider, more complete work for them, gave an impression, not so much of intensity of enthusiasm that was consuming her fading strength and would soon be lost as of a glorious fulness that only needed channels to reach others, to thoroughly enkindle them, and perpetuate itself, till her great purpose should be accomplished.

A visit by us to the Indians to establish personal acquaintance and confidence, so as to continue more effectually her work, involved a return from the extreme north of California, after fulfilling other plans there, and therefore a journey of one thousand miles and a drive through the hills in the extreme heat of midsummer; and the arguments against it were generously urged by Mrs. Jackson. But to change that wistful, longing look, and that flush of hope that her work might be adopted by others, into assurance to her, and give restfulness to that closing life, was sufficient reason for undertaking it; and soon Mr. Painter and ourselves were testing the reality of the reasons that had been urged against the journey.

A temperature of 106° in the shade proved too much for the full prosecution of the plan; but, heralded by a letter from the "Queen," as Mrs. Jackson was named by the Indians, we were warmly greeted by a considerable company gathered at Pala from scattered homes among the hills from a range of many miles.

Report of the little that had been accomplished and the more that would be attempted was borne to Mrs. Jackson and then to you, with the message she sent by Professor Painter to President Cleveland; and at the same time Mrs. Hiles came with her report of individual work already begun.

In connection with the legal work then initiated, personal contact with these people has been cultivated in each of the succeeding years by Mr. Painter, acting in behalf of both the Indian Rights Association and this committee, and by the continuous services of Mr. Frank D. Lewis under your committee, during which he was everywhere known among the Indians as the Abogado (the lawyer) who worked for them without pay, and thus acquired their unlimited confidence and regard. (For instance, whenever he appeared at Warner's Ranch, he could have the free use of any horse in the village for the prosecution of his work.)

In all this the work has taken the line pointed out by Hon. Austin Abbott in one of the earlier Conferences,—the line in which sympathy with a race, so often conceived as sentimentalism, wisely takes the practical and more unmistakable form of uniting help to individuals with the establishment of principles and other broad work for the race. And, since the Special Mission Indian Bill was secured, and the administration blessed the Indians and honored itself in the choice of Messrs. Smiley, Painter, and Moore as Commissioners,

the same earnest care of individual interests has been given in the journeys and labor of the Commission of which we have heard from Mr. Smiley, and which have continued by Mr. Painter through all the heat of midsummer. The amount of labor bestowed, and the fruit from it of settled, peaceful homes in prospect, where there has been so much of wrong and unrest, are easily underrated.

The work of your committee for supply of legal assistance was intended to be supplemental to the limited legal help that could at first be secured from the government; and during the past year, with such a government commission at work in the field and Mr. Lewis in the office of Special United States Attorney caring for the work in the courts, the attitude of your committee has been one of simple waiting for the developments from this enlarged government effort.

The question naturally arises whether there is any further scope for action by your committee and need of the remaining funds, almost untouched for the year, and therefore accumulating, as follows:—

Balance from last year,	\$1,075.45
Interest on funds for the year,	63.50
	<u>\$1,138.95</u>
Less paid for telegrams on a case of protection of water supply for a village,	3.45
Balance on hand,	<u>\$1,135.50</u>

The advice of Mr. Smiley confirms the judgment of your committee that this balance had best be held by the Conference in reserve for certain contingent needs directly in the line of the original purpose for which it was raised.

The interesting statements of Mr. Smiley and the limits of your time make the presentation of many facts received from Mr. Lewis now undesirable, but one will interest you.

There is an impression that the acreage cultivated by these Indians this year has decreased rather than increased. Mr. Lewis attributes it to the unusual demand for day labor at Redlands, Riverside, and San Jacinto, and by the water companies; and, even with less acreage, the season has been so favorable and crops so good that there will probably be no shortage in results.

In behalf of the Committee,

PHILIP C. GARRETT.
MOSES PIERCE.
J. W. DAVIS.

The same Committee on Mission Indians was, by vote, continued for another year; namely, Philip C. Garrett, Moses Pierce, Joshua W. Davis.

A letter from Rev. E. E. Hale, D.D., expressing regret at his inability to attend the Conference, was read.

On motion, the following resolution was adopted:—

Whereas it has been announced that an Indian Congress is to be held in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition of 1892, in which the problems of Indian civilization are to be discussed, and where Indians, representing different

tribes, are expected to appear and illustrate what American Christianity and civilization have done and can do for the Indian, demonstrating the capabilities of the Indian race, and thus enforcing the consequent duty to afford the Indians the same opportunities that are offered other races under our government; and, whereas an exhibition of this nature, in which thought, moral truth, and the higher aims and acquirements of humanity shall be illustrated, would be of more interest and importance than any material exhibit can possibly be, and would tend to further the cause of Indian civilization,—

Resolved, That this Conference commends the purpose of the proposed Indian Congress, and invites the co-operation of the friends of the Indian in making it a success.

The following resolution, offered by General C. H. Howard, was passed :—

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that as rapidly as possible the issue of rations to Indians should cease; that, where a treaty exists, the amount of food issued be, as soon as practicable, reduced to the minimum, and that, where consent of the Indians can be obtained, the rations be commuted to other articles of use needed in civilized occupations.

The platform prepared by the committee appointed for that purpose was then read and discussed. Each section was voted upon separately, and the platform was then adopted as a whole, as follows :—

PLATFORM OF THE NINTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE FRIENDS OF THE INDIANS.

In no year since the General Severalty Bill was enacted have we had occasion to record so important an advance in the administration of Indian affairs. The year is signalized by the fact that the President of the United States has extended the provisions of the Civil Service Act to over six hundred employees of the Indian service,—superintendents of schools, teachers, matrons, and physicians,—whose appointment and permanency of service will no longer be affected by political influences.

We also heartily thank Congress for the enactment of important laws. By one of these laws provision is made for the compulsory education of Indian children. By two laws the wrongs to the Mission and Round Valley Indians, against which this Conference has long protested, have been corrected, and their provisions are now being carried out, so that we may soon expect to see these Indians holding firm titles to their own individual lands. Congress has also made increased appropriations for the education of Indians.

Under the direction and with the sympathy of the President and Secretary of the Interior, the Indian service has had the rare fortune of being conducted by a Commissioner of Indian Affairs whose energetic, courageous, and skilful administration has our heartiest approval.

What has been gained the past year encourages us to renewed effort for further advance. We heartily thank the President and Secretary of the Interior for the partial extension of the civil service to the Indian service; and we ask them to complete their work by putting under the provisions of the same act, so far as possible, all other appointees, including farmers and carpenters, etc., if found prac-

ticable, amounting to as many more. And, if it is not thought possible to apply the letter of the Civil Service Act to the appointment of agents, we would most earnestly ask that the spirit, at least, of that law be applied in this case also, as it is especially important that their selection be for merit and competency only, and that their tenure of office be not limited by political considerations.

With the same purpose we would call attention to the importance of maintaining from one quadrennium to another a consistently wise line of Indian administration. The duties of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs are no more political than those of any agent or teacher. We therefore urge that the responsibility for results in the conduct of Indian affairs be left with him, including a return to the former custom of devolving upon him the selection of agents as well as other employees.

The amount of \$2,216,000 appropriated by Congress last year for the education of the Indian was twenty per cent. larger than the amount appropriated in any previous year, but it yet leaves a third of the Indian youth unprovided with schools. We still ask for rapidly increasing appropriations until the Indian school system shall be perfected, and provision made for the education of all Indian youth. We warmly approve the extension of the national public school system, so administered as not to restrain the freedom of religious schools supported for the benefit of the Indians.

We look with satisfaction upon the allotments of lands in severalty, but with concern upon the rapidity with which they are being made. In order that public sentiment may not be impeded, that schools may be provided, and that justice may be done adjacent white settlers, we ask Congress to pass a law providing that the government shall pay all equitable local taxation, or its equivalent, assessed on allotted lands, so long as these allotments remain inalienable, either from proceeds of surplus lands or from the public treasury.

The legal status of the Indian who holds an allotment in a reservation not yet fully allotted should be speedily decided. Legislation by Congress should provide for easy access to duly established courts of law, and for competent legal advice and service for Indians, during the transition period which must precede their intelligent entrance upon the full duties of independent citizenship. We do not favor the establishment of an elaborate system of special courts for Indians; but we affirm unhesitatingly that legislation to secure immediate and easy access to regularly established courts for legal protection and remedies is greatly needed, and should be by law provided.

The policy of getting the Indians into civilization by keeping them out of civilization has never succeeded, and never will. We therefore commend the policy of mingling the Indians with the whites, by seeking employment for them in Christian families and on farms, by placing them in the public schools in the States, and by encouraging their settlement together.

We regret that we have occasion again to note that the lands of the New York Indian tribes have not yet been allotted, and the tribal system thus abolished. We hope that the State of New York will follow the United States in securing to the Indians within its limits the individual ownership of their lands under some just legislation; and,

if for any reason it may be impracticable to at once do this, we urge that the legislature shall without delay extend the operation of the civil and criminal laws of the State to residents of such reservations, except so far as such laws relate to the ownership of lands.

The public exhibition of Indians in their savage costumes and customs is demoralizing and humiliating, and we ask that no permission be hereafter given to take Indians from the reservations for this purpose.

We protest most earnestly against the removal of the Southern Utes from Colorado, as against their best interests, as involving their pauperization and needless expense to the government, and as, in our opinion, dictated solely by a desire on the part of the white man to obtain the valuable lands now occupied by these Indians.

Believing that in education lies the chief hope for the future of the Indian people, the Conference rejoices in the increased facilities afforded by government schools, trusts that regulations enforcing the compulsory education law will be so wisely carried out as to allow to Indian parents all reasonable freedom in choice of a school for their children, while still preventing undue solicitation of pupils by rival schools, and expresses its conviction that, as the work of Indian education began with Christian missionary efforts, and has had its strength in mission effort, the Christians of America are called upon to-day more strongly than ever before, by the hearty and generous support of missions to the Indians, to make manifest the supreme constraining force in civilization, that love of Christ, in accomplishing the work that remains to be done for these our fellow-countrymen of Indian descent.

Rev. T. A. Nelson, D.D., of Brooklyn, N.Y., said that his denomination had taken steps to assume the whole support and management of its religious schools as soon as practicable.

Mr. O. E. Boyd said that there had been many discouraging things in connection with the mission work among the Indians. But what shall we do? he asked. Shall we stop? No. Shall we go on? Yes. Presbyterians believe in the perseverance of the saints. All we ask of the government and of the friends of the Indian is simply fair play in the transaction of work, nothing more; or fair play, and an endeavor to help us as best they can. Give us that, and we will do our part. We are going to give up government aid as soon as we can. We are going to fight it out on this line until every Indian shall be, not only an Indian, but a Christian citizen; and let all the Presbyterians and Christians say, Amen.

Rev. PHILIP S. MOXOM.—I come before you with a good deal of diffidence, for this is my first visit to a Mohonk Conference; but I am very thankful that the opportunity was given me to come. I have been an eager listener and a hard student here. Let me, in the brief time which I may take, turn your thought with mine to a certain aspect, which is, after all, the chief aspect of this movement. This Conference seizes my imagination, the work you are doing seizes my imagination, and my mind has begun instinctively to see the relations of it to the whole great enterprise of the establishment of the kingdom of God. For hundreds of years the Church was engaged with

the definition of the metaphysical personality of Christ. Within the last hundred years or a little more, and certainly within the last twenty-five years, the Church as never before in its history has reached after a true interpretation of the essential Christ, and has been moving into sympathy with him. The whole work of the Church manifests that endeavor as never before. It has moved into sympathy with the purpose of Jesus Christ; and, as it has done this, it has become alive. No one can study the religious life of our time without being impressed with this. Constantine, says the old legend, saw a standard in the heavens bearing the figure of a cross and the words, *Ἐν τούτῳ νικά*,—"By this conquer." Whether he really saw it or not, the vision expresses a truth. It is not by the cross as a thing, not as a mere religious emblem, but by that spirit of self-sacrifice which the cross truly interpreted represents, and which was embodied in Jesus Christ as in no one else in the history of the world, that we accomplish every reform affecting the moral life of man.

One day last summer I stood in High Holborn in London. The street was crowded with all sorts of vehicles, so that one could cross only at the peril of life or limb. As I was crossing on that day last summer, there came a sudden hush, and everything stopped. I looked up to see the cause of this remarkable pause in the hurry and roar of that street. And there, on either hand, I saw brawny policemen grasping the horses' heads and holding them back. Everything stopped dead-still. That mighty current of life seemed to have felt a power like that which divided the Red Sea. I wondered, and looked about; and at my side was a little carriage on four wheels, and in this carriage lay a young girl, perhaps fifteen years old, but so pallid and frail, and a woman was pushing the carriage across the street, and all the business of that street had stopped for that weak, helpless child! A happy smile played upon her pale face as she passed me; and I had a vision. It seemed as if I saw Him of Nazareth standing there with outstretched arms shielding one of his little ones.

Wherever there are want and ignorance and weakness, there we find the Master. Jesus Christ has identified himself with the helpless and the poor. We are beginning to feel the pulse of his heart and to catch the wisdom of his insight. And just in proportion as we do that, whatever the detail of our methods, we shall be successful in our work; and only as we do get into sympathy with the heart of Jesus Christ will our work be successful and permanent.

So I say that all the enginery of legislation and the machinery of law are valuable. I believe in the worth of these, and I believe in getting the best we can; but underneath all this we must, more and more, put the spirit of him whom we delight to honor as our Lord into this work on behalf of the Indians. In proportion as we do this shall we draw them to ourselves and to him; and we shall lift them into the capacity of citizenship, not only in the republic of the United States, but also in the kingdom of Almighty God.

Rev. J. M. HARK, Pennsylvania.—I am glad for all that has been done in the line of legislation in the shaping of public opinion and in the means being used in this work. But the mighty thing, after all, is personal, individual, devoted work for our red brothers and sisters.

All that we desire or pray for can be done. I was present at Carlisle at the graduation of an Oneida girl. I heard her make one of the most remarkable addresses I ever heard from any girl. She is now at home, teaching in a reservation school. She has just sent twelve of her scholars to Carlisle, and has twenty-five more in her school. She writes that she wants the prayers of her Indian associates at Carlisle and at Lancaster that she may be a better woman, that she may more abundantly show forth the love of the Master to the young hearts intrusted to her care. She is full of Christian devotion.

Mr. Hark closed by narrating incidents about several other Indians who had become Christian missionaries and teachers, thoroughly devoted, judicious, filled with enthusiasm and with good practical common sense, which are as necessary in missionary work as anywhere else.

Gen. O. O. HOWARD.—The white people are around the Indian reservations, waiting for them to be opened. Selfishness, greed, and liquor are brought in upon them. I have visited every State and Territory except one, and also Alaska, and I can say this: An Indian does not accept the civilization about which we talk until he is converted. I asked Captain Pratt if they had yet become Christians, and he speaks of members of the church. But I asked, Do not they take a Christian's view of things? And with few exceptions he says they do. We do not want to put our whole stress upon secular schools. I am in favor of common schools as much as anybody; but I have a great deal of solicitude about excluding the Scriptures from the schools,—the last book that ought to be excluded from any place. You do not exclude Virgil. Would you repress this advance by the government in compelling Indians to go to school? No: the more teaching, the better; but, as the government multiplies its work, Christian brethren multiply your work. The help from the government may have been a little paralyzing. I rejoice as the Presbyterians come forth and say they will give up the government money; and I hope, when good Presbyterians die, that they will leave their money for the pushing on of this work. When I was in the Freedmen's Bureau, we used to put a dollar of the government money with a dollar of missionary money, and help the American Missionary Association and others to do a good work. The old people should not be neglected and forgotten. I saw an old man in Arizona, named Santo, a man with hardly any clothing on, connected with the chief family of the tribe. "Santo," I said, "I have a Father up yonder, and you have; and your Father and mine are the same Being. We must be brothers." Tears ran down the old man's cheeks as he gave me his hand. The tribe had never sent a delegation to Washington, and he was the first man to say he would go. His heart was changed. From that time on until he died he was earnestly in favor of our civilization, and did everything he could for it. It is the change of a man's heart that we want, and I do not know anything that will do that but Christian influences. Sustain contract schools as heartily as you can, and, when government aid is withdrawn, have the contributions enlarged, and seek a greater work every day until the whole field is covered.

The Chair appointed the following persons as a special committee on legislation in accordance with a resolution offered by Mr. Garrett (page 74): Mr. P. C. Garrett, of Philadelphia; Judge William Strong, of Washington; F. J. Stimson, of Boston; and Austin Abbott and Darwin R. James, both of New York.

The following resolution was offered by Rev. J. G. Van Slyke, D.D., of Kingston, N.Y. :—

Resolved, That the members of the Ninth Conference, gathered at the Lake Mohonk Mountain House to consider the interests of the American Indian, give emphatic expression in this hour of adjournment to their appreciation of the generous and beautiful hospitality of their entertainers, Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley, who have contributed in almost every conceivable way to the pleasure and profit of their guests. In this expression we desire to include our sense of the value of the counsels and influences which have so materially promoted the welfare of the Indian, and which have proceeded out of this Parliament of Philanthropy, due to their creative and moulding hands.

DR. VAN SLYKE.—In offering this resolution, I feel disposed to compare this Conference, on this mountain height, to some of those glittering peaks of the Sierras which materialize the vast loads of snow. The moisture of the Pacific breathes against those heights, and out of them proceed the streams that irrigate the vast plains of California. So some of the finest intelligence and moral spirit and philanthropic zeal of this country, under the magic wand of Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, like trade winds, seem to have converged upon this spot, and deposited themselves in counsels and influences and plans which shall go forth to irrigate the barrenness and sterility which have hitherto characterized the condition of the Indians in this country.

Our immediate problem is to put the Indian into some homogeneity with ourselves, and it is an imperative problem. Our population is sweeping on and obliterating reservation lines. The Indian can no longer be maintained in isolation, and it is not desirable that he should be. He must become part of American life, and be directed by the forces of American and Christian civilization, and become part of it, so that he shall cease to be a foreign ingredient. As such he will be crushed and overborne; but make him an actual participant in our political, social, and moral life, and, like the Germans and Scandinavians, he will become a genuine element in our civil life. We must forget that the Indian is an Indian, and regard him as having all the potentialities of a man. The members of this Mohonk Conference are the schoolmasters of the nation.

Rev. Francis Tiffany, of Cambridge, Mass., seconded the resolution in a happy speech.

MR. SMILEY.—I thank you for the kind expressions which have been made. I am rejoiced that so many have come and have made this Conference such a success. I always think the last is the best. We have had reports from the field from devoted men engaged in the work, discussions have been sharp and instructive, and the conclusions sound and measurably unanimous; and I feel that much good has been done.

The man is here at whose house this Conference was organized.

COPPOCK, MR. BENJAMIN S., Superintendent Chilocco Industrial School, Chilocco, Ind. Ter., Arkansas City, Kan.

COPPOCK, MRS. BENJAMIN S., Arkansas City, Kan.

CORNELIUS, MR. CHESTER P., Oneida Indian, Assistant Disciplinary Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa., and Student Eastman's Business College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

CRANNELL, MRS. W. WINSLOW, President Albany Indian Association, 9 Hall Place, Albany, N.Y.

DAVIS, MR. JOSHUA W., Vice-President Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, 460 Centre Street, Newton, Mass.

DAVIS, MRS. JOSHUA W., 460 Centre Street, Newton, Mass.

DAVIS, DR. ROBERT T., Fall River, Mass.

DAWES, MISS ANNA L., Pittsfield, Mass.

DAWES, HON. H. L., United States Senate, Pittsfield, Mass.

DAWES, MRS. H. L., Pittsfield, Mass.

DENISON, MRS. C. H., Williamstown, Mass.

DRAPER, HON. A. S., Superintendent Public Instruction of State of New York, Albany, N.Y.

DRAPER, MRS. A. S., Albany, N.Y.

DREHER, PRESIDENT JULIUS D., Roanoke College, Salem, Va.

DRURY, REV. DR. J. B., Managing Editor *The Christian Intelligencer*, 4 and 6 Warren Street, New York, N.Y.

DRURY, MRS. J. B., 4 and 6 Warren Street, New York, N.Y.

DUNBAR, PROFESSOR JOHN B., Bloomfield, N.J.

DUNBAR, MRS. JOHN B., Bloomfield, N.J.

DU BRAY, MR. J., Indian Pupil, Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Va.

EATON, GENERAL JOHN, President Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio.

ELIOTT, MRS. ELIZABETH, President New York Branch Woman's Indian Association, 607 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

FIELD, MR. FRANKLIN, 81 Grant Street, Troy, N.Y.

FISHER, MISS E. L., Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa.

FISK, MRS. CLINTON B., Rumson Hill, Seabright, N.J.

FISK, MRS. JAMES C., 32 Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

FOOTE, MISS KATE, President Indian Association, Washington, D.C., and also Guilford, Conn.

FOUNTAIN, MR. GIDEON, 153 East 62d Street, New York, N.Y.

FOUNTAIN, MRS. GIDEON, 153 East 62d Street, New York, N.Y.

FRYE, MRS. MYRA E., President of the Maine Indian Association, Woodfords, Me.

GALLUP, MRS. J. C., President Woman's New York Synodical Committee of Home Missions, Clinton, Oneida County, N.Y.

GALPIN, MR. S. A., Secretary of the New Haven Indian Rights Association, New Haven, Conn.

GARRETT, HON. PHILIP C., Member of Board of United States Indian Commissioners, Logan Post-office, Philadelphia, Pa.

GATES, MERRILL E., LL.D., President Amherst College and Chairman Board of United States Indian Commissioners.

GILMAN, MISS CLARABEL, Secretary Jamaica Plain Indian Association, 8 Harris Avenue, Jamaica Plain, Mass.

GILMAN, REV. DR. EDWARD W., General Secretary American Bible Society, Bible House, New York, N.Y.

GIVEN, MR. JAMES B., Indian Industrial School, Carlisle and Eastman's Business College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

- GOODWIN, MRS. W. W., 5 Follen Street, Cambridge, Mass.
- GRAVATT, REV. J. J., Normal and Agricultural Institute, Ham ton, Va.
- GREENE, MR. J. EVARTS, Member of Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Worcester, Mass.
- GREGORY, MISS L. GERTRUDE, 325 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- HALL, REV. C. L., Missionary Fort Berthold Mission of American Missionary Association, Fort Berthold, No. Dak.
- HALL, REV. DR. HECTOR, Pastor Second Presbyterian Church, Troy, N.Y.
- HALL, MRS. HECTOR, Troy, N.Y.
- HARDING, REV. DR. J. W., Editor Springfield *Republican*, Longmeadow, Mass.
- HARDING, MRS. J. W., Longmeadow, Mass.
- HARK, REV. J. MAX, Pastor Moravian Church, Lancaster, Pa.
- HARK, MRS. J. MAX, Lancaster, Pa.
- HOOKE, MRS. B. E., Hartford, Conn.
- HOWARD, GENERAL C. H., Editor *Farm, Field & Stockman*, 156 and 158 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
- HOWARD, MRS. C. H., Chicago, Ill.
- HOWARD, REV. DR. GEO. A., Catskill, N.Y.
- HOWARD, MRS. GEO. A., Catskill, N.Y.
- HOWARD, GENERAL O. O., Major-General, United States Army, Governor's Island, N.Y.
- HUBBELL, REV. DR. WM. S., 379 Pearl Street, Buffalo, N.Y.
- HUIZINGA, REV. DR. A. H., Pastor Reformed Church, New Paltz, N.Y.
- HUIZINGA, MRS. A. H., New Paltz, N.Y.
- IVES, MISS MARIE E., P.O. Box 1065, New Haven, Conn.
- LEE, MRS. FRANCES H., 14 Chestnut Street, Salem, Mass.
- LONGWOLF, MISS HATTIE, Indian Pupil, Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa.
- LYON, HON. WILLIAM H., Member Board United States Indian Commissioners, 170 New York Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- LYON, MRS. WILLIAM H., 170 New York Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- MACARTHUR, REV. DR. R. S., Pastor Calvary Baptist Church, 358 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
- MACARTHUR, MRS. R. S., 358 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
- MCCABE, REV. C. C., Cor. Secretary Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
- MESERVE, MR. CHARLES F., Superintendent Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kan.
- MESERVE, MRS. CHARLES F., Lawrence, Kan.
- NELSON, REV. DR. THOMAS A., 48 Eighth Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- NELSON, MRS. THOMAS A., 48 Eighth Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- OBERLY, HON. JOHN H., Ex-Commissioner Indian Affairs, Room 36 Post Building, Washington, D.C.
- OBERLY, MRS. JOHN H., Washington, D.C.
- PATTERSON, MR. H. C., 640 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
- PATTERSON, MRS. H. C., 640 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
- PATTON, REV. CORNELIUS H., Pastor Congregationalist Church, Westfield, N.J.
- PATTON, MRS. CORNELIUS H., Westfield, N.J.
- PEASE, REV. THEODORE C., Malden, Mass.
- PEASE, MRS. THEODORE C., Malden, Mass.
- PELOUBET, REV. F. N., Woodland Avenue, Auburndale, Mass.
- PELOUBET, MRS. F. N., Auburndale, Mass.
- PIERCE, MR. MOSES, Trustee Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Norwich, Conn.

- PIERCE, MRS. MOSES, Norwich, Conn.
- PRATT, CAPTAIN R. H., Superintendent Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa.
- PRATT, MRS. R. H., Carlisle, Pa.
- PROCTOR, MISS EDNA DEAN, Framingham, Mass.
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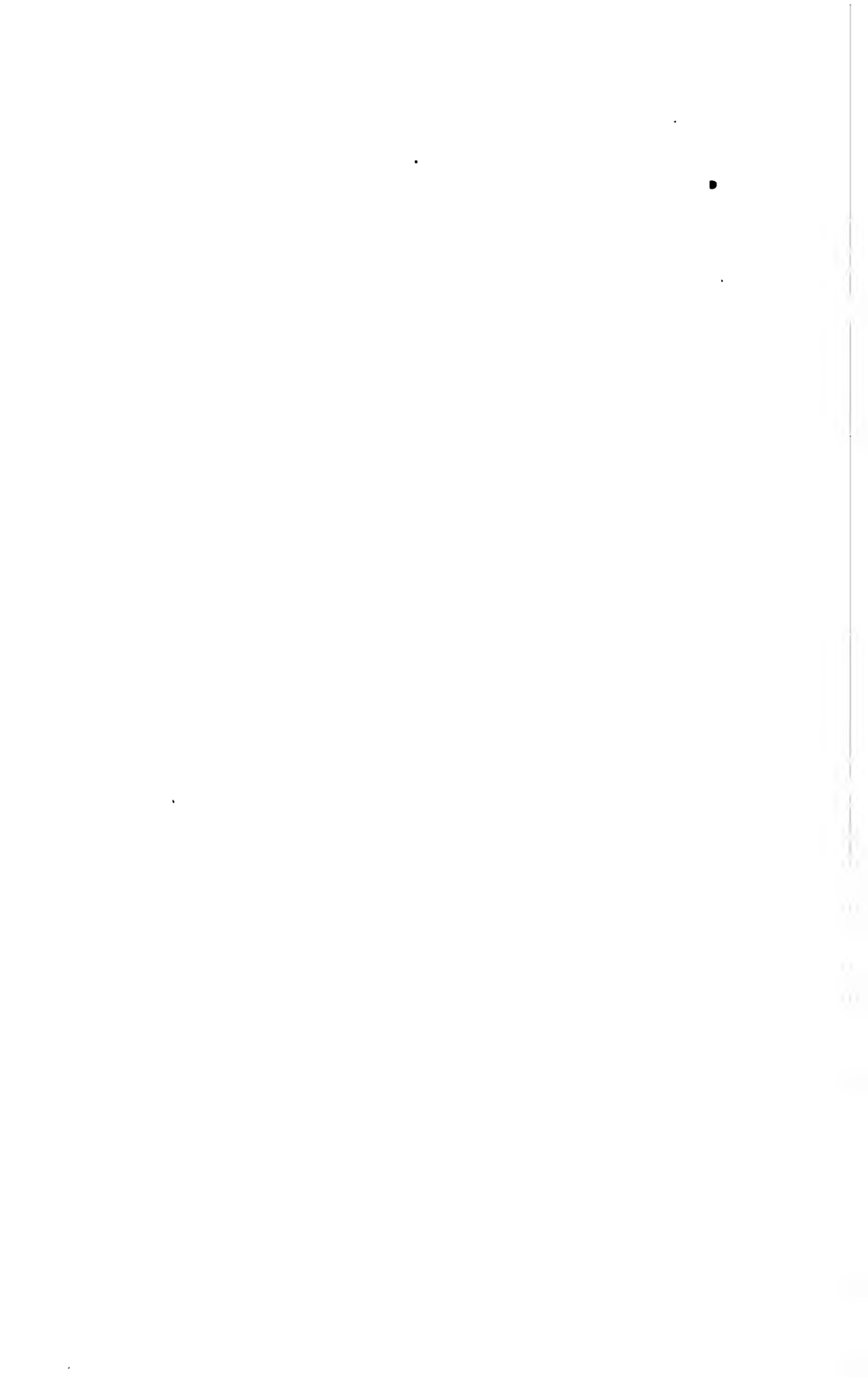
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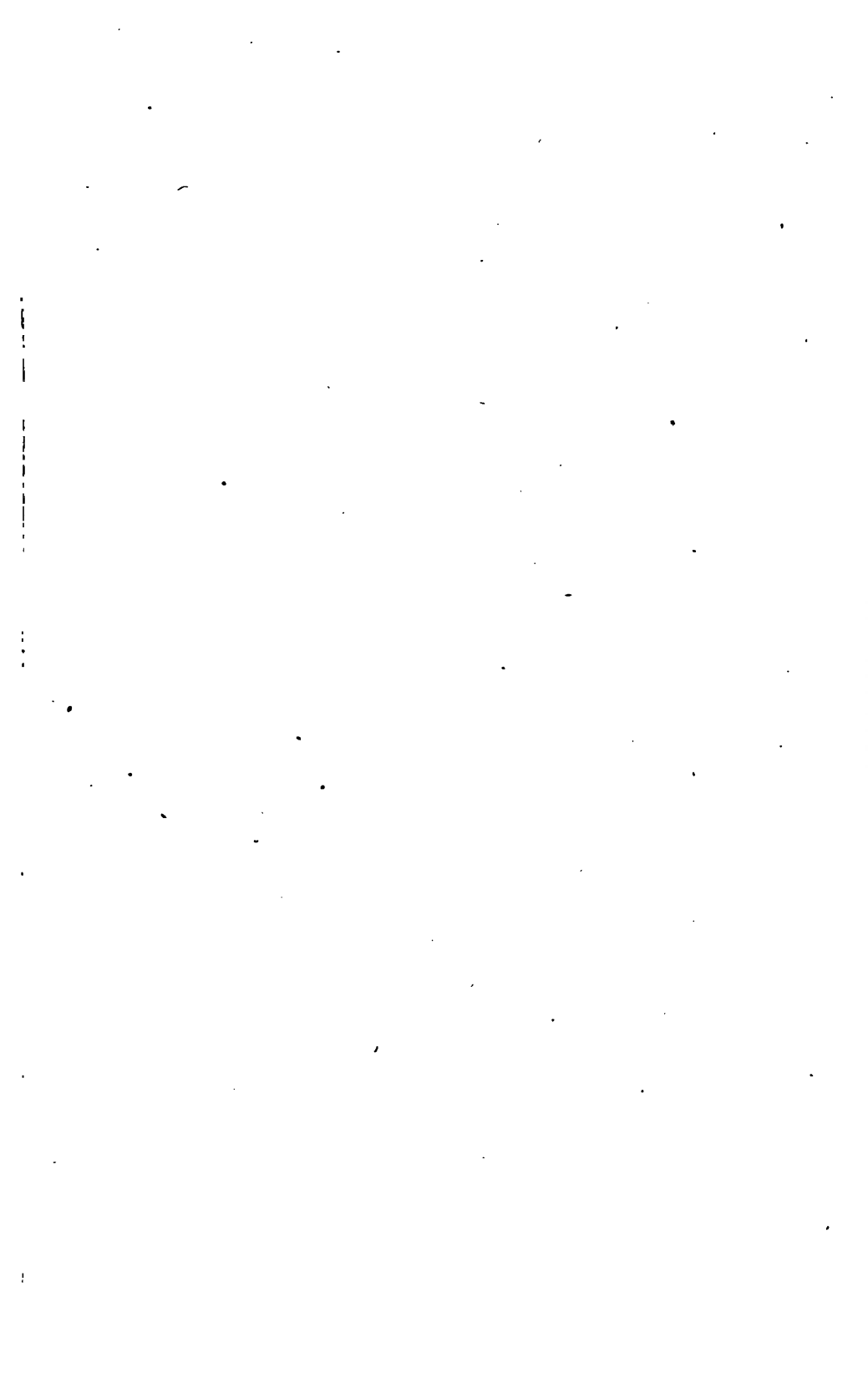
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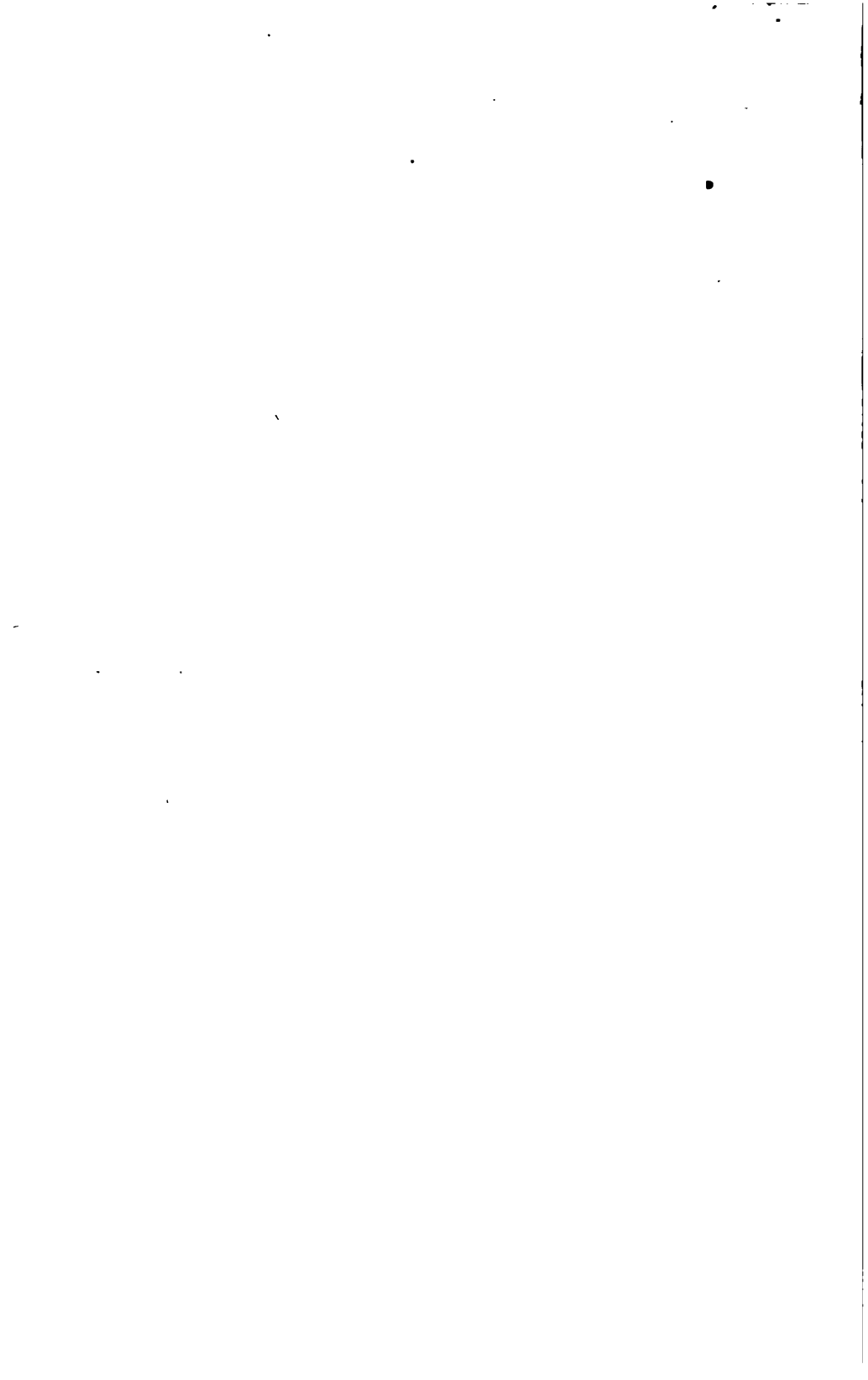
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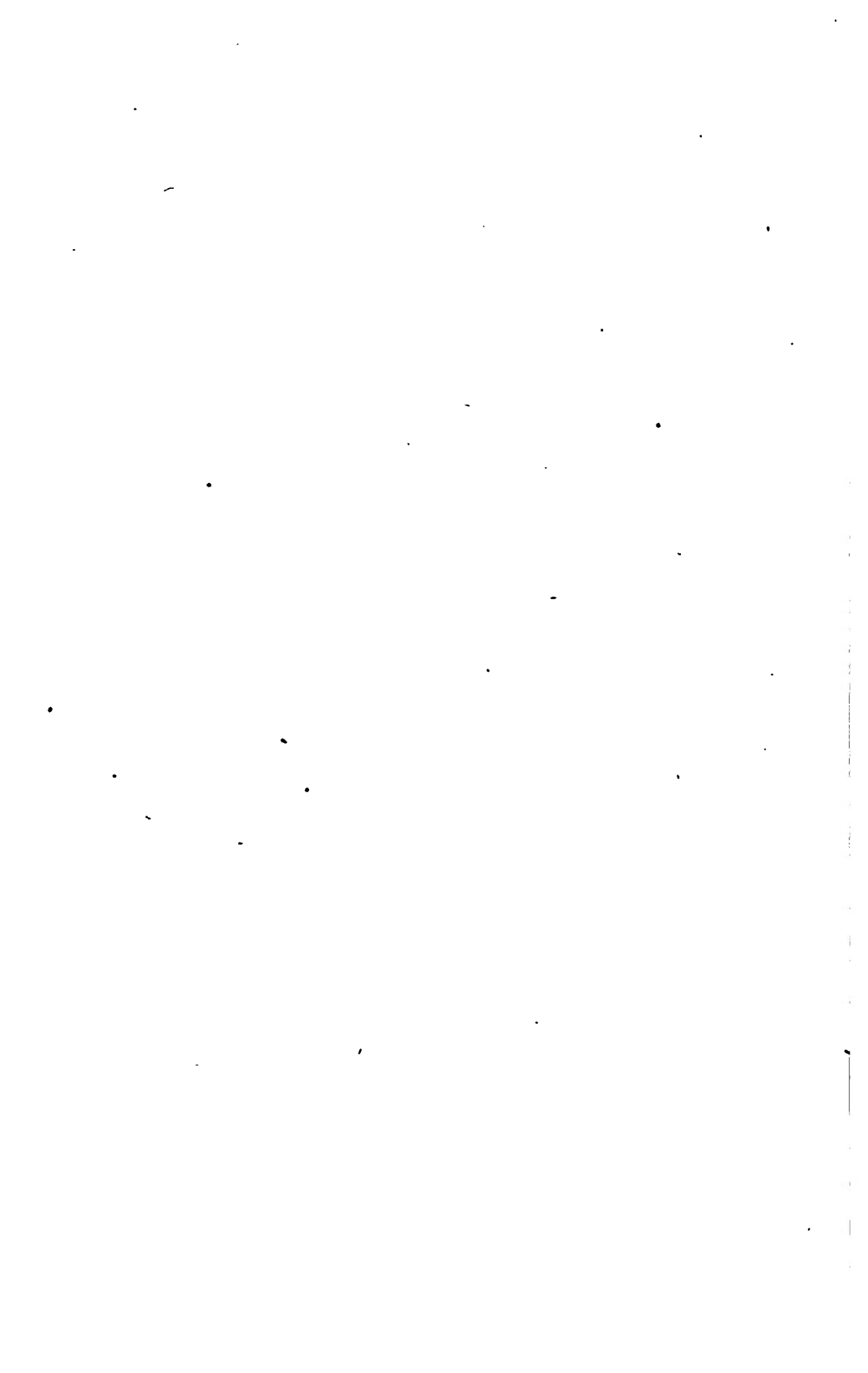
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